Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee

6 Raymond Street, N.W.
Atlanta 14, Georgia

688-0331

January 8, 1962

Mr. Wiley Branton
Director
Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Wiley:

Enclosed please find some information on Rochester Patterson, a deserving student of the type that you asked about for financial aid some months ago. We would appreciate it if you would forward the information to, I think it was, the American Council on Human Relations for scholarship aid.

He is a good and reliable worker, very conscientious and courageous, and we think he is deserving of aid.

Our best wishes, and if we haven't said so before, it was a pleasure having you at the retreat. We all feel we received considerable benefits from the discussion. Also -- Happy New Year.

Sincerely yours,

James Forman

James Forman
Executive Secretary

JF:dm

Enc.

January 14, 1963

Dr. Paul Cooke
1203 Girard Street, N. W.
Washington 9, D. C.

Dear Dr. Cooke:

In your correspondence to me last November, you indicated that the American Council on Human Rights was interested in helping some student who had suffered because of his participation in voter registration activities.

I am enclosing for the consideration of A.C.H.R., a statement pertaining to one Rochester Patterson, II, of Dawson, Georgia, who is now attending Paine College in Augusta, Georgia.

I know Mr. Patterson personally, and know his mother, Mrs. Carolyn Daniels. This family has been very active in voter registration activities in Terrell County, Georgia, and both Mr. Patterson and his mother have suffered numerous abuses and intimidation because of these activities. I have reliable information that money which Mr. Patterson had saved for college expenses had to be used to pay unjustified traffic fines which were levied against him and his mother as a means of harassment against them regarding these activities. This young man does not have the necessary funds to remain in school for the second semester, and any financial assistance which you can give him would be both justified and appreciated.

With kind personal regards.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:jcs

CC: Mr. James Forman
Executive Secretary
Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee
~~135 Auburn Avenue, N. E.~~ 6 Raymond St., N.W.
Atlanta ~~3~~ 14, Georgia

4 - cugencies - Herm
amer. Council on Fight

AMERICAN COUNCIL ON HUMAN RIGHTS

A cooperative program of Greek-letter sororities seeking human rights through education and direct social action.

1130 Sixth Street, N.W. Washington 1, D.C. COlumbia 5-7307-8

October 21, 1962

OCT 22 1962
OCT 23 1962

Mr. Wiley Branton, Director
Voter Education Project
The Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Branton:

1. The ACHR Planning Committee was most pleased to hear your letter. We all look forward to your talk.

As you see by the enclosed outline, your session comes first. You keynote. People will want to know the value of the Negro vote in Atlanta and the South, chief means of getting the Negro to register and to vote,, and plans for the future. We may bring in someone from Richmond for the morning session but Baltimore will come in the afternoon session.

Could you plan on twenty minutes or so of talking and expect to answer a great number of questions during the same morning session?

2. On another subject: Can you recommend a student, or students, who have suffered from their efforts to provide political education and to get people to register or vote? ACHR would help them financially. I cannot yet say how much money, but if you can let me know the situation (almost by return mail if you can) I shall provide the Planning Committee all information for their decision. If the student might be present at the ACHR Conference on November 10 -- all the better.

Thank you again and I look to hear from you.

Samuel Block - from St. Louis
former student

Yours truly,

Paul Cooke

Paul Cooke
Conference Organizer

AMERICAN COUNCIL ON HUMAN RIGHTS

A cooperative program of Greek-letter sororities seeking human rights through education and direct social action.

1130 Sixth Street, N.W. Washington 1, D.C. COlumbia 5-7307-8

PROGRAM OF THE

Sixth Annual American Council on Human Rights Leadership Conference:

ACHR--POLITICAL EDUCATION AND VOTING

. . . 9:00-10:00 A. M. Coffee Hour and Registration.

I. 10:00-12:00 A. M. Morning Session

How We Got People to Vote in Atlanta and Richmond and Baltimore!

Including time for your questions to the speakers.

. . . 12:15-1:15 P. M. Informal Luncheon Groups.

1. Making the Vote Count -- in the 88th Congress and in the States. What kind of Congress is the 88th? Using our vote in the South.

2. How We Get Our People to Register and to Vote. Primaries and elections. How we cut down the number of "Idiots!" How to get the Poll Tax Amendment passed!

3. Reapportionment in the State Legislatures. What States do we concentrate on? What are the tactics Did Reapportionment cut down Congressman J a m e s Davis of Georgia?

4. Home Rule for the Nation's Capital. Where s h o u l d the fight be directed? And while we wait how do we get action for the voteless District citizens? What can we expect from the 23rd Amendment?

III. 3:30-4:30 P. M. Afternoon Session.

1. "Most Important Point" from each concurrent group meeting.

2 2. Summary Conclusions from the Sixth Annual ACHR Leadership Conference.

* * * * *

Saturday, November 10, 1962
Howard University Law School
Sixth and Howard Streets, NW
Washington 1, D. C.

Pre-register for the ACHR Conference by Election Day!

ACHR constituent organizations: Alpha Kappa Alpha, Delta Sigma Theta, National Sorority of Phi Delta Kappa, Sigma Gamma Rho, and Zeta Phi Beta. ACHR office is at 1130 Sixth Street, N. W., Washington 1, D. C. Telephone--Co 5-7307

NOV 1 1962

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee

6 Raymond Street, N.W.
Atlanta 14, Georgia

688-0331

October 31, 1962

Mr. Wiley Branton, Director
Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Branton:

Enclosed is the memorandum I promised you. I hope that it is satisfactory. If it is not, then we are prepared to send you another. (Please excuse the typing. Not yet proficient at it.)

Sincerly,

Jim

Jim

MEMORANDUM: Financial needs for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee

At this time, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee is operating tow main programs: voter registration and direct action -- in the following areas: Mississippi, Alabama, Southwest Georgia, Cambridge (Md.), Cairo (Ill.), and Charleston (Mo.).

We have a staff of twenty-eight young people. They are white and Negro, male and female, Northern and Southern. Most of the field and office staff are Southerners. Most of the staff falls in the age catagory of 20 - 22; several are in their teens. Most are students taking a year or two off from their studies to devote to the civil rights movement in the South.

Our expense-subsistence scale ranges from $10 - $60 per week. Two staff members, married, receive $60 per week for themselves and their wives. The great bulk of the staff receives from $15 -$25 per week.

During the summer we found ourselves particularly hard-pressed for funds, though it is true that SNCC has always operated on a minimal budget.

For example, members of the Southwest Georgia voter registration project at times had to pick cotton and squash, wash windows, paint floors, etc., simply in order to eat. And all this while nightriders were shooting into the homes of voter registration workers and other Negroes who were associated with the voter registration program. (A particularly serious example of this occurred in Ruleville, Mississippi in August, when two young Negro girls were shot while in the home of a Negro couple who had attempted to register to vote. One of the girls had to have a head operation.)

Field secretaries of the SNCC in Mississippi have been the greatest target of violence and intimidation. Several have been attacked and beaten. One group had to flee their offices in Greenwood, Miss., when a mob of angry whites surrounded the building, openly brandishing guns and ropes.

Four Negro churches -- some of which had been used as meeting places for the Southwest Georgia voter registration campaign -- were burned to the ground during the summer. Work needs to be done here, particularly, to combat the wave of fear that followed our attempts to register Negro citizens and the violence it provoked from whites in the area.

Our needs, then, are to provide some living funds for the field and office staff we do have, and to obtain more funds in order to set up more projects in more of the Deep South hard-core areas.

For one thing, our field staff needs winter clothes. They need shoes to keep on walking those roads in Georgia and Mississippi to talk to Negro citizens, and encourage them to register to vote.

We need funds for transportation so that our staff can travel throughout the South.

But we really want to make sure that these young students have enough money to eat and have proper shelter.

If we could obtain a considerable sum of money we could enlarge our program so that registration drives and direct action attacks against segregation would be operating in every corner of the South -- and wherever segregation exists.

JM —
File

November 5, 1962

Dr. Paul Cooke
American Council on Human Rights
1130 Sixth Street, N.W.
Washington 1, D.C.

Dear Dr. Cooke:

I have given considerable thought to your letter of October 21, in which you ask if I can recommend a student or students who have suffered from their efforts to provide political education and to get peopleto register or vote. I have even discussed this matter with Mr. James Forman, Executive Secretary of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, and other interested persons.

I am of the opinionnthat any aid which ACHR can give to students should go direct to the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee which is the organization responsible for most of the student registration and direct action activity throughout the South. I know personally of the financial and physical hardships which many of these students have endured because of their registration activities. SNCC is called upon almost every day to help some student who is suffering because of hisor her participation in voter registration activities in states like Mississippi, Alabama, and Georgia. I therefore feel that any contributions which ACHR could make to SNCC itself would be a reward indirectly for all of the students working under the SNCC program.

If, however, you insist or prefer that such a contribution

go to a named student,-or students, then we will be happy to make such recommendations.

I am sending a photocpy of a memorandum which I have recently received from James Forman which explains the financial needs of SNCC.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:jl
enc.

AMERICAN COUNCIL ON HUMAN RIGHTS

A cooperative program of Greek-letter sororities seeking human rights through education and direct social action.

1130 Sixth Street, N.W. Washington 1, D.C. COlumbia 5-7307-8

1203 Girard Street, NW
Washington 9, D.C.
February 11, 1963

Mr. Wiley A. Branton
Director
Voter Education Project
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, NW
Atlanta, Georgia

FEB 15 1963

Dear Mr. Branton:

May I thank you for the information you provide the American Council on Human Rights on Rochester Patterson II of Dawson, Georgia.

He does seem to be most worthy of aid, and I have brought your letter and the attachment to the attention of the American Council, Mrs. Marian Bluitt, President.

Yours truly,

Paul Cooke

Paul Cooke
For the Council

4 agencies under Coun on HR (?)

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE, INC.
Southeastern Regional Office
1818 South Main Street, High Point, North Carolina
P. O. Box 1307 88 2-0109

CLAUDE C. SHOTTS
Regional Chairman
JAMES MATTOCKS
Treasurer
B. TARTT BELL
Executive Secretary

FEB 20 1964

February 19, 1964

3 days in June + July
14 in Aug

Wiley Branton
Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Wiley:

Our college committee has approved a staff proposal for a voter registration and education project in Orangeburg, South Carolina for the eight week period from June 19 to August 16, 1964. Using some of the techniques learned during the experience of the past two summers, we propose to put a group of approximately fifteen volunteers from various colleges into this project in cooperation with local groups which have been at work on voter education and registration.

I believe you understand that we do not have funds to finance these summer projects. Therefore, we would appreciate your consideration of a grant for $2,431 to underwrite this project. Attached is a budget for this total to meet the expenses involved for fifteen students, two leaders (a married couple) and a dietician. Please note the following items:

(1) The food costs are figured at one dollar per person per day. This is extremely low. However, we find that with careful planning and the supervision of an experienced dietician this can be done without endangering the health of the students.

(2) The honorarium for our leaders in all summer projects has this year been raised to $400. This is $400 total for the couple, not $400 each. The dietician's honorarium is $100.

(3) We are committed to taking care of the travel expenses home for our project leaders. The $225 included for this item is rather liberal and we can possibly effect considerable savings at this point.

(4) The item of $150 included for "regional office supervision" is limited to the travel expenses of Dick Ramsay or myself for the necessary trips to and from the project for purposes of administrative supervision. Please note that no general overhead is being charged to the project.

Dick Ramsay feels there will be no great problem in securing rent free quarters for the project group. The AFSC will take care of the expenses involved in getting the leaders to the orientation program prior to the opening of the project. We also assume responsibility for the costs of the leaders travel to the project site.

AT NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS
HAROLD EVANS, *Chairman* • HENRY J. CADBURY, *Honorary Chairman* • CLARENCE E. PICKETT, *Executive Secretary Emeritus* • COLIN W. BELL, *Executive Secretary*

As you will recall from previous experience, any savings effected in the budget will be returned to the VEP.

Our explorations in Orangeburg lead us to believe there is a well coordinated organizational base for a project this summer. This was one of the primary reasons we selected Orangeburg. As you know from the projects at Jackson, Tennessee and Greensboro we much prefer to go into a community where there is already enough local organization to assure us the prospect of accomplishing tangible results. We do not feel it is an effective use of student volunteers to put them in a community where the basic organization has to be achieved first, before they can get into voter education activities.

Our latest information is that only six hundred Negroes are registered in Orangeburg. There is a tremendous job to be done, and I am sure we do not need to convince you of this. We have been warmly invited by the local Negro leadership and feel there are excellent prospects of effective coordination between our volunteers and the work being carried on already in the community.

Until we are certain of the financing of the project we cannot begin in earnest to recruit students for it. Therefore, we will appreciate an early reply to this appeal.

I had looked forward to seeing you in Washington last week. Sorry you weren't with us. Warm regards.

Sincerely yours,

Tartt

B. Tartt Bell
Executive Secretary

BTB/vps
Enclosure

cc: Richard Ramsay

ORANGEBURG VOTER REGISTRATION PROJECT

15 STUDENTS, 2 LEADERS (MARRIED COUPLE), 1 DIETICIAN

8 WEEKS - JUNE 19 TO AUGUST 16

Food ($1 a day per person)	$ 1,026.00
Household supplies and equipment	75.00
Postage - Telephone	30.00
Operating travel	150.00
Recreation and Education	100.00
Leaders Honorarium (Leaders $400, Dietician $100)	500.00
Leaders travel home after project	225.00
Regional office supervision (travel)	150.00
Insurance	175.00
TOTAL	$ 2,431.00
Occupancy	No cost to Project Budget
Leaders Orientation in Pa.	"
Leaders travel to project	"
Regional and National Administration	"

~~3-9-64~~
~~3-11-64~~
~~3-28-64~~
3-30-64
Co. Bell

March 5, 1964

Mr. B. Tartt Bell
Executive Secretary
American Friends Service Committee, Inc.
P.O. Box 1307
High Point, North Carolina

Dear Tartt:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of February 19, regarding the possibility of a grant for a summer student project in Orangeburg, South Carolina which is scheduled to run from June 19 to August 16, 1964,

Very frankly, we take a dim view of such a request at this time for the simple reason that registration can normally take place in Orangeburg only for a three-day period each month beginning the first Monday of each month. There will be an exception to this general rule during the month of August when there will be a continuous registration period of approximately two weeks. This means that if your program does not start until June 19 there will be no opportunity to register at all during the month of June, only three days in July, and it will not be until the last two weeks of your project in August that it will be possible to get in any meaningful registration. This seems to us to be an inordinately long time to spend in a community without any opportunity whatsoever to get people registered.

Orangeburg happens to be a place where we have a good, strong local program now going and while I am certain that students could help in the local effort, we would much

prefer seeing these students sent to some area where there is not much of a local program going on and where they could handle the program pretty much themselves. Randolph Blackwell, our Field Director, is in Orangeburg today and I am certain that we can give you a definite decision when we go over his travel report next week.

If you feel that there is additional information concerning your proposed program that we should have before us in evaluating your request kindly bring it to our attention immediately.

Kind personal regards.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:jl
cc: Mr. Richard Ramsay

March 31, 1964

Mr. B. Tartt Bell
Executive Secretary
American Friends Service Committee, Inc.
P.O. Box 1307
High Point, North Carolina

Dear Tartt:

I have discussed further with Randolph Blackwell the possibility of an AFSC student project in Orangeburg this summer and we are of the opinion that VEP could not support financially a student program in Orangeburg at that time. We are about to approve programs throughout the state which will embrace every congressional district in South Carolina.

We will be pleased to work with you in any way that we possibly can. I am enclosing a copy of a letter which I have just written to Frank Millspaugh and which you might find of interest in planning some of your own student projects.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:jl
enc. 1
cc: Richard Ramsey

agencies -
American Friends
Service Committee

SAMPLE

S C H O O L D E S E G R E G A T I O N P R O J E C T

INFORMATION ON CHILD DESIRING A DESEGREGATED EDUCATION

NAME OF CHILD_____

ADDRESS_____TELEPHONE_____

BIRTHDATE_____DOES CHILD HAVE A BIRTH CERTIFICATE?_____

GRADE CHILD WILL BE 1965-66 SCHOOL YEAR_____

SCHOOL WHERE CHILD IS PRESENTLY ENROLLED_____

FATHER'S NAME_____EMPLOYER_____

MOTHER'S NAME_____EMPLOYER_____

NAME GUARDIAN IF OTHER THAN PARENT_____

NAMES AND AGES OF OTHER CHILDREN AND SCHOOL WHICH THEY ATTEND:

NAME_____SCHOOL_____

NAME_____SCHOOL_____

NAME_____SCHOOL_____

CHURCH MEMBERSHIP IF ANY_____

NEAREST FORMERLY ALL-WHITE SCHOOL OR SCHOOL WITH DESIRED COURSE:

_____

CAN PARENTS SUGGEST NAMES OF OTHER PARENTS INTERESTED IN DESEGREGATED EDUCATION FOR THEIR CHILDREN?

NAME_____ADDRESS_____

NAME_____ADDRESS_____

REMARKS OF VISITOR:

FOLLOW UP:
Did parents seek to register child in or transfer child to a formerly all-white school?_____NAME OF SCHOOL_____DATE_____

Action of school board: was child enrolled or denied?_____DATE_____

AFSC - Form No. 2 - rev. 5/12/65

LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

ROY WILKINS, Chairman
ARNOLD ARONSON, Secretary
JOSEPH L. RAUH, JR., Counsel
CLARENCE M. MITCHELL, Legislative Chairman
MARVIN CAPLAN, Director Washington Office

2027 Mass. Ave., N.W., Washington, D. C. 20036 phone **234-4722** • New York address: 20 West 40th St. New York 18, phone BRyant 9-1400

May 13, 1965

Rec'd 5/17/65

Mr. Les Dunbar and
Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Les and Paul:

Jean Fairfax tells me you are about to send out school desegregation kits and would like the names of people on our mailing list. We are sending you the names separately. I would appreciate it if you would destroy the cards when you are finished with them.

Best regards,

Marvin

Marvin Caplan

tl

COOPERATING ORGANIZATIONS

A. M. E. ZION CHURCH
ALPHA KAPPA ALPHA SORORITY
ALPHA PHI ALPHA FRATERNITY
AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA
AMALGAMATED MEAT CUTTERS AND BUTCHER WORKMEN
AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
AMERICAN ETHICAL UNION
AFL-CIO
AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS
AMERICAN NEWSPAPER GUILD
AMERICAN VETERANS COMMITTEE
AMERICANS FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION
ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH
B'NAI B'RITH WOMEN
BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS
CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL
CHRISTIAN FAMILY MOVEMENT
CHRISTIAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH
CHURCH OF THE BRETHREN SERVICE COMMISSION
CITIZENS LOBBY FOR FREEDOM & FAIR PLAY
COLLEGE YCS NATIONAL STAFF
CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
COUNCIL FOR CHRISTIAN SOCIAL ACTION — UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST
DELTA SIGMA THETA SORORITY
EPISCOPAL SOCIETY FOR CULTURAL AND RACIAL UNITY
FRONTIERS INTERNATIONAL
HADASSAH
HOTEL, RESTAURANT EMPLOYEES & BARTENDERS INTERNATIONAL UNION
IMPROVED BENEVOLENT & PROTECTIVE ORDER OF ELKS OF THE WORLD
INDUSTRIAL UNION DEPARTMENT — AFL-CIO
INTERNATIONAL LADIES GARMENT WORKERS UNION OF AMERICA
INTERNATIONAL UNION OF ELECTRICAL, RADIO & MACHINE WORKERS
IOTA PHI LAMBDA, INC.
JAPANESE AMERICAN CITIZENS LEAGUE
JEWISH LABOR COMMITTEE
JEWISH WAR VETERANS
LABOR ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA
NATIONAL ALLIANCE OF POSTAL EMPLOYEES
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF COLORED WOMEN'S CLUBS, INC.
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF NEGRO BUSINESS & PROFESSIONAL WOMEN'S CLUBS, INC.
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION REAL ESTATE BROKERS, INC.
NATIONAL BAPTIST CONVENTION, USA
NATIONAL BAR ASSOCIATION
NATIONAL BEAUTY CULTURISTS LEAGUE, INC.
NATIONAL CATHOLIC SOCIAL ACTION CONFERENCE
NATIONAL CATHOLIC CONFERENCE FOR INTERRACIAL JUSTICE
NATIONAL COMMUNITY RELATIONS ADVISORY COUNCIL
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CATHOLIC MEN
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CATHOLIC WOMEN
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES — COMMISSION ON RELIGION AND RACE
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF JEWISH WOMEN
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NEGRO WOMEN
NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR
NATIONAL FARMERS UNION
NATIONAL FEDERATION OF SETTLEMENTS AND NEIGHBORHOOD CENTERS
NATIONAL MEDICAL ASSOCIATION
NATIONAL NEWMAN CLUB FEDERATION
NATIONAL NEWSPAPER PUBLISHERS ASSOCIATION
NATIONAL STUDENT CHRISTIAN FEDERATION
NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE
NEGRO AMERICAN LABOR COUNCIL
NORTH AMERICAN FEDERATION OF THE THIRD ORDER OF ST. FRANCIS
NORTHERN STUDENT MOVEMENT
PHI BETA SIGMA FRATERNITY
PHI DELTA KAPPA SORORITY
PIONEER WOMEN
PRESBYTERIAN INTERRACIAL COUNCIL
RETAIL, WHOLESALE & DEPARTMENT STORE UNION
SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE
STATE, COUNTY, MUNICIPAL EMPLOYEES
STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
TEXTILE WORKERS UNION OF AMERICA
TRANSPORT WORKERS UNION OF AMERICA
UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS
UNITARIAN UNIVERSALIST ASSOCIATION — COMMISSION ON RELIGION AND RACE
UNITARIAN UNIVERSALIST FELLOWSHIP FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE
UNITED AUTOMOBILE WORKERS OF AMERICA
UNITED CHURCH WOMEN
UNITED HEBREW TRADES
UNITED PACKINGHOUSE, FOOD & ALLIED WORKERS
UNITED RUBBER WORKERS
UNITED STATES NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION
UNITED STATES YOUTH COUNCIL
UNITED STEELWORKERS OF AMERICA
UNITED SYNAGOGUE OF AMERICA
UNITED TRANSPORT SERVICE EMPLOYEES OF AMERICA
WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM
WORKERS DEFENSE LEAGUE
WORKMEN'S CIRCLE
YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION OF THE U.S.A.
ZETA PHI BETA SORORITY

May 18, 1965

Mr. Marvin Caplan
Leadership Conference on
Civil Rights
2027 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Marvin:

Many thanks fortthe names to receive the school desegregation kit. Some were deleted bacause of duplication. All the cards will be destroyed.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm

Done

nm

The Lutheran Church — Missouri Synod

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC RELATIONS

May 19, 1965

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

Please send your "Do-It-Yourself" Kit for School Disegregation to

(1) Rev. Karl Lutze, Executive Secretary
Lutheran Human Relations Association of America
Valparaiso University
Valparaiso, Indiana

(1) Dr. Andrew Schulze
505 Yellowstone Road
Valparaiso, Indiana 46383

(6) Miss Olinda M. Roettger
2633 16th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20009

I will be distributing the 6 Kits to the Six-State area members of the Lutheran Human Relations Committee of the Southeastern District, Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Olinda M Roettger

Olinda M. Roettger

OMR:aft

WASHINGTON OFFICE
2633 16th St., N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20009
Telephone: 202 DEcatur 2-1910
Miss Olinda Roettger

NEW YORK HEADQUARTERS
2112 Broadway
New York, N. Y. 10023
Telephone: 212 SUsquehanna 7-7150
THE REV. NORMAN TEMME, DIRECTOR

ST. LOUIS OFFICE
210 North Broadway
St. Louis, Mo. 63102
Telephone: 314 CEntral 1-6969
The Rev. Arnold A. Wessler

May 19, 1965

Mr. Jerry Roden
513 Moore's Mill Road
Auburn, Alabama

Dear Mr. Roden:

You will shortly receive from the Southern Regional Council a packet of materials prepared by the American Friends Service Committee and the Southern Regional Council to help people work toward achieving maximum school desegregation for September, 1965.

I have asked Southern Regional Council to send this to you directly, since time is of the essence if your local group is to organize effectively for this purpose. Let me ask you to get this material into the hands of your Education Committee chairman at once. If you do not have such a committee, I hope you will appoint a special committee for this purpose.

Cordially,

Signed

J. Edwin Stanfield
Executive Director

JES:llr

Packet sent - Aug. 5

THE VIRGINIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
17 EAST CARY STREET

RICHMOND, VIRGINIA 23219
Phone: 648-4445

MEMORANDUM

To: Mr. Paul Anthony - Southern Regional Council, Inc.

From: Mr. Robert Lee Combs, Executive Director

Date: May 20, 1965

Subject: Persons interested in working toward achieving maximum school desegregation for September 1965.

Mrs. George A. Eddy	5325 Polk Avenue	Alexandria, Va.	22304
Rev. John G. Wightman	5210 - 27th St. (N)	Arlington, Va.	22207
Mr. Herbert M. Kulman	305 W. Washington St.	Blacksburg, Va.	24060
Mr. Roger Bristol	1808 Barracks Road	Charlottesville	22903
Rev. M. S. Carothers	185 N. Maple Street	Covington, Va.	24426
Dr. Martin Donelson	1035 W. Main Street	Danville, Va.	24542
Mr. Sidney Holland	4111 First Street	Annandale, Va.	22003
Mr. Wilbur Chance	207 Frazier Street	Fredericksburg	22401
Rev. Samuel F. Daily	Post Office Box 622	Franklin, Va.	23851
Mrs. Isaac C. White	Post Office Box 336	Franklin, Va.	23851
Rev. F. M. Ritter, Jr.	Box No. 15	Pearisburg, Va.	24134
Rev. Douglas Lawson	Box No. 225	Ashland, Va.	23005
Mr. Bernard F. Epps	1109 Burnside Avenue	Hopewell, Va.	23860
Mr. Jas. K. Wilson, Jr.		Weems, Virginia	22576
Mr. C. M. Cofield, II	212 Massie Street	Lexington, Va.	24450
Mrs. Edward Lane	Route No. 2	Purcellville, Va.	22132
Mrs. Paul Phillips		Lincoln, Va.	22078
Mrs. Bernice L. Hill	1307 Floyd Street	Lynchburg, Va.	24501
Mrs. Albert Peery	Tazewell, Virginia	Tazewell, Va.	24651
Mr. William Sanders	Law Building	Princeston, W.Va.	
Mrs. Forrest White	1079 Algonquin Road	Norfolk, Va.	23505
Dr. G. W. C. Brown	1519 Va. Beach Blvd.	Norfolk, Va.	23504
Rev. Preston Hayes	3307 Chestnut Street	Newport News, Va.	23607
Dr. Jas. A. Russell	Hampton Institute	Hampton, Virginia	23368
Mrs. Louise S. Brown	319 Grant Avenue	Manassas, Va.	22110
Dr. Marvin W. Schlegel	205 Randolph St.	Farmville, Va.	23901
Dr. G. C. Gordon Moss	Longwood College	Farmville, Va.	23901
Col. J. W. Worrall, Jr.	1839 Brandon Street	Petersburg, Va.	23805
Dr. James Nicholas	Virginia St. College	Petersburg, Va.	23806
Mr. Robert McGovern	Box 686-Radford College	Radford, Va.	24142
Rev. John J. McMahon	811 Floyd Avenue	Richmond, Va.	23220
Rev. W. E. Blottner	1425 Braeside Drive	Richmond, Va.	23225
Rev. W. Carroll Brooke	2373 York Road, S.W.	Roanoke, Va.	24015
Rev. Chas. E. Zunkel		Port Republic, Va.	24471
Mr. Harold D. Lehman	Eastern Mennonite Coll.	Harrisonburg, Va.	22801
Mr. Henry Berne	Box No. 336	Warrenton, Va.	22186
Mrs. J. Blaine Blayton	609 Prince George St.	Williamsburg, Va.	23185
Mr. Wm. H. Leary	Box 62-Univ. of Va.	Charlottesville	22903

. . . questions — Labels

"... to counteract prejudice and discrimination based on racial, religious, nationality or ethnic group membership."

env. typed

FLORIDA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
356 SOUTH BEACH STREET
DAYTONA BEACH, FLORIDA

TELEPHONE
255-5881

May 20, 1965

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Regarding your recent memo, please send the School Desegregation packet to the following Council presidents:

Mr. Harry Boardman
1625 S.W. 6th Terrace
Gainesville, Fla.

The Rev. August VandenBosche
18910 N.W. 43rd Avenue
Carol City, Fla.

Mrs. Eugene Halmi
411 Orangeview Avenue
Clearwater, Fla.

Mr. Maurice M. Vance
2229 Amelia Circle
Tallahassee, Fla.

Mr. Sherwood Evans
Rt. 4, Box 69
Ft. Pierce, Fla.

Mr. George Allan
325 S.E. 6th Street
Ft. Lauderdale, Fla.

Mrs. James Bond
1705 N. Oregon Circle
Tampa, Fla.

Mrs. R. W. Glasner
247 Wells Road
Palm Beach, Florida

Rev. Sam P. Combs
326 S. Palmetto Avenue
Daytona Beach, Fla.

Mr. Ted Nichols
1116 Plummer Circle
Melbourne, Fla.

Mr. Peter Caulfield
133 N. Orlando Avenue
Cocoa Beach, Fla.

Mr. James Sanderlin
1407 22nd Street, South
St. Petersburg, Fla.

Mr. Earl M. Johnson
625 West Union Street
Jacksonville, Florida

Mrs. James Reed
760 Douglas Avenue
Winter Park, Florida

Mr. Leo R. Sears
2966 Anderson
Ft. Myers, Fla.

Mr. Morton McDonald
426 N. Stone Street
DeLand, Florida 32720

Mr. Wilbur Roberts
1218 Marie Ann Blvd.
Panama City, Fla.

Mr. John Updegraff
Florida Christian Missionary Society
425 South Harris Rd.
Ocala, Florida, 32670.

I hope this can get out immediately as many of our counties have cut-off dates in May and some even had final filing dates in April.

See you on the 2nd.

Sincerely,

Ed

Edwyn E. Lewis, Jr.
Executive Director

EEL,JR/nai

SUPPLEMENT TO LIST OF MAY 20, 1965

Persons interested in working toward achieving maximum school desegregation for September 1965.

Charlottesville	Dr. Daniel M. Mohler	1813 Yorktown Drive Charlottesville, Va. 22901
Covington	Mr. George D. Hill, Jr.	323 E. Locust Street Covington, Va. 24426
Lancaster- Northumberland	Rev. John E. Houghton, Program - Chariman	Kilmarnock, Va. 22482
Portsmouth	Mr Ben Haddon	1011 Wycliff Road Portsmouth, Va. 23703
Radford	Mr. A. Carl Williams	Radford Va. 24142
Roanoke	Mr. A. Byron Smith	19th & Center Avenue Roanoke, Va. 24016
Rockingham	Dean Neher	Bridgewater College Bridgewater, Va.22812
Virginia Beach	Mr. Robert O. Clapp	1845 Karen Lane Virginia Beach, Va. 23451

THE CITY OF TULSA OKLAHOMA

613 Kennedy Building
LUther 4-2351

Lois H. Gatchell
Executive Director

COMMUNITY RELATIONS COMMISSION: ALFRED AARONSON, ALVA HOLLINGSWORTH, JENKIN LLOYD JONES, ROBERT LAWTON JONES, MAYOR JAMES L. MAXWELL, JOHN ROGERS, SIDNEY J. STEEN, WILLIAM F. TEMPLE, JR., HENRY C. WHITLOW, JR.

May 21, 1965

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

Please send one free copy of the "Do-It-Yourself" Kit for School Desegregation, as prepared by your organization and the American Friends Service Committee.

Thank you.

Sincerely yours,

Lois H. Gatchell

(Mrs. Don Gatchell)
Executive Director

ab

1

Dr. C. R. Williams
111½ W Houston Ave.
Marshall, Texas
May 21, 1965

10

Dear Sir:

I would like for you to send me if possible, ten kits to help desegregate the schools in my local community.

Thank You

DR. C. R. WILLIAMS
DENTISTRY AND X-RAY
111½ W. HOUSTON
MARSHALL, TEXAS

Arkansas - 5 ~~#~~ packets
2 communities
+ 250 packets to ACHR
Special order - (at least 800) various pieces to ACHR.

Ft. Smith - 1
Little Rock - IIII

Dr. James Hollou 743-1511

~~5 pac~~ 6 packet
6 com

Mississippi -

Bay St. Louis - 1
Clarksdale - 1
Madville - 1
Tchula - 1
Vicksburg - 1
Jackson - 1

Louisiana 8 kits
5 com.

Alexandria - 1
Baton Rouge - II
Cedar Rapids - 1
Gambling - 1

New Orleans - III

Texas 11 kits
2 com

Fort Worth - 1
Marshall - ~~IIII~~ ~~IIII~~

GENERAL BOARD OF CHRISTIAN SOCIAL CONCERNS
OF THE METHODIST CHURCH
DIVISION OF HUMAN RELATIONS AND ECONOMIC AFFAIRS

THE METHODIST BUILDING
100 MARYLAND AVENUE, NORTHEAST
WASHINGTON D. C., 20002 • 546-1000

(1)

MAY 24, 1965

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 FORSYTHE STREET, N. W.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

DEAR FRIENDS:

WOULD YOU PLEASE SEND ME A COPY OF THE "DO-IT-YOURSELF" KITS FOR SCHOOL DESEGREGATION. IF THERE IS A CHARGE, PLEASE FEEL FREE TO SEND AN INVOICE.

ALSO, WE WOULD APPRECIATE COST FOR QUANTITIES OF 100 AND 200 COPIES OF THE KIT. IS THERE A DISCOUNT FOR RESALE PURPOSES?

SINCERELY YOURS,

Grover C. Bagby

GROVER C. BAGBY
ASSOCIATE GENERAL SECRETARY

GCB:MRF

Write letter answered -

Date 5/25/65

Central Christian Church

3000 MARKET STREET • YOUNGSTOWN, OHIO 44507
STerling 2-8017

MINISTERS
COLBERT S. CARTWRIGHT BRUCE COOLEY

SECRETARIES
MISS JEAN F. THAYER MRS. WILLIAM EDWARDS

May 20, 1965

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

I would appreciate receiving as quickly as possible the kit I have read of which is designed to help individuals desegregate the schools in their local communities.

This material, I believe, will be most helpful to me as I prepare an address I have been asked to make in the near future in the South.

I shall be happy to send any reimbursement necessary.

Sincerely,

Colbert S. Cartwright

Colbert S. Cartwright

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE, Inc.

WASHINGTON BUREAU

WYATT BUILDING, 777 FOURTEENTH STREET, N.W., WASHINGTON 5, D.C.

PHONE: 393 - 0124

May
Twenty-fifth
1 9 6 5

Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

Please forward at your earliest convenience twelve "Do-It-Yourself" Kits for School Desegregation.

Sincerely yours,

Desmond H. Sealy
Desmond H. Sealy
Associate Director

DHS:bs

12

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY EAST LANSING

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE • DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL SCIENCE

May 26, 1965

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

I noticed in reading Memo No. 62 of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights that you have prepared kits designed to help individuals desegregate schools in their local communities.

Would you please send me a copy?

Sincerely,

T. Harry McKinney

T. Harry McKinney
Associate Professor

THM/cs

May 26, 1965

Mr. Robert Lee Combs
Executive Director
The Virginia Council on Human Relations
17 East Cary Street
Richmond 19, Virginia

Dear Bob:

AFSC is sending you the requested 3,000 copies of the pamphlet, "A Message to Parents...."

We hope also you can use some of the entire packets for individuals who will head up this program in their communities. We can send the packets from here or ship them to you for mailing.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm

THE VIRGINIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

17 EAST CARY STREET RICHMOND 19, VIRGINIA 648-4445

ROBERT LEE COMBS, Executive Director

A council that seeks — through fact-finding, discussion and action — to attain equal opportunity for all people in Virginia.

21 May 1965

American Friends Service Committee,
41 Exchange Place,
Atlanta, Georgia - 30303.

Dear Friends:

Please send to us, if free, three thousand (3,000) copies of the pamphlet "A Message to Parents About Desegregated Schools."

Thanking you in advance, we will appreciate a rush service in this regard.

Sincerely yours,

Robert Lee Combs

Robert Lee Combs, Executive Director

RLC:rbm

OFFICERS Mr. David H. Scull, *President* Mr. Harold O. DeWitt, *First Vice-President* Mr. John O. Lapp, Mrs. George E. Mattus, Mr. M. C. Martin, *Vice-Presidents*

Dr. Edna M. Colson, *Secretary* Dr. J. Rupert Picott, *Treasurer*

Virginia -

7 packets
5 communities
+ 3,000 - M to P

Bristol - 1

Colonial Heights - 1

3,000 - Message to Parents - VCHR

Richmond - 1
Charlottesville - 1
Norfolk — 111

North Carolina -

5 packets
5 communities
+ 100 packets to NCCHR

100 packets - NCCHR

Dunn - 1
Wilson - 1
Whiteville - 1
Chapel Hill - 1
McLeansville - 1

FROM THE DESK OF

MRS. HELEN ADAMS FURMAN
Executive Director

M

Dear Paul,

Poor as we are I still think that the N.C. Council should mail out the excellent packets on School desegregation. This can start a whole summer program of activity and of course, I want local people in N.C. to look to the state office for this kind of help. I am sure you do too.

Please send us 100 packets and we shall get moving right away.

Thank you

Helen -

NORTH CAROLINA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
121 EAST THIRD STREET
CHARLOTTE, N. C.

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
160 North Fifteenth Street,
Philadelphia 2, Pennsylvania

Connie:

Send 12 kits to

Rev. B.B. Felder
706 East Cumberland Street
Dunn, North Carolina

UNITED CAMPUS CHRISTIAN FELLOWSHIP
629 South Howes Fort Collins, Colorado 80521 303 482-8487

May 26, 1965

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

We would like to order two of your " Do-it-Yourself" kits for school desegregation. If there is any charge for these, please bill us.

Thank you very much.

Robert A. Geller

Robert A. Geller

RAG/rt

2

COLORADO STATE UNIVERSITY

CHURCH OF THE BRETHREN

<<<<< General Brotherhood Board >>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>

Norman J. Baugher • General Secretary

BRETHREN SERVICE COMMISSION
W. Harold Row, Executive Secretary
1451 Dundee Ave., Elgin, Illinois 60120, SHerwood 2-5100

May 27, 1965

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

I have just read about the kits which you and the American Friends Service Committee have designed to help individuals desegregate the schools in their local communities.

Make label

Would you kindly send two sets of this kit to Rev. F. D. Reese, 1566 Range Street, Selma, Alabama.

2

Also, I would appreciate your sending a kit to me at this address.

Sincerely yours,

Ralph E. Smeltzer

Ralph E. Smeltzer

RES/eh

1 Done

Hazel Peters, Administrative Assistant

VOLUNTEER SERVICES
Wilbur E. Mullen, Director

PEACE COUNSELOR
Ora Huston

INTERNATIONAL SERVICE
W. Harold Row, Director

PEACE AND SOCIAL EDUCATION
Ralph E. Smeltzer, Director

RACE RELATIONS AND SOCIAL WELFARE
Lee G. Whipple, Director

Lexington Commission on Human Rights

CITY HALL ANNEX
227 NORTH UPPER STREET
LEXINGTON, KENTUCKY 40507

GREGORY E. SHINERT
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

TELEPHONE
AREA CODE 606
252-3079

May 28, 1965

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

Please send to the above address, four (4) copies of the kits for school desegregation. Thank you.

Very truly yours,

Anne L. Washington

Anne L. Washington,
Secretary

4

YWCA
National Board of the Young Women's Christian Association of the U.S.A.
600 LEXINGTON AVENUE
NEW YORK, N.Y., 10022
212 PLAZA 3-4700
CABLE: EMISSARIUS, N.Y.

MRS. LLOYD J. MARTI
President

MRS. AMBROSE L. CRAM, JR.
Vice President

MRS. EARL D. THOMAS
Vice President at Large

MRS. FORD R. WEBER
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Treasurer

MRS. LEO MARSH
Assistant Treasurer

MISS EDITH M. LERRIGO
General Secretary

May 28, 1965

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Please send me four "DO-IT-YOURSELF" KITS FOR SCHOOL DESEGREGATION.

It is my understanding there is no charge.

Thank you.

Yours truly,

Jessie Ifill

Jessie Ifill, Sec. to
Consultant in Public Affairs
Bureau of Research and Program
Resources

/jyi

4

YWCA

May 30, 1965

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:
Please send me one
"Do-It-Yourself" kit for
School Desegregation.

Thank You.

Jessie Hill
941 Park Place #3C
Brooklyn 13, N.Y.

1

1307 Mason Rd.
Columbia, South Carolina
June 1, 1965

Miss Constance Curry
American Friends Service Committee
Room 502
41 Exchange Place S.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

5

Dear Miss Curry:

Please forward five (5) packets of materials which point out means of organizing school desegregation programs in communities.

Address:

Miss Henri Monteith
1307 Mason Road
Columbia, South Carolina 29203

Thank you very much for this confidence

Sincerely yours,
Miss Henri Monteith

South Carolina

74 communities
176 packets
0 Specials

Aiken - III

Bethune - I
Barnwell - II
Batesburg - IIII
Bishopville - II
Beaufort - ~~IIII~~
Branchville - I
Bluffton — II
Burton — II
Cheraw — III
Centenary - I
Cardova - I
Camden - ~~IIII~~ III
Charleston - ~~IIII~~ III
Chester - II
Cheonee - I
Clifton — I
Clarke Hill - I
Clinton — II
Chesterfield - II
Columbia - ~~IIII~~ ~~IIII~~ IIII
Denmark - I
Dillon - I
Dale — II
Edgefield - II
Eliott - I
Eutawville - I

Frogmore - ~~IIII~~ ~~IIII~~ ~~IIII~~
Greenville - ~~IIII~~
Garnett - I
Hartsville — III
Hilton Head - II
Hampton - II
Huger - II
Johnston III
Laurens - I
Leesville - I
Marion - I
McCormick - I
Manning - I
Moncks Corner - II
Mullins — I
Myrtle Beach - I
Manning — II

Georgetown - III

Heath Spring - I

Kingstree - II
Lakeview - I
Lancaster - I
Longs - I

Newberry - IIII

Pageland - III
Parris Island - II
Port Royal — II
Reevesville - I
Rembert - I
Ridgeville - I
Ridgeland - II

Rock Hill - II

Saluda - III
Seneca - III
Seabrook - I
Shelton - I
Summerville - I
Society Hill - I
St. George - II
Sumter - ~~IIII~~
St. Stephens - I
Seabrook — I

Whitmire - I
Williston - II
Winsboro - III
Yemassee — I
York - I

171
5
176

The United Christian Missionary Society

Disciples of Christ

A Board of Missions and Education • 222 SOUTH DOWNEY AVE. • 353-1491 CODE 317 • INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA 46207

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MRS. MAE YOHO WARD, *vice-president*
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ALFRED C. BROWN, *treasurer*
WADE D. RUBICK, *legal counsel*

June 2, 1965

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Your Memo to Participants, Southern Interagency Conference, mentions a packet of materials prepared by AFSC and SRC to assist interested persons in working for maximum school desegregation in their communities.

Mr. McCrae would like to have this packet sent to our State Secretaries as listed on the attached sheet. They have been advised that your office will send the packet directly to them.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely,

Paulina van Velse
(Miss) Paulina van Velse
Secretary to Mr. McCrae

enc.

MM please do

1 to each

Done

Division of Church Life and Work

DEPARTMENT OF CHRISTIAN ACTION AND COMMUNITY SERVICE

Barton Hunter, Executive Secretary • **Executive Directors:** Robert A. Fangmeier, Christian Citizenship; Ian J. McCrae, Human Rights; Vern J. Rossman, Church and Community • **Administrative Assistant:** Mrs. Virginia M. Clarke • **Departmental Associate:** Miss Loisanne Buchanan • **Coordinator of Relief and Rehabilitation Services:** Miss Ella L. Williams.

1. Dr. T. T. Swearingen
Texas Association of Christian Churches
2909 Lubbock Avenue
Fort Worth, Texas 76109

2. Mr. C.C. Thompson
South Carolina Christian Missionary Cooperation
P.O. Box 3636
8 Johnson Road
Crescent, Charleston, South Carolina 29400

3. Mr. Charles Dietze
N.Carolina Christian Missionary Society
P.O. Box 521, 509 West Lee Street
Wilson, North Carolina 27893

4. Mr. Maurice Grove
Mississippi Christian Churches
1619 Northwest Street
Jackson, Mississippi 39202

5. Mr. Albert Jones
Louisiana Association of Christian Churches
316 Eola Drive
Alexandria, Louisiana 71303

6. Mr. Harry Berry
Christian Churches of Georgia
2370 Vineville Avenue
Macon, Georgia 31204

7. Mr. John Updegraff
Florida Christian Missionary Society
425 South Harris Road
Ocala, Florida 32670

8. Mr. James Rainwater
Arkansas Christian Churches
P.O. Box 3711, 1719 Broadway
Little Rock, Arkansas 72203

9. Mr. J.T. Beale
Christian Churches of the Alabama Area
P.O. Box 20037, Highway 21 South
Birmingham, Alabama 35216

10. Mr. Myron Kauffman
Virginia Christian Missionary Society
2200 Monument Avenue
Richmond, Virginia 23220

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HENRY J. SZYMANSKI
STANLEY WINKELMAN

City of Detroit

COMMISSION ON COMMUNITY RELATIONS
1106 WATER BOARD BUILDING
735 RANDOLPH STREET
DETROIT, MICHIGAN 48226

963-9550

RICHARD V. MARKS
Secretary-Director

JOSEPH C. COLES
Acting Assistant Director

June 2, 1965

3

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

We understand that you have available for distribution kits designed to help individuals desegregate the schools in their areas. We wish to request three "Do It Yourself" Kits for School Desegregation for our own use. Would you be so kind as to forward them to us.

Thank you in advance.

Sincerely yours,

Dan Greenwald

Dan Greenwald

DG:etr

National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice

21 West Superior Street · Chicago, Illinois 60610 · MOhawk 4-8222

Southern Field Service
1046 Baronne Street
New Orleans, La. 70113
523-2901

June 3, 1965

1

Gentlemen:

Will you please send us one of the "DO-IT-YOURSELF" KITS FOR SCHOOL DESEGREGATION that The American Friends Service Committee and the Southern Regional Council have prepared?

We are most interested in seeing a sample of this kit and are enclosing stamps to cover postage.

Thank you.

Sincerely yours,

Harold L. Ritchie

Harold L. Ritchie, Secretary
Department of Educational Services

HLR:ew
Encl.

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

MM

JLC

JEWISH LABOR COMMITTEE

25 EAST 78TH STREET
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10021
ATRAN CENTER FOR JEWISH CULTURE
LE 5-3700

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JACOB CLAYMAN, Wash.
DOROTHY DWORKIN, Toronto
JACOB EDELMAN, Baltimore
MAX FEDERMAN, Toronto
MAX GLEIBERMAN, Miami
JOSEPH GREENFIELD, Boston
MANUEL L. HOFFMAN, Rochester
KALMEN KAPLANSKY, Ottawa
Dr. SHMARYA KLEINMAN, Detroit
PHILIP KRAMER, Boston
HARRY LAUTMAN, Montreal
TEVYA MAISEL, Mexico City
JOSEPH MERANZE, Phila.
MICHAEL MERLIN, Atlanta
LOUIS ORLIKOW, Winnipeg
SAMUEL OTTO, Los Angeles
MORRIS POLIN, Chicago
WILLIAM ROSS, Philadelphia
MICHAEL RUBINSTEIN, Montreal
ARTHUR SCHECHTER, Grand Rapids
DAVID SCHIER, Chicago
JOSEPH SCHWARTZ, Philadelphia
BERNARD SHANE, Montreal
ROBERT SEGAL, Boston
JACOB SIEGEL, Chicago
MAURICE SILCOFF, Montreal
HARRY SIMON, Toronto
WILLIAM STARK, Pittsburgh
ISIDORE STENZOR, Los Angeles
BESS TOPOLSKY, Pittsburgh
MEYER WEINTRAUB, Los Angeles
SAM WEISBERG, Cleveland
MAX WOHL, Cleveland
JOSEPH WOLMAN, Baltimore
JOSEPH ZACHARIAS, Mexico City

96

June 3, 1965

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

3

Gentlemen:

I would appreciate it if you would send me three (3) kits on School Integration.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely,
Fran Morrill

Fran Morrill
Publications

SAVANNAH STATE COLLEGE

STATE COLLEGE BRANCH

SAVANNAH, GEORGIA

OFFICE OF THE LIBRARIAN

June 4, 1965

Miss Constance Curry
41 Exchange Place
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Miss Curry:

In a recent letter to Mrs. Mercedes Wright, Miss Fairfax has requested that she contact your office to request school desegregation kits to be used in her work in Georgia and in Mississippi in encouraging Negro youngsters to transfer to integrated schools. One of the young men of the College Chapter of the NAACP of our campus will be assisting Mrs. Wright, and they have directed me to write you and request school desegregation kits. Would it be possible for you to send about three (3) hundred kits? We should appreciate your kind consideration of our request.

Very truly yours,

E. J. Josey

E. J. Josey
Librarian

cc: Mrs. Mercedes Wright
415 Rendant Avenue

Miss Jean Fairfax, National Representative
American Friends Service Committee, Incorp.
160 North Fifteenth Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19102

300 pamphlets only sent - CWC.-

EJJ/lmw

10 kits sent, June 21

P.S. The kits may be sent to my office here at Savannah State. If you could spare more than 300 kits, we may be able to use them. We are very optimistic.

E.J.J.

MR. & MRS. THARON STEVENS
345 Johnson Street
STATESBORO, GEORGIA

5-28-65

1

Dear Mrs. Pauley:

Please send my principal, Mr. R. H. Hamilton, William James High School, Statesboro, Georgia, a folder of the valuable information you sent to me yesterday on School Desegregation.

Thank you kindly.

Yours in the 777,
(Fight for Freedom)

Tharon Stevens

Georgia - (Counties, not cities)

261
~~260~~
~~259~~ kits

138 counties

2 special orders -

Athens - 24 Instructions to Parents
150 Info. for Applicants
200 Message to Parents
24 HEW
24 Title 6

Savannah - 300 Message to Parents

June 9, 1965

Sister Mary Peter, S.S.N.D.
Department of Educational Services
National Catholic Conference for
Interracial Justice
21 West Superior Street
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Sister Mary Peter:

We are pleased to know the materials in the packet prepared by AFSC/SRC were helpful to you.

By all means make any use of the materials that fit your needs. Please feel free to cppy any of them and to change any of the material as you see fit. (They were done very quickly and might well be impooved on.)

If you develop a similar packet we would be grateful for several copies.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm

cc: Miss Jean Fairfax, American Friends Service Committee

Name

Kenneth J. Neubeck

Equal Educ Optjog Program

U.S. Office of Education

10 more Kits -

sent 6/15/65

June 9, 1965

Mr. Kenneth J. Neubeck
Materials and Research Branch
Equal Educational Opportunities Program
Department of Health, Education, and Welfare
Office of Education
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Neubeck:

Under separate cover we are sending the requested packets. Enclosed is our current listing of publications.

Additional packets are available if you have need of them.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm

sent -
June 28

Rte. 1, Box 69
Oakfield, Ga
June 24, 1965

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Council:

Please send by return mail your free materials about "The Civil Rights Act" of 1964
"Civil Rights Under Federal Programs" Jan. 1965
? "Sample of the Desgregated Plan."
? "Desgregated project"

Will thank you for any material you may send.

Yours truly,
Mr. Kelsie Washington

As of June 25, 1965

	Packets	Communities	Quantity orders of portions of packets
Southern states:			
ALABAMA	12	8	400 Message to Par., Enterprise, Ala.
ARKANSAS	255*	2*	ACHR: at least 800 of various pieces
FLORIDA	22	19	
GEORGIA	261	138	Athens: 422 of various pieces Savannah: 300 Message to parents
LOUISIANA	8	5	
MISSISSIPPI	6	6	
NORTH CAROLINA	105**	5**	
SOUTH CAROLINA	176	74	
TENNESSEE	27	17	
TEXAS	11	2	
VIRGINIA	7	5	VCHR: 3,000 Message to Parents
TOTAL TO INDIVIDUALS IN SOUTHERN STATES :	890	281	

Other:

Conferences and sources outside South (Breakdown attached)	456
Southern Interagency Conference	50
State Councils on HR	11
AFSC Staff	20
TOTAL PACKETS SENT:	1,427

*250 of these to Arkansas Council for distribution in various communities.
**100 of these to North Carolina Council for distribution in various communities.

CONFERENCES:

Nashville: Fisk University Race Relations Conf. and workshops	250
NSA Seminar and Workshop at NSA Congress	130

OUTSIDE SOUTH:

Brooklyn	1
Washington - Bd. of Xian Social Concerns, Methodist Ch.	1
Chicago - National Catholic Conf. for Intercl. Justice	1
Lexington, Ky., Comm. on Human Relations	4
National Board, YWCA, New York	4
Ft. Collins, Colo. - United Campus Xian Fellowship	2
Detroit Commission on Human Relations	3
New York - Jewish Labor Committee	3
Elgin, Illinois - General Brotherhood Board	1
Washington, D.C. - National Urban League	12
Tulsa, Oklahoma Community Relations Commission	1
East Lansing, Mich., Dept. of Soc. Sci., Michigan State	1
Phoenix, Ariz.	1
Phila., Pa. - AFSC staff	3
Valparaiso, Ind. - Lutheran Church	2
Washington, D.C. - Lutheran Church	1
Youngstown, Ohio - Central Xian Church	1
Washington, D.C. - Office of Education	14
New York, YWCA	20

The United Christian Missionary Society

Disciples of Christ

A Board of Missions and Education • 222 SOUTH DOWNEY AVE. • 353-1491 • INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA 46207
CODE 317

VIRGIL A. SLY, *president*
MRS. MAE YOHO WARD, *vice-president*
MISS MAYBLE M. EPP, *secretary*
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June 29, 1965

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

We received several requests with regard to the packet of materials prepared by the American Friends Service Committee on School Desegregation.

If these packets are still available, would you please send

1 packet to Rev. Sam Paul Combs, 326 S. Palmetto Avenue, Daytona Beach, Florida;
4 packets to Mr. Harry J. Berry, General Secretary, Christian Churches of Georgia, 2370 Vineville Avenue, Macon, Georgia;
6 packets to Mr. Ian McCrae.

Sincerely,

Paulina van Velse

(Miss) Paulina van Velse
Secretary to Mr. McCrae

Jack -
Please send these in the numbers requested, and return letter to me -
Thanks -
Marge

Division of Church Life and Work

DEPARTMENT OF CHRISTIAN ACTION AND COMMUNITY SERVICE

Barton Hunter, Executive Secretary • **Executive Directors:** Robert A. Fangmeier, Christian Citizenship; Ian J. McCrae, Human Rights; Vern J. Rossman, Church and Community • **Administrative Assistant:** Mrs. Virginia M. Clarke • **Departmental Associate:** Miss Loisanne Buchanan • **Coordinator of Relief and Rehabilitation Services:** Miss Ella L. Williams.

June 30, 1965

Mr. Grover C. Bagby
Associate General Secretary
General Board of Christian Social Concerns
of the Methodist Church
The Methodist Building
100 Maryland Avenue, N.E.
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Bagby:

In the rush of sending out "Do-It-Yourself" kits on school desegregation (one of which was forwarded to you weeks ago) your request for a quotation on quantity copies was overlooked, and I am very sorry. There will be no charge for one or two hundred of the kits. Please let me know if you can still use them.

Sincerely,

Marge Manderson
Administrative Secretary
Field Activities

Begin

July 1, 1965

Mr. Walter J. Rucker
Citizens for Human Dignity
1127 Natchez Street
Franklin, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Rucker:

Under separate cover we are sending you 200 copies of "A Message to Parents." More are available if you have need of them.

Your request for someone to come to Franklin is being given serious consideration by the American Friends Service Committee. You will be hearing from Miss Jean Fairfax of that agency soon.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm
cc: Miss Jean Fairfax

~~Other~~ -
J. F. -

July 1, 1965

Miss Jean Fairfax
American Friends Service Committee
160 North Fifteenth Street
Philadelphia 2, Pa.

Dear Jean:

Your draft of the school desegregation questionnaire seems to me to be a good start, though I have not been able to give it the attention it deserves.

I am now trying to (1) eliminate any possible questions to shorten the questionnaire (hard to do), and (2) put it into standard questionnaire form (probably running as much as four pages). Hope this can be completed over the long weekend and that we can send you my draft next Tuesday. Thereafter, as soon as we get your reaction, we will get about the mimeographing. In the meantime we'll work on mailing lists. I would hope our first mailing would go out no later than mid-July.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm

Paul Anthony

cc: Paul Anthony
bcc: Constance Curry
Wilton Hartzler
Barbara Moffett

MM

July 7, 1965

Williamson County Citizens for Human Dignity
c/o Mr. Walter J. Rucker
1127 Natchez Street
Franklin, Tennessee

Dear Friends:

Thank you for your letter which we received through our Atlanta office and which was answered by Paul Anthony of the Southern Regional Council. We are pleased to know that you are currently promoting school desegregation in your community. We have great sympathy and understanding for leaders such as you who are actively and courageously involved in eliminating racial injustices even though many of your own people are hesitant about working publicly for freedom.

We are interested in your situation and would like to help if we can. However, as you know, there are some things which outsiders cannot do unless there is a strong nucleus of concerned local citizens. For example, we could not send in enough workers to do the necessary house-to-house visiting for you but we might be able to provide someone who could help you organize and train a group of your own citizens.

Would you send us the following information:

1. Describe your school board's desegregation plan. Is there a deadline for registering to attend formerly all-white schools or do you have all summer? Are you under a court order? How many grades are being desegregated this year?

2. Tell us about the Citizens for Human Dignity. How large is your group and how many persons do you think you could really count on for your community project? You know, it is not necessary to have lots of workers. A few dedicated people who have a good plan or organization can do a tremendous job.

As soon as I hear from you, I will let you know what we can do.

Best wishes to you.

Sincerely,

Jean Fairfax
National Representative
Southern Programs

JF:mt

N.B. Franklin is close to Nashville. Do any of you have contacts in Nashville whom we might ask to help the Franklin folks?

Williamson County Citizens
For Human Dignity
c/o Walter J. Rucker
1127 Natchez Street
Franklin, Tennessee

COMMUNITY RELATIONS DIVISION
RECEIVED
JUL 6 1965
A.F.S.C.

June 27, 1965

Dear Sir:

I am writting to your Committee in a twofold purpose. First I would like to introduce the Williamson County Citizens for Human Dignity, this group is made-up primary of Negroes, although membership is not restricted to any particular race. The objectives of this organization are to seek the dignity of all mankind and to remove the injustices of racial segregation.

The second purpose of this letter is to request help from your committee. Williamson County is a small county its' Negro citizens are greatly dependent on the White population for employment, therefore, it is diffcult to get many to take an active role in our endeavor, although they support our work. In our current project of school desegregation we are faced with the problem of getting enough workers to go to each home in the county in order to show the advantages of an intergrated education. If it is at all possible we would like to have workers from your Committee to assistance us in this project.

We will continue our work here because we know this is what is morally right. We will be waiting to here from you at your earliest convenience. We thank you very much.

Jean- Paul sent pamphlets, but what can we do about this request which came to me. CWC.

Your truly,
Williamson County Citizens
for Human Dignity

Walter J. Rucker
Chairman

300 -

Mr. Silas Smith
SCOPE office
So. Davis Drive
Warner Robins, Ga.

50 -

Rev. J. W. Robinson
PO Box 236
St. George, S.C.

School Deseg Questionnaire
Send to above -
7/16/65

July 14, 1965

Mr. Herb Kelsey
c/o Mrs. Bernice Miller
128 Malone Street
Bolivar, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Kelsey:

An inexcusable delay has occurred in filling your request for copies of "A Message to Parents" for use July 15. Because of the illness of one of our staff members, your letter of July 5 did not come to our attention until today. We are today sending you the 500 copies, special handling, with our apologies, and hope that you still will be able to use the booklets.

We are truly very sorry for this breakdown in efficiency, and hope it doesn't seriously hinder your efforts in Hardeman County.

Sincerely,

Marge Manderson
Administrative Secretary
Field Activities

Write letter apologizing

c/o Mrs. Beernice Miller
128 Malone Street
Bolivar, Tennessee
July 5, 1965

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5. Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Sir,

We have started an information program to interest the parents of Hardeman County in the importance and advantage of sending their children to the "better" schools. The pamphlet, 'A Message to Parents,' would make our job easier in the sense of showing the parents that some one has taken the time and effort to help them with such materials.

Please send us approxiametly 500 pamphlets to be distributed throughout the County. The School Board will begin registration on the 15th of July. We are hoping to use the pamphlets at that time.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely,
Herb Kelsey

The AUBURN WESLEY FOUNDATION
at Auburn University
131 South Gay Street
P.O. Box 991, Auburn, Alabama 36830
887-2502

MAX HALE, Jr.
Minister To Methodist Students

June 1, 1965

1

Miss Constance Curry
American Friends Service Committee
Room 502
41 Exchange Place, S. E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Miss Curry:

Would you please send the packet of materials relating to school desegregation program.

Sincerely,

Max Hale, Jr.
es
Max Hale, Jr.

MH:es

Please send me two kits for survey in school desegregation:

Thank you—

Barbara Jo McBride
914 9th Ave W.
Birmingham, Ala.

Mr. H. Harold Moon
532 E. Samford Ave.
Auburn, Ala. 36830

President Auburn Self Study Group

Alabama

Auburn - ~~#~~ 2

Bessemer - 1

Birmingham - ~~2~~ 4

Enterprise - 400 pamphlets

Selma - 2

~~Sheffield - 1~~

Mobile - 1

Tuscaloosa - 1

Tuskegee Institute - 1

Total - 12 kits
8 communities
1 special order

10,000

300 pamphlets
Message 2 Parents

Mr EJ Josey
Offc of librarian
Savannah State College
Savannah Ga

Done
(noted on letter also)

---

2 kits 2
Barbara Jo McBride
914 - 9th Av W
Bham 4, Ala.

label made

√

ALABAMA (From Mrs. Tilly's meeting)

Dr. W. Harold Moon
532 E. Samford Avenue
Auburn, Alabama 36830

Mrs. Cassa Lou Gibson
135 Silverwood
Mobile, Alabama 36607

Send materials to:

Cassa Lee Gibson (Mrs. D.A.)
Pres. United Church Women -
Project Director WICS
13 St Silverwood
Mobile, Ala. 36607

For Paul Anthony.

May 17
1st class

Air Mail to:

Jean Fairfax
C/o Luther Brice Joyce
220 E. 19th St.
Sheffield, Alabama.

GENERAL BOARD OF CHRISTIAN SOCIAL CONCERNS
OF THE METHODIST CHURCH
DIVISION OF HUMAN RELATIONS AND ECONOMIC AFFAIRS

THE METHODIST BUILDING
100 MARYLAND AVENUE, NORTHEAST
WASHINGTON D. C., 20002 • 546-1000

JULY 7, 1965

MISS MARGE MANDERSON
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

DEAR MISS MANDERSON:

WOULD YOU PLEASE SEND US 100 "DO-IT-YOURSELF" KITS ON SCHOOL DESEGREGATION.

I UNDERSTAND THAT THERE WILL BE NO CHARGE FOR THESE.

SINCERELY YOURS,

Julia Taylor

(MRS.) JULIA TAYLOR
SECRETARY TO DR. BAGBY

Jack - please send 100 packets + return letter to me - Thanks Marge -

Sent - July 8th, 1965 - 100 packets
Jack

J- Fx

July 7, 1965

Miss Jean Fairfax
National Representative for Southern Programs
American Friends Service Committee
160 North Fifteenth Street
Philadelphia 2, Pa.

Dear Jean:

Enclosed is a version of the questionnaire. I still feel we haven't given enough time to it, but don't want to keep it longer.

Please tear things apart.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm

930 Church Avenue
Cleveland, Miss.
July 1a, 1965

School Desegregation Project
American Friends
Service Committee
41 Exchange Place, S.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Friends,

I am a law student attached to the Jackson firm of Young & Hall, 538 1/2 North Farish Street, Jackson, Mississippi. My assignment from Miss Marian E. Wright is to organize and advise the registration of eligible Negro pupils in previously all-white schools after our Court Order comes down from the United States District Court, Northern District, Mississippi.

Miss Jean Fairfax distributed in Jackson some copies of a packet prepared by the American Friends Service Committee. I would like to obtain more copies of some of the inserted publications.

Could you send twenty of the following?

Ingredients...Local Program

Desegregating Your Public...Under Title VI

HEW Statement of Policies

Volume distribution of the Message to Parents About Desegregated Schools would aid in our persuasion of parents to brave the threat of immediate hardship for the sake of their children. Conditions in Bolivar County are tight because of the labor strike in the cotton fields.

Peace,

George Wolf

Rev Joseph Edwards
St Pauls' Lutheran
church

128 Sixth Ave South
B'ham - 35205

28 packets 8 -

sent
7/13/65

14" x 9"
2 - H-1771

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
INCORPORATED
160 North Fifteenth Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19102
AREA CODE 215 LOCUST 3-9372

GILBERT F. WHITE
Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY
Honorary Chairman
COLIN W. BELL
Executive Secretary

July 24, 1965

Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Here is my version of your version of the questionnaire. I added a heading since I believe that a questionnaire should always be easily identifiable. Also, if the covering letter is lost,persons might forget where to return it. I have called it a report rather than a questionnaire.

Since it was going to be three pages anyway, I decided we might as well fill them up! Also, there were some new questions which occurred to me. Feel free to make whatever changes you like now. I'm leaving it up to you and Connie at this stage. It may help to number the questions; it might make it more readable and easier to refer to later.

Connie has my suggestions about persons to whom it should be sent. All of us have some homework to do before we complete our lists. Meanwhile, maybe the questionnaire could be mimeographed or printed so that it will be ready to roll. It ought to be on paper which takes ink well. That may indicate on off-set job. What about 500 copies? Let's ask Connie to put her mind to a covering letter which you two would sign. It would be good if it could be ready to mail on Friday, July 30, or Monday, August 2.

Can we include a pre-paid self-addressed envelope?

I'll be at the Airport Hilton from Wednesday night through Friday. I am sure I can find time to confer with you and Connie about the questionnaire. I'm terribly glad we're doing this. I believe it is going to be very useful.

Sincerely,

Jean

Jean Fairfax

cc: Barbara Moffett
Constance Curry
Charles Davis

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
INCORPORATED
160 North Fifteenth Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19102
AREA CODE 215 LOCUST 3-9372

GILBERT F. WHITE
Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY
Honorary Chairman
CLARENCE E. PICKETT
Executive Secretary Emeritus
COLIN W. BELL
Executive Secretary

Rec'd 10/8/65

MNet. 7

Dear Paul -

I thought you all might want a copy of this breakdown on the returned questionnaire for reports, files, etc.

I'm now answering all of them and some have stuff that might be used in your report on school desig.

- Connie

School Desegregation Questionnaires Returned
As Of October 6, 1965

NORTH CAROLINA

School District	Returned by:
1. New Hanover County	Mr. Lisbon C. Berry, Jr., Atty., Box 508, Wilmington
2. Orange County	Mr. Walter McDade, Efland
3. Greene County	Mrs. Dora M. Farmer, Route 1, Box 353, Stantonsburg
4. Mount Airy and Surry County	Mr. L. H. Jones, J. J. Jones School, Mt. Airy
5. Salisbury City	Mr. W. I. Lash, P. O. Box 244, Salisbury
6. Chatham County	no name

VIRGINIA

7. Prince Edward County	Dr. G. G. Moss, Longwood College, Farmville and Miss Nancy Adams, 100 Madison St., Farmville
8. Prince William County	Louise S. Brown, 319 S. Grant Ave., Manassas
9. Fairfax County	Allison W. Brown, Jr., Pres. Fairfax Co. Council on Human Relations, 2204 Martha Road, Alexandria
10. Charlottesville City	Richard E. Boden, M. D. 1508 Rose Hill Drive, Charlottesville
11. Virginia Beach	Evelyn Bradshaw, 504 Rose Marie Avenue, Virginia Beach
12. Nottoway County	Nancy Adams, AFSC, 100 Madison St., Farmmille
13. Giles County	no name

ALABAMA

14. Huntsville City	Mrs. John Cashin, 509 Gallatin St., SW, Huntsville
15. Florence City	Stanley Rosenbaum, 117 Riverview Dr., Florence
16. Enterprise City	Bernest Brooks, 103 Cook St., Enterprise
17. Birmingham City, Bessemer City, Fairfield City and Jefferson Co.	Mrs. Willa I. Adams #14- 12th Avenue, North, Birmingham
18. Muscle Shoals City	Charles Burgess, 200 Central Avenue, Muscle Shoals
19. Wilcox County	no name

SOUTH CAROLINA

School District	Returned by:
20. Lee County School District #1	Paul McLeod, Bishopville, S. C.
21. Chesterfield County District #4	Mrs. Georgie Blakeney, Route 3, Box 142 Pageland
22. Chesterfield County District #2	Mrs. Gladyce Coleg Box 462, Cheraw
23. Florence P. S. District #1	Rev. Edward H. Thomas, 124 West Darlington St., Florence
24. Spartanburg County District #2	Alfonso Webster, Judson Foster and F. L. Clement, Route 1, Chesnee
25. Calhoun County District #1	Mrs. Virginia Keitt, 415 Church St., St. Matthews, S. C.
26. Marion County District #1	Mr. S. J. Vandross, 102 R. R. Ave., Marion
27. Lexington County District #3	Mr. Albert Lee Williams, 318 Williams St. Batesburg
28. Fairfield County	George Belton, PO Box 126, Winnsboro, 29180
29. Saluda County District #1	Robert S. Logan, 103 N. Rudolph St., Saluda
30. Orangeburg Co. District #5	Dr. C. H. Thomas, Jr., Box 1778 S. C. State College, Orangeburg
31. Beaufort School District #1	Mrs. Freida Mitchell, Route 1, Box 108A Seabrook
32. Beaufort School District #2	as above
33. Richland County District #1	Mrs. Edmund Yaglijian, 1730 College St., Columbia
34. Anderson County District #5	Mrs. Morris S. Young, P. O. Box 992, Anderson, and Mr. B. M. Wakefield, Anderson
35. Greenville County	Mrs. R. S. Smith, Executive Sec., Greenville Education Com., Route 1, Box 63-A, Taylors

MISSISSIPPI

School District — Returned by:

36. Bay St. Louis Separate School District - Warren Carver, P. O. Box 232 Bay St. Louis, 39520

37. Forest Separate School District - Rayford Woodrick, Box 382, Forest

38. Sharkey - Issaquena Line Consolidated School District - Kerry Gough 5855 Birch Court, Oakland, Calif.

39. Anguilla Line Consolidated School District - as above

40. Long Beach Separate School District - Mrs. Andrew Lambright, 503 Mason Avenue, Long Beach

41. South Pike County District - no name

42. Meridian Separate School District - Obie Clark 1329 28th Ave., Meridian

FLORIDA

43. Orange County - William D. Bennett, Wider Horizons of Orange County P. O. Box 1125, Orlando,

44. Palm Beach County - Mr. R. W. Glasner, 247 Wells Road, Palm Beach

45. Pinellas County - Atty. James B. Sanderlin, 1407 22nd St., South, St. Petersburg

TENNESSEE

46. Houston County - Mrs. King Baker, Route 1, Tennessee Ridge Atty. William Nabors, P. O. Box 230, Erin

47. Hardeman County - Mr. Herbert A. Kelsey, 128 Malone St., Bolivar

OKLAHOMA

48. Oklahoma City - Samuel M. Meyers, Chairman, AJC, 1215 N. E. 46th St., Oklahoma City, 73111

GEORGIA

49. Clarke County - David Broiles, 595 Brookwood Drive, Athens

50. Walton County - Mrs. Emma H. Butler, Box 445, Monroe

51. Wheeler County - Rev. A. Goram, P. O. Box 422, Alamo

52. Bulloch County - Gordon P. DeWolf, Jr., Fair Rd., Route 6, Statesboro

GEORGIA CONTINUED

School District	Returned by:
53. Rome-City - no name	
54. Burke County - Rev. C. S. Hamilton, 1224 Gwinnett, Augusta	
55. Jefferson County - as Above	
56. Richmond County - as above	
57. Taliaferro County - as above	
58. Butts County - Mrs. Myra Green, 396 Mallet Street, Jackson, 30233	
59. Thomas County - Sam Hill, Box 77, Thomasville, Ga.	
60. Decatur - city - Mrs. Elizabeth Wilson, 126 Chewning Way, Decatur	
61. Fitzgerald - city - Rev. E. R. Bailey, 602 West Orange St., Fitzgerald	
62. Chatooga County - Winifred Falls, 41 Exchange Place, SE, Atlanta	
63. Bibb County - Mr. William Randall, 845 Forsyth St., Macon	
64. DeKalb County - no name	

Add to Florida

65. Lee County - Olive W.Anderson, Lee County HR Council, Page Mobile Village, B -13, Fort Myers

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL - AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta, Ga.

SUMMER 1965 REPORT ON SCHOOL DESEGREGATION DEVELOPMENTS

SCHOOL DISTRICT (Give full name)_____

Address of Superintendent's Office_____

NUMBER OF WHITE PUPILS IN DISTRICT_____ NUMBER OF NEGRO PUPILS_____

DOES THE DISTRICT HAVE A SCHOOL DESEGREGATION PLAN?_____

Was it ordered by a Federal Court?_____ If so, when?_____

Was the plan submitted to the Office of Education in Washington?_____ When?_____

Has the plan been approved by Washington?_____ If so, when?_____

DESCRIPTION OF PLAN: (If possible, attach a copy of the plan.)

By what year will total desegregation be accomplished?_____

How many grades will be desegregated in 1965? Which grades?_____

Is this a zoning plan or a freedom of choice plan?_____

What arrangements are there for the registration of first graders and other new students?_____

_____

Are students in all grades permitted to transfer to get courses not offered in the segregated schools?_____

Are there provisions for the desegregation of buses?_____

Are there plans for teacher desegregation? Describe_____

_____

PUBLICITY GIVEN TO THE PLAN:

Were there notices in the newspaper?_____ If so, how often?_____

Did parents receive individual notices or letters about the plan and about the procedures for registration and transfer?_____

Did school officials meet with PTA and other groups to interpret the plan?_____

If possible, attach copies of notices published in the newspaper.

REGISTRATION, TRANSFER AND ASSIGNMENT PERIOD:

Give the dates:_____How much time was there between the notice in the newspaper and the transfer or registration period?

_____

Were there different dates for different grades?_____

_____

Were transfer forms easily available? Describe how transfer forms are secured and note whether there have been any problems._____

_____

_____

Was the transfer period held before the plan was approved by Washington?_____If so, was an additional transfer period scheduled?_____

HOW MANY NEGRO PUPILS APPLIED TO ENROLL IN FORMERLY ALL-WHITE SCHOOLS?_____

HOW MANY NEGRO PUPILS HAVE BEEN ASSIGNED TO FORMERLY ALL-WHITE SCHOOLS?_____

If possible, give number assigned to each desegregated grade_____

_____

In addition to the pupils assigned to the grades desegregated in the plan, were others assigned who had requested transfer to get special courses not available in the segregated schools?_____

WERE ANY WHITE PUPILS ASSIGNED TO FORMERLY ALL-NEGRO SCHOOLS?_____

WHAT ABOUT STUDENTS WHO APPLIED BUT WERE REJECTED:

What were the reasons given? (If possible attach a copy of a rejection letter.) _____

_____

Were they given another opportunity to choose a desegregated school?_____

Were they given a hearing by school officials?_____

HAVE ANY NEGRO TEACHERS LOST JOBS BECAUSE OF DESEGREGATION?_____

_____

HAS THERE BEEN ANY INTIMIDATION OR REPRISALS AGAINST NEGROES WHO SEEK A DESEGREGATED EDUCATION? Describe. Note particularly whether any teachers or other school board staff have tried to persuade Negroes not to attend formerly all-white schools. _____

_____

_____

_____

DO YOU KNOW OF EFFORTS ON THE PART OF LOCAL OFFICIALS TO PREPARE THE COMMUNITY FOR DESEGREGATION? _____

_____

DATE OF THE OPENING OF SCHOOL FOR THE 1965-1966 TERM _____

DO YOU ANTICIPATE ANY TROUBLE WHEN SCHOOLS OPEN? _____

_____

IS THERE A GROUP IN THE COMMUNITY WHICH HAS BEEN WORKING TO PROMOTE SCHOOL DESEGREGATION? Please give us the name of this group and the address of the key contact person. _____

_____

ARE THERE WHITE CITIZENS WHO ARE WORKING TO PROMOTE PEACEFUL SCHOOL DESEGREGATION? _____

HAVE CONCERNED CITIZENS WRITTEN TO THE U.S. COMMISSIONER OF EDUCATION IN WASHINGTON TO GIVE HIM THEIR VIEWS OF THE SCHOOL DESEGREGATION PLAN?

_____

HAS THE COMMUNITY BEEN VISITED BY REPRESENTATIVES OF ANY FEDERAL AGENCIES CONCERNED ABOUT SCHOOL DESEGREGATION DEVELOPMENTS: Community Relations Service, Office of Education, Department of Justice, etc.?

_____

_____

COMMENTS. We will welcome information about how citizens feel about the implementation of the desegregation plan.

DATE _____

Please give us your name and address so that we may keep in touch with you. Your name will not be used without your permission.

400 pamphlets to: Sent - May 17

Mr. B. Brooks
103 Cook St.
Enterprise, Alabama -

special handling
parcel post

Packets
100 ~~Pamphlets~~ to
N.C. Council -

about 250
~~300~~
Packets to
Ark. Council -

Tennessee - 27 packets, 17 communities + 250 packets for use at Fisk

Athens - 1
Bolivar - 1
Chattanooga - 11
Cleveland - 1
Cookeville - 1

Franklin - 1

Greeneville - 1

Kingsport - 1
Knoxville - 111

Martin - 1
Maryville - 11

Memphis - ~~1111~~

Nashville - 1 + 250 complete packets for use at Fisk.

Oak Ridge - 111

Somerville - 1

Stewart - 1

Tennessee Ridge - 1

130
packets to
NSA
for Seminar
and
Civil Rights
Workshop
NSA
at Congress

CWC

Florida - 22 packets
19 communities

Carol City - 1
Cocoa Beach - 1
Clearwater - 11
Daytona Bch - 1
DeLand — 1
Gainesville - 1

Ft. Myers - 1
Ft. Laud. - 1
Ft. Pierce - 1

Jacksonville - 111
Melbourne - 1
Miami — 1

Orlando - 1
Ocala - 1
Panama City - 1
Palm Bch - 1
St. Petersburg - 1
Tampa - 1

Winter Park - 1

1 packet

Mr. John Seiler
637 C Street - sent
Wash 2 DC

200 packets for NCCIJ Wed - conference

~~sent~~

Citizens for Human Dignity
1127 Natchez Street
Franklin, Tennessee
c/o Walter J. Rucker

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

Allow me to thank you for the materal received from your committee. I am chairman of the Williamson County Citizens for Human Dignity, and our summer project is School Desegreation in this County therefore, your material was timely and greatly helpful in this project.

This Organization is in the process of contacting Negro parents in hopees of encreasing the enrollment of transfees to the recently intergreated school system. We feel that the pamphlet " A Message to Parents " will be helpful to this endeavor, therefore we would like to request that you sent us copies of this pamphlet for neighborhood distribution.

This Organization appreciate the work of your Committee and pray that your work will be as successful as we are hoping that the Williamson County Citizens for Human Dignity's undertaking becomes a reality.

Done

Your truly,
Williamson County Citizens for
Human Dignity

Walter J. Rucker
Chairman

~~20~~

25 kits Dr. Dan Beittel
Fordice Station
Box 4325
Jax Miss 39216

30 kits Trailways Bus -

2
leaves Noon 12:10 -

PA - 1 11:30 - 9:45

50 more sent
July 2

10 Packets
Alabama Cott R

Otis Cochran

50 - Message to Parents

100 - Applicatn -

Sent 8/13

1,000

Message to Parents

Mr + Mrs Edwin Meyer
c/o Delta Ministry
522 Mobile St
Hattiesburg -

TRAILWAYS
Express 7:45
6:30

Today

Sent 8/13

150 Sample forms

150 pamphlets

12 instructions to friendly visitors

Mrs Jennie L Vaughn
22 E - 7th St
Summerville -

Send questionnaire after
a couple of days.

8-6

Packet sent Aug. 5

Mr. Jerry Roden
513 Moore's Mill Road
Auburn, Alabama

Dr. Ralph Hewitt Lee
Post Office Box 255
Normal, Alabama

Rev. John W. B. Thompson
415 Ridge Road
Mobile, Alabama

Mr. Franklyn W. Taylor
1013 Carter Hill Road
Montgomery, Alabama

Mr. Stanley Rosenbaum
117 Riverview Drive
Florence, Alabama

Mr. Gordon DeCoudres
205 Old Rockford Road
Sylacauga, Alabama

Dr. Raymond Fowler
Post Office Box 6142
University, Alabama

Reverend J. L. Nutt
Post Office Box 1
Enterprise, Alabama

Mr. Don Ring
1301 First Street, S. W.
Decatur, Alabama

Rev. Walter Ellwanger
609 Lauderdale
Selma, Alabama

Rev. Maurice L. Steinberg
Post Office Box 2308
East Gadsden, Alabama

Rev. C. Herbert Oliver
416 Tenth Avenue, West
Birmingham, Alabama

1st

Done 5/19
Sent

To receive school deseg. packets

Mr. Louis Schneider
AFSC
160 North Fifteenth St.
Philadelphia 2, Pa.

Mrs. Barbara Moffett
same address

Miss Jean Fairfax
same address

Miss Nancy Adams
100 Madison
Farmville, Virginia

Mr. Clude Shotts
AFSC
1818 South Main St.
High Point, N. C.

Mr. Charles Davis
AFSC
1818 South Main St.
High Point, N. C.

Mr. Richard Ramsay
AFSC
1818 South Main St.
High Point, N. C.

Mr. Noyes Collinson
AFSC
41 Exchange Place, SE
Atlanta, Ga.

Mrs. Marie Carl
AFSC
41 Exchange Place, SE
Atlanta, Ga.

Miss Garnet Guild
AFSC
4417 Crawford St.
Houston, Texas 77004

Mr. Ezra Young
as above

Esther B. Payne
as above

Mr. Wade Mackie
~~1608~~ AFSC
1608 Government St.
Baton Rouge, La. 70802

Dr. Daniel Beittel
P.O. Box 4325, Fondren Station
Jackson, Mississippi 39216

Rev. Charles Hamilton
1224 Gwinnett
Augusta, Ga.

Miss Prathia Hall
c/o SNCC
8½ Raymond St.
Atlanta, Georgia

Mrs. Eva Clayton
1510 Fayetteville St.
Durham, N.C.

Rev. B. B. Zelder
706 East Cumberland St.
Dunn, N.C.

Mr. Wil Hartzler
AFSC
1818 S. Main St.
High Point, N.C.

Mr. Joe Tucker
NAACP
859½ Hunter St.
Atlanta, Ga.

20

Ruth Hughes (PA address)

21 packets
NO label

Done
Sent

questionn ~~[illegible]~~ Fav. typed

Labels ~~not~~ made
Sent - ✓

NAMES OF PERSONS TO WHOM PACKETS OF SRC MATERIALS ON SCHOOL DESEGREGATION SHOULD GO TO.

Miss Georgia Farnsworth
326 Davis Street
Greeneville, Tenn.

Miss Juliet A. Smith
223 Bates Street, N. E.
Cleveland, Tenn.

Mr. Harper Johnson
Cook High School
Athens, Tennessee

Rev. John Price
St. Mark's Methodist Church
Kingsport, Tennessee

Rev. Dogan Williams
427 Scott Street
Bristol, Virginia

Rev. W. T. Byrd
1810 Oak Street
Chattanooga, Tenessee

~~Dr. M. J. Jones~~
no ~~3709 Rogers Road~~
~~Chattanooga~~

Mr. George W. Brown,
Route #1
Stewart, Tennessee

Rev. Robert Helm
Route #1
Cookeville, Tennessee

* Mr. ~~Wallace~~ WALTER Rucker
1127 Natchez Street
Franklin, Tennessee

Mr. & Mrs. King Baker
Route #1
Tennessee Ridge, Tennessee

c/o Mrs. Bernice Miller → HERB KELSEY *
128 Malone Street,
Bolivar, Tennessee

Mr. & Mrs. John McFerrin
Route #4, Box 133-A
Somerville, Tennessee

Mr. Robert Coveyou
104 Stanton Lane
Oak Ridge, Tenn.

Dr. Arthur Graham
1040 Oak Lane
Oak Ridge, Tenn.

Mrs. A. B. Meservey
105 Gargas Lane
Oak Ridge, Tenn.

Rev. J. M. Lawson, Jr.
653 Alston Avenue
Memphis, Tenn.

Mrs. Walter Bishop
102 Lake Forrest Road, West
Knoxville, Tenn.

Mr. J. R. Rutter
no ~~3512 Plumwood Road, NW~~
Knoxville, Tenn.

Mrs. Harold Luper
no ~~7006 Downing Drive, NW~~
Knoxville, Tenn.

NASHVILLE ?
19

* personal request letters

	Packets	Communities	Quantity orders of portions of packets
Southern states:			
ALABAMA	12	8	400 Message to Par., Enterprise, Ala.
ARKANSAS	255*	2*	ACHR: at least 800 of various pieces
FLORIDA	22	19	
GEORGIA	261	138	Athens: 422 of various pieces Savannah: 300 Message to parents
LOUISIANA	8	5	
MISSISSIPPI	6	6	
NORTH CAROLINA	105**	5**	
SOUTH CAROLINA	176	74	
TENNESSEE	27	17	
TEXAS	11	2	
VIRGINIA	7	5	VCHR: 3,000 Message to Parents
TOTAL TO INDIVIDUALS IN SOUTHERN STATES :	890	281	
Other:			
Conferences and sources outside South (Breakdown attached)	456		
Southern Interagency Conference	50		
State Councils on HR	11		
AFSC Staff	20		
TOTAL PACKETS SENT:	1,427		

*250 of these to Arkansas Council for distribution in various communities.
**100 of these to North Carolina Council for distribution in various communities.

CONFERENCES:

Nashville: Fisk University Race Relations Conf. and workshops	250
NSA Seminar and Workshop at NSA Congress	130

OUTSIDE SOUTH:

Brooklyn	1
Washington - Bd. of Xian Social Concerns, Methodist Ch.	1
Chicago - National Catholic Conf. for Intercl. Justice	1
Lexington, Ky., Comm. on Human Relations	4
National Board, YWCA, New York	4
Ft. Collins, Colo. - United Campus Xian Fellowship	2
Detroit Commission on Human Relations	3
New York - Jewish Labor Committee	3
Elgin, Illinois - General Brotherhood Board	1
Washington, D.C. - National Urban League	12
Tulsa, Oklahoma Community Relations Commission	1
East Lansing, Mich., Dept. of Soc. Sci., Michigan State	1
Phoenix, Ariz.	1
Phila., Pa. - AFSC staff	3
Valparaiso, Ind. - Lutheran Church	2
Washington, D.C. - Lutheran Church	1
Youngstown, Ohio - Central Xian Church	1
Washington, D.C. - Office of Education	14
New York, YWCA	20

Tom Keene, Temp. Chair.
6430 Glenrosa West
Phoenix, Ariz. 85033

Hazel Jefferson
Box 339 Jeanes Hall
Gambling, La. 71245

Mr. J. Harvey Kerns, Ex. Dir.
Urban League of Greater New Orleans
1821 Orleans Ave.
New Orleans, La. 70116

Mr. Wade Mackie
American Friends Ser. Comm.
1608 Goverment St.
Baton Rouge, La. 70802

Miss Judith C. Nusbaum
CORE Southern Off. Res. Program
2209 Dryades, St.
New Orleans, La. 70113

Mrs. Julia B. Purnell
2772 79th Ave.
Baton Rouge, La. 70807

John P. Sisson, Dir.
1046 Baronne St., Suite 2
New Orleans, La. 70113

Dr. Richard W. Taylor
1908 Grande Ave S.E.
Cedar Rapids, La. 52403

Fr. William J. Kelley, S.V.D.
Divine Word Sem
St. Augustine's
Bay St. Louis, Miss. 39520

Mrs. Mildred Casey
Rt. 2 Box 110
Vicksburg, Miss. 39180

Rev. Joel P. Easterling
P.O. Box 333
Meadville, Miss. 39653

Aaron E. Henry
213 4th St.
Clarksdale, Miss. 38614

Hartman Turnbow
Rt. 2 Box 25
Tehula, Miss. 39169

Catholic Inter. Council of Ft. Smith
Sta. "A" P.O. Box 1014
Ft. Smith, Ark. 72903

Mrs. G.J. Hunter
Urban League of Gr. Little Rock
914 Gains St.
Little Rock, Ark. 72202

W. T. Kelly
5423 Maryland Ave.
Little Rock Arkansas 72204

Rhodes Thompson, Jr
4724 Hillcrest Ave.
Little Rock, Arkansas 72205

Miss Jacklyn Wilkes
41 Exchange Pl. S.E.
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

Rev. Clifton G. Hoffman
1145 Peachtree St., N.E. Rm. 430
Atlanta, Georgia 30309

Miss Florence C. Harris
226 Maxwell St.
Decatur, Ga. 30030

Mr. Norris Collinson
American Friends Service Comm.
41 Exchange Pl., S. E.
Atlanta, Georgia. 30303

Mrs. Lois Maynaird
Box 501
Mount Berry, Ga. 30149

Rev. John F. Coffus
P.O. Box 176
Jesup, Ga. 31545

Mrs. A.A. Ohmsen
1874 Kingston Ave. Apt. 1
Norfolk, Va. 23503

Mr. Ephraim Spivek
Jewish Comm. Council
P.O. Box 11341
Norfolk, Va. 23517

Mrs. James B. Cephas
Roosevelt Ave.
Colonial Heights, Va. 23806

Isabella Fey
138 Glen Echo Dr.
Norfolk, Va. 23505

Rev. Walter Royal Jones, Jr.
Thomas Jefferson Memeorial Unit. Church
Rugy Rd. at Edgewood La.
Charlottesville, Va. 22903

Mrs. Mary P. Williams, Pres.
City Unit N.C.T.A.
Route 1 Box 226
Whiteville, North Carolina 28472

Mr. & Mrs. Harold Walters
714 Greenwood Rd.
Chapel Hill, N.C.

Mrs. John R. Taylor
Lakewood, Rt. 1
McLeansville, N. Car. 27301

Mrs. E.N. Halmi
411 Orangeview Ave.
Clearwater, Fla. 33515

Mr. Robert I. Marcus
Jewish Community Council
3731 Hendricks Ave.
Jacksonville, Fla. 32207

Mrs. Hettie L. Mills
2025 Myrtle Ave.
Jacksonville, 32209 Fla.

Serena Nanda
Miami-Dade Junior Coll.
11380 N.W. 27th Ave Miami, Fla. 33167

Mr. Jerome Bornstein
Cent. Fla Jewish Comm. Council
P.O. Box 976
Orlando, Fla. 32802

Dr. Katherine Schaeffer
403 Parker Avenue
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama 36088

John C. Payne
1100 Myrtlewood Drive
Tuscaloosa Alabama 35401

Mrs. Cora L. Conwell
1525 9th Ave.
Bessemer, Ala., 35020

Mrs. Zettie C. Billingsley
1711 18th St. Ensley
Birmingham 8, Ala. 35218

Miss Sandra Chittick
310 New Dorm, Maryville College
Maryville, Tenn. 37801

Catholic Human Rel. Council
Miss Margaret Dichtel, Pres.
893 Oakmont Pl.
Memphis, Tenn. 38107

Mr. J.A. McDaniel, Ex. Dir.
Memphis Urban League
546 Beale Ave.
Memphis, Tenn. 38103

Miss Maggie L. McDowell
Dir. Southern Reg. Sigma Theta
1814 Marjorie St.
Memphis, Tenn 38106

Miss Jacqueline Montgomery
Pearsons Hall, Maryville College
Maryville, Tenn. 37801

Richard Poehlein
Box 392, U.T.M.B.
Martin, Tenn. 38237
Univ. of Tenn. Martin Branch

Cliff Tuck
2176 Ravenden Dr.
Memphis, Tenn 38116

Dr. Matthew Walker
Hubbard Hospital
Meharry Medical College
Nashville, Tenn.

MEMORANDUM
February 21, 1963
Re New York Trip on February 6 and 7
W. A. Branton

While in New York for the primary purpose of visiting the officials of the Ford Foundation I had an opportunity to talk with Martin King regarding SCLC's voter project and also with Dr. John Morsell regarding NAACP's participation. Separate memoranda have been written regarding both of these matters.

On February 7, I paid a surprise visit to the CORE office where I talked with Richard Haley and Marvin Rich. James Farmer phoned the office while I was there and told me that he would be coming in soon if I could arrange to wait around but I told him that I did not think that I would be there that long. Most of my time was spent in talking with Marvin Rich and we discussed in considerable CORE"s activities in the 6th Congressional District of Louisiana, Miami, Florida and South Carolina. We also discussed the rather large number of complaints regarding discrimination by the registrar in the rural Louisiana parishes. These complaints are prepared in writing by CORE field secretaries and a copy of each complaint is filed with the Civil Rights Division of the Justice Department.

I checked on CORE's VEP bank balance and found that they had better than $2000 remaining in their bank account and that this amount might fall a little short of seeing them through the end of the March 31 fiscal year for VEP. I told Marvin that it might be possible if CORE fell short for VEP to make a small supllmental grant to tide them over for the balance of the fiscal year if it became necessary.

I phoned Dr. Morsell from the CORE office and went from CORE to NAACP (see separate memo). Upon leaving the CORE office I decided to go over to the office of the American Heritage Foundation which was just two blocks away. I was familiar to some extent with the program of the American Heritage Foundation and I had noticed that many of their materials on voter registration had been mentioned in reports or turned in with reports from various participating agencies in the VEP program.

4 - American Heritage Foundation

I talked with Mrs. _____ who explained XXXX the program of the American Heritage Foundation abd who gave me several samples of materials put out by AHF together with a list of all materials available from AHF. I had the Voter Education Project placed on the regular mailing list so that we can receive copies of any materials subsequently put out by AHF.

WAB:jl

May 26, 1964

Mr. Thomas D'Arcy Brophy
President
The American Heritage Foundation
11 West Forty-Second Street
New York 36, New York

Dear Mr. Brophy:

I will be pleased to attend the luncheon and news conference which will be sponsored by the American Heritage Foundation and the Advertising Council in Washington at the Hotel Statler at 11 a. m. on Tuesday, June 16 in support of the 1964 National Non-Partisan "Register and Vote" program.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:js

Amer. Heritage Found.
Tribute

MAY 23 1964 46

THE AMERICAN HERITAGE FOUNDATION

11 WEST FORTY-SECOND STREET, NEW YORK 36, N. Y. • BRYANT 9-4355

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EDWIN L. WEISL, *Secretary*
GEORGE C. TEXTOR, *Treasurer*

May 20, 1964

Mr. Wiley A. Branton, Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street, N.W., Room 206
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Branton:

John M. Bailey, Democratic National Chairman, and William E. Miller, Republican National Chairman, join with The American Heritage Foundation and The Advertising Council in inviting you to attend a luncheon and news conference in Washington at the Hotel Statler, Tuesday, June 16.

The news conference at 11 AM will feature a preview of the plans and campaign materials prepared by The Advertising Council and The American Heritage Foundation in support of the 1964 National Non-Partisan "Register and Vote" Program.

Following the news conference there will be a luncheon at which you, and the heads of other key national membership organizations who have contributed so effectively to past efforts in this field, will be appropriately honored.

We hope you will make every effort to attend, but if that should not be possible, we invite you to send a representative.

May we hear from you at your earliest convenience?

Sincerely,

Thomas D'A. Brophy

Thomas D'Arcy Brophy
President

OTHER TRUSTEES: *Hugh M. Alcorn • R. Alexander Anderson • Jervis J. Babb • Walter K. Bailey • William J. Barrett • James B. Black • Jacob Blaustein • Anthony A. Bliss Harold Boeschenstein • Fred Bohen • Ernest R. Breech • Thomas D'A. Brophy • George Garvin Brown • Ralph J. Bunche • Leo Burnett • John L. Burns • Paul M. Butler Mark W. Clark • Albert L. Cole • Harold W. Comfort • John C. Cornelius • K. R. Cravens • Henry Crown • Justin Dart • Donald K. David • J. Doyle DeWitt • Robert W. Dowling Byron K. Elliott • Charles W. Engelhard • James A. Farley • Leonard K. Firestone • William C. Ford • William C. Foster • George Gallup • Bruce Gould • Philip L. Graham Lester B. Granger • Albert M. Greenfield • Alfred M. Gruenther • J. C. Hall • George W. Healy, Jr. • Henry J. Heinz, II • Andrew Heiskell • Eric Johnston • Robert T. Jones, Jr. F. R. Kappel • Irving R. Kaufman • Chas. H. Kellstadt • Arthur B. Langlie • Robert Lehman • Henry R. Luce • Robert E. MacNeal • E. S. Marsh • Henry P. Martin Timothy A. McInerny • W. L. McKnight • Cecil Morgan • Howard Morgens • Teodoro Moscoso • Louis A. Novins • Irving S. Olds • Mrs. E. Lee Ozbirn • Frank Pace, Jr. Mrs. Robert P. Patterson • A. E. Perlman • Mrs. Robert J. Phillips • Gordon W. Reed • Walter P. Reuther • James D. Robinson, Jr. • William E. Robinson • George Romney Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt • Mrs. Anna M. Rosenberg • D. Gordon Rupe • Edward L. Ryerson • Paul R. Scott • McGregor Smith • Walter Bedell Smith • Frank Stanton Adlai E. Stevenson • Arthur C. Swanson • Francis J. Trecker • DeWitt Wallace • John Hay Whitney • Frazar B. Wilde • Robert E. Wilson • J. D. Zellerbach*

June 16, 1964

NON-PARTISAN "REGISTER AND VOTE" MATERIALS

The price list, in various quantities, of the materials in this kit will be mailed to all the participants of this conference.

The American Heritage Foundation
11 West 42nd Street
New York, N. Y. 10036

news release

FROM THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE PUBLICITY DIVISION 1730 K STREET, N.W. WASHINGTON 6, D.C. FEDERAL 3-8750

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE - Tuesday, June 16, 1964 B-3554

REMARKS OF CHAIRMAN JOHN M. BAILEY AT AMERICAN HERITAGE NON-PARTISAN REGISTER AND VOTE CAMPAIGN PRESS CONFERENCE, TUESDAY, JUNE 16, 1964, STATLER HOTEL, WASHINGTON, D. C.

I want to give my sincere thanks to the American Heritage Foundation, the Advertising Council, the Grey Advertising Agency, and to the Nestle Company, for their contributions to this fine campaign we will see unveiled later to get Americans to register and vote in 1964.

From what I have heard, this will be the most effective campaign yet mounted to bring out a record registration and a record vote.

And I understand that the 100-plus membership organizations of the American Heritage Foundation are doing more than ever this year to support the campaign. I salute them and thank them.

We are grateful for this strong non-partisan media campaign to encourage Americans to register and vote. It makes our job easier.

But we are aware that even strong and effective media support is not all that is needed to get our people to the registration office and to the polling booth. And I am sure that my Republican colleague, Chairman Miller, has had the same experience.

So at the risk of giving away secrets to our opposition, I want to tell you that we in the Democratic Party are going to back up this campaign with an aggressive program of our own. It is called "4 for '64" and it will recruit Democrats who will work on registration and getting out the vote for four hours each week from now until election day. We are conducting a national program to recruit and train these workers.

It would be foolish for me to tell you that either party is trying to register voters for the opposition party. But I can assure you that my party welcomes any effort to encourage eligible Americans to register and vote. We want the decision reached next November to be rendered by a majority and we are confident that our cause will be helped by a broadened electorate.

So, once again, my thanks for this campaign. We shall do our part to back it up.

##########

ORGANIZATIONS ATTENDING "KICK-OFF MEETING" OF
1964 NATIONAL NON-PARTISAN "REGISTER AND VOTE" CAMPAIGN

Hotel Statler -- Washington, D.C.
June 16, 1964

ADULT EDUCATION ASSOCIATION OF USA
Dr. Arthur P. Crabtree

ADVERTISING COUNCIL, INC.
Theodore S. Repplier
Allan M. Wilson
Maxwell Fox
Gordon C. Kinney
Miss Eleanor Sullivan

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF INDUSTRIAL EDITORS
Richard Shahan

AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION
Francis W. Hill

AMERICAN COUNCIL FOR NATIONALITIES SERVICE
Read Lewis

AMERICAN DENTAL ASSOCIATION
Hal Christensen

AMERICAN FARM BUREAU FEDERATION
John Datt

AFL-CIO
Roy L. Reuther

AMERICAN HERITAGE FOUNDATION
Louis A. Novins
Thomas D'Arcy Brophy
Brendan Byrne
Mrs. Miriam Benham
Mrs. A. J. Broder

AMERICAN HOSPITAL ASSOCIATION
Kenneth Williamson

AMERICAN HOTEL & MOTEL ASSOCIATION
Albert L. McDermott

AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
Roy H. Millenson

AMERICAN LEGION
Daniel F. Foley

AMERICAN LIBRARY ASSOCIATION
Miss Germaine Krettek

AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION
Richard Philleo

AMERICAN VETERANS OF WORLD WAR II & KOREA
Edmund M. Gulewicz
Don Spagnolo
John Dagenais

AMERICAN WOMEN'S VOLUNTARY SERVICES, INC.
Mrs. W. Preston Mason

ASSOCIATION OF AMERICAN RAILROADS
Gregory S. Prince

ASSOCIATION ON AMERICAN INDIAN AFFAIRS
William Byler

B'NAI B'RITH
Raynard I. Jameson

B'NAI B'RITH WOMEN
Mrs. Leonard M. Sims

BOYS' CLUBS OF AMERICA
Edward J. Stapleton

BROTHERHOOD OF LOCOMOTIVE ENGINEERS
J. W. Turner

BROTHERHOOD OF LOCOMOTIVE FIREMEN & ENGINEMEN
C. L. Caldwell

CAMP FIRE GIRLS, INC.
Miss Elizabeth McStea

CATHOLIC WAR VETERANS OF THE USA
Rosario Scibilia

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OF THE U.S.
Walter Petravage

CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER-day SAINTS
Milan D. Smith

COOPERATIVE LEAGUE OF THE USA
Dwight D. Townsend

DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE
James W. Platt
Stephen S. Jackson
Harold Hayes

Amer Heritage Found. D.C. white

DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE
John M. Bailey
Samuel C. Brightman
Louis Martin
Mrs. Margaret Price
Charles Roche
Mrs. Mary Francis Sweeney
Miss Muriel Hart

FRATERNAL ORDER OF EAGLES
Charles McCann

FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION, INC.
C. Dale Fuller

FUTURE FARMERS OF AMERICA
Wm. Paul Gray

FUTURE HOMEMAKERS OF AMERICA
Miss Mildred Reel

GENERAL FEDERATION OF WOMEN'S CLUBS
Mrs. William H. Hasebroock

GIRLS CLUBS OF AMERICA, INC.
Miss Frances Mason

GIRL SCOUTS OF THE U.S.
Mrs. Walter S. Boardman

GREY ADVERTISING, INC.
Lawrence Valenstein
Samuel Dalsimer

INDEPENDENT GROCERS' ALLIANCE
Don R. Grimes

INVESTMENT BANKERS ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA
Erwin W. Boehmler

JEWISH WAR VETERANS OF THE U.S.
Felix M. Putterman

KIWANIS INTERNATIONAL
Chester A. Troy, Sr.

LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF THE U.S.
Mrs. William H. Wood

LOYAL ORDER OF MOOSE
John C. Meikle

MOTION PICTURE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA
Kenneth Clark

NATIONAL ASSN. OF EDUCATIONAL BROADCASTERS
Harold E. Hill

NATIONAL ASSN. OF INSURANCE AGENTS
Mrs. Bruce H. Hamill

NATIONAL ASSN. OF LIFE UNDERWRITERS
John Z. Schneider
C. Carney Smith

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MANUFACTURERS
Robert Buehler

NATIONAL ASSN. SECRETARIES OF STATE
Judge John P. Lomenzo

NATIONAL AUTOMOBILE DEALERS ASSOCIATION
Walter M. Kiplinger

NATIONAL CATHOLIC WELFARE CONFERENCE
Msgr. Francis Hurley

NATIONAL CENTER FOR EDUCATION IN POLITICS
Dr. Bernard C. Hennessy

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHRISTIANS & JEWS
Tobe Acker

NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON CITIZENSHIP
Judge Carl B. Hyatt

NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR THE SOCIAL STUDIES
Dr. Merrill F. Hartshorn

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CATHOLIC MEN
Donald A. Farrell

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CATHOLIC WOMEN
Mrs. Joseph McCarthy

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST
Dr. Vernon Ferwerda

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF JEWISH WOMEN, INC.
Mrs. Olya Margolin

NATIONAL COUNCIL, PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH
Carroll Greene, Jr.

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Mrs. Lucille Ellison

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"REGISTER AND VOTE" MEETING

Hotel Statler - Washington, D.C.

June 16, 1964

11 AM Press Conference

Thomas D'Arcy Brophy	President, The American Heritage Foundation
Theodore S. Repplier	President, The Advertising Council
John M. Bailey	Chairman, Democratic National Committee
William E. Miller	Chairman, Republican National Committee
Samuel Dalsimer	Vice Chairman, Grey Advertising, Inc.
Robert C. Shropshire	Vice President-Marketing, The Nestle Company, Inc.

12:30 PM Reception

1:00 PM Luncheon

Speaker: Dr. Angus Campbell, Director
Survey Research Center,
University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, Michigan

Author of "The American Voter"

Republican National Committee

1625 EYE STREET, NORTHWEST WASHINGTON 6, D.C. NAtional 8-6800

NEWS

TUESDAY 11 A.M. FOR RELEASE
JUNE 16, 1964

STATEMENT BY REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CHAIRMAN
WILLIAM E. MILLER ON AMERICAN HERITAGE
FOUNDATION'S REGISTER AND VOTE DRIVE

This is an election year when our country desperately needs the prudent judgment of informed voters to set the American record straight in areas where in the past few years we have performed as a confused rather than a proud and confident nation.

The questions to be decided are many and varied. They are questions of integrity in government, of responsible fiscal management, declining American prestige and the mounting loss of American lives in a war that is not even in the vicinity of a satisfactory solution.

I have great faith in the common sense of the informed voter. And I hope that he and his millions of counterparts, and the women of our land, will recognize how important they are to the future of the United States.

I find it heart-warming that this function today is dedicated to good citizenship which in this case means register and vote. I applaud the efforts of the American Heritage Foundation, the Advertising Council and the 100 or more membership organizations who collectively are planning and manning this non-partisan drive for a commendable performance at the polls in November.

The Foundation's pamphlet which is a guide to the conduct of the campaign, is an easily understood and balanced document combining as it does the first two phases -- register and vote. I am particularly pleased to see that a third dimension has been added. This states that your registration and get-out-the-vote drive can be negated if the tallying of votes is inaccurate.

I also want to congratulate the Foundation and its associates on the highly constructive approach used in drafting an overall theme for this presentation.

I don't see how anyone can fail to get the message in these three succinct lines: Vote ... and the choice is yours -- Don't vote ... and the choice is theirs -- Register ...or you have no choice.

I am sure the results of this appeal will more than repay the backers of the movement for the time and thought they have so unselfishly contributed.

THE AMERICAN HERITAGE FOUNDATION

11 WEST FORTY-SECOND STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10036 • BRYANT 9-4355

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BRENDAN BYRNE, *Executive Director*

July 1, 1964

Mr. Wiley A. Branton, Project Director
Voter Education Project
The Southern Regional Council
Room 206, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

JUL 6 1964

Dear Mr. Branton:

Thank you very much for helping to make the June 16 meeting in Washington, D.C. a successful "kick-off" of our 1964 National Non-Partisan "Register and Vote" campaign. Thought you'd like to see a few of the many newspaper stories on the meeting that have come to our attention.

Effective though the meeting was in launching the campaign, the real success of the entire program now depends on your continued help and follow-through. The first step is to alert your state and local units, involving them in both the registration and voting phases of the campaign; and urging them to make the widest possible use of the new campaign materials. (List enclosed)

It is also important that you get your local units to take a leading part with other cooperating groups in organizing and conducting non-partisan community-wide "Register and Vote" drives, as outlined in the enclosed register and vote booklet.

We earnestly hope that in addition to supporting the overall "Register and Vote" program, your organization will undertake a special project custom-tailored to your own particular membership. For example, the YMCA is sponsoring discussion groups on election issues; other groups are mailing the enclosed "Your Vote" leaflet to members. We'd like to sit down with you soon and explore the possibilities of developing such a project of your own.

We'd appreciate your keeping us posted on your progress so that we may give public recognition to your accomplishments through the national media supporting the program.

Again, thanks for all your help.

Sincerely yours,

Brendan Byrne

Brendan Byrne
Executive Director

File
Am. Heritage Foundation

Enclosures

OTHER TRUSTEES: *William J. Barrett • Kenneth W. Bilby • James B. Black • Jacob Blaustein • Harold Boeschenstein • Fred Boben • George Garvin Brown • Ralph J. Bunche • Leo Burnett • John L. Burns • Mark W. Clark • Albert L. Cole • Harold W. Comfort • John C. Cornelius • Kenton R. Cravens • Henry Crown • Justin Dart • Donald K. David • Robert W. Dowling • Byron K. Elliott • T. M. Evans • James A. Farley • Leonard K. Firestone • William C. Ford • George Gallup • Albert M. Greenfield • Alfred M. Gruenther • J. C. Hall • Mrs. William H. Hasebroock • George W. Healy, Jr. • Henry J. Heinz, II • Andrew Heiskell • Mrs. Anna Rosenberg Hoffman • F. R. Kappel • Irving R. Kaufman • Charles H. Kellstadt • Robert Lehman • Mrs. Oswald B. Lord • Henry R. Luce • Timothy A. McInerny • W. L. McKnight • E. S. Marsh • Cecil Morgan • George A. Murphy • Frank Pace, Jr. • Mrs. Robert P. Patterson • Gordon W. Reed • Walter P. Reuther • George Romney • David Sarnoff • Paul R. Scott • McGregor Smith • Frank Stanton • Adlai E. Stevenson • Mrs. Robert J. Stuart • Arthur C. Swanson • Francis J. Trecker • David C. Verson • Robert C. Weaver • John Hay Whitney • Robert E. Wilson*

THE SUN
Baltimore, Md.

June 17,1964

Ways Sought To Register 40,000,000 Who Never Vote

By MURIEL DOBBIN
[*Washington Bureau of The Sun*]

Washington, June 16 — Two political leaders who usually spend their time thinking up ways to persuade the public to vote Republican or Democratic today took an hour off to worry about the millions of Americans who don't vote at all.

A nonpartisan conclave to consider how to bring apathetic citizens back into the voters' fold was held appropriately enough in the flag and statue-studded Presidential Ballroom of a Washington hotel.

In attendance were John M. Bailey, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, and William E. Miller, chairman of the Republican National Committee. They were apparently happy to find themselves for once firmly in agreement, even if only on a proposal that potential voters should be rounded up.

40,000,000 Not Registered

Describing the campaign to attract to the polls those 40,000,000 Americans who are at present not registered to vote, was Thomas D'arcy Brophy, president of the nonpartisan American Heritage Foundation which is organizing the voter hunt.

He was flanked by representatives of American business, which is contributing around $10,000,000 through the Advertising Council in advertising time and space as a public service in support of the campaign.

The three-pronged approach to the problem of reminding citizens of their voting responsibilities was described by Samuel Dalsimer, vice chairman of an advertising firm which has planned "a contemporary and upbeat campaign."

Campaign Keynote

A chart was unrolled to reveal the campaign keynote—"Vote . . . and the choice is yours! Don't vote . . . and the choice is theirs! Register . . . or you have no choice!"

These reminders will appear on posters, in newspapers and in magazines, said Dalsimer, explaining, "You have to catch them on the run because there are so many messages competing for the voter's attention."

The visual campaign will be backed by a radio commercial consisting of the keynote phrases repeated between drumrolls, and by a television commercial showing animated hats and boots heading for polling booths.

Target Defined

The target of the campaign, said Dalsimer, is the 30 per cent of the population which feels that elections have no relevance to their lives and consequently neither register nor vote.

A vital segment of this group consists of the young citizens between 21 and 29, numbering about 27,000,000, of whom only half exercise their voting rights.

Reasons for this negligence vary, continued the advertising expert, but are chiefly apathy and lack of motivation, and there was no stirring among the apathetic nonvoters during an election year.

Defines Good Citizenship

Bailey admitted that "even strong and effective media support is not all that is needed to get our people to the registration office and to the polling booth." He added coyly that at the risk of giving away secrets to the opposition he wanted to announce that his party would back this campaign with an "aggressive program" called "4 for '64." This will recruit Democrats to work four hours a day for the cause.

Maintaining the non-partisan atmosphere of the proceedings, Miller conceded that "unless voters have a real choice on election day, it weakens both political parties in the performance of their duties."

Good citizenship, he declared, means register and vote. He felt that it was an indictment of the American people that in 1960 a national election affecting not only Americans, but people abroad had been decided by 100,000 votes.

Under questioning, both chairmen agreed that the abolition of "archaic rules about voting privileges" and the remedying of difficulty in reaching places of registration would be of assistance in attracting currently uninterested voters.

It was also mentioned, somewhat cautiously, that women do not vote in proportion to their numbers, compared to men.

"Very Much In Mind"

The campaign organizers indicated that they had this matter "very much in mind" and had enlisted the aid of the League of Women Voters to bring out the female voters.

A final suggestion came from Dr. Angus Campbell, director of the Survey Research Center, Institute for Social Research at the University of Michigan.

Strengthen our major political parties, he recommended in a luncheon speech, pointing out that at present the parties are "characteristically underfinanced and understaffed—in many areas they virtually disappear from one election to the next."

"I do not believe that Democratic man is obsolete," said Dr. Campbell, "his role as a citizen is no doubt more demanding now than it was in the early days of the republic, but he is also better equipped to fill it. A vigorous sense of Democratic citizenship is an essential ingredient of our way of political life."

NEW YORK
JOURNAL AMERICAN

June 19, 1964

Memo No. 1

IT SEEMS a long way to Election Day, Nov. 3, but none too long away for this reminder to you to remind yourselves to register and vote.

In fact, a non-partisan campaign, sponsored by the American Heritage Foundation and the Advertising Council, has already begun.

And with good reason, when you consider that an estimated 30,000,000 eligible Americans failed to vote in 1960. Nearly half of those were young people in the 21 to 29-year-old age group.

Those are not statistics to be proud of. The Advertising Council and the American Heritage Foundation plan to press their campaign in all communications media, and of course we're pitching in here. This is the first of memos that we'll put out from time to time from us to you.

The Washington Post
Times Herald
WEDNESDAY, JUNE 17, 1964

Plans Drawn For National Voter Drive

By Helen Dewar
Staff Reporter

A massive non-partisan effort to entice the Nation's 30 to 40 million non-voters to the polls in November was unveiled yesterday.

Sheathing their partisan swords for the moment, the Republican and Democratic national chairmen united to support the nationwide effort sponsored jointly by the American Heritage Foundation and the Advertising Council.

At a press conference at the Statler Hotel, officials announced that about $10 million of advertising is being donated by American businesses for the drive.

The effort stems from concern that a democratic society is weakened when 30 per cent of its eligible electorate fails to vote.

Miller Comments

"It's really an indictment of the American process that the 1960 election was decided by 100,000 votes when 30 million people failed to register and vote," said Republican National Chairman William E. Miller.

The drive will have a "contemporary, off-beat" theme aimed particularly at the 27 million eligible voters aged 21 to 29, roughly half of whom stayed at home on election day four years ago.

The cornerstone of the campaign — which will be waged by 80 national organizations with a combined membership of roughly 100 million—is the simple slogan:

"Vote . . . and the choice is yours!

"Don't vote . . . and the choice is theirs!

"Register . . . or you have no choice!"

Each Vote Counts

A major target is the false assumption that a single vote doesn't count. "If we get ten more votes in each precinct," said Democratic National Chairman John M. Bailey, "there's no question about who will win in November."

Bailey said the non-partisan drive would lay the foundation for each party's own get-out-the-vote efforts. The Democrats, in a "4 for 64" program, are recruiting volunteers to spend four hours a week on registration and voting between now and November, he said.

Asked which party would benefit most from the campaign, both chairmen said it would be their own. Both also endorsed efforts to simplify the registration process in many states.

Thomas D'Arcy Brophy, president of the American Heritage Foundation, said informing the voters so they can make decisions "with responsibility" was as important as getting them to register and vote.

THE NEW YORK TIMES

June 17, 1964

A DRIVE TO REGISTER 40 MILLION STARTED

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 16 — A nonpartisan drive to get 40 million nonvoting citizens to the polls next Nov. 3 was announced here today by the American Heritage Foundation and the American Advertising Council.

The campaign will be waged primarily through newspaper and magazine advertisements and spot announcements on radio and television. About $10 million worth of advertising space and air time has already been pledged.

In addition, the two major party organizations will mount their own "get out the vote" programs in the hope of securing the largest percentage of eligible voters recorded in any national election.

The plans were disclosed by Thomas D'Arcy Brophy, head of the American Heritage Foundation, at a conference at the Statler Hotel.

John M. Bailey and William E. Miller, chairmen, respectively, of the Democratic and Republican National Committees, also attended. They promised the cooperation of their organizations.

The primary emphasis of the campaign, Mr. Brophy said, will be on getting nonvoters to register.

Vote...
and the choice is yours!

Don't vote...
and the choice is theirs!

Register...
or you have no choice!

Published as a public service in cooperation with The American Heritage Foundation and The Advertising Council

THE AMERICAN HERITAGE FOUNDATION
11 WEST 42nd STREET
NEW YORK 36, N. Y.
Tel: BRyant 9-4355

Executive Director . . BRENDAN BYRNE SEP 3 1964

Hope the enclosed "good citizenship" materials are helpful.

We'd appreciate your keeping us posted on your progress so that we may pass this information on to the many leading magazines, newspapers, etc., supporting this public service program.

The American Heritage Foundation makes awards to organizations, companies and media that do the best job in getting people to register and vote on an informed basis.

To receive consideration, please mail a scrapbook or written report with supporting evidence, postmarked not later than two weeks after Election Day.

Brendan Byrne

Answered 12 Sept 64

REGISTER AND VOTE

YOUR GUIDE ON HOW TO CONDUCT A NON-PARTISAN REGISTER AND VOTE DRIVE IN YOUR COMMUNITY...

THE AMERICAN HERITAGE FOUNDATION
11 WEST 42ND STREET / NEW YORK, N. Y. 10036

THE AMERICAN HERITAGE FOUNDATION

YOUR VOTE

COULD BE THE ONE THAT COUNTS

ONE VOTE DOES COUNT

That's what the record shows. Again and again, a difference of only a few votes has decided local, state and even Presidential elections. When that happens, your vote could be the one that counts.

Your vote, and maybe a few more like yours, could change the course of history. There's a lot of power in a single ballot.

Look at the record...

FOR PRESIDENT

The Presidency of the United States—the most important elective office in the world—has several times been decided by only a hairline margin of votes. A couple of these very close ones took place during the lifetime of most present voters. Do you remember?...

Charles Evans Hughes VS. Woodrow Wilson—1916

Hughes looked like a sure winner on Election night. But when the returns came in from California the next morning, Wilson had carried the state by 3,806 votes out of nearly ONE MILLION cast. That did it...less than ONE vote per precinct in ONE state swung the 1916 Presidential election!

Does every vote count? It certainly did during those fateful early hours on that Wednesday morning in November, 1916.

Harry S. Truman VS. Thomas E. Dewey—1948

Truman carried Ohio by only 7,107 votes out of nearly THREE MILLION cast, and California by only 17,865 votes out of about FOUR MILLION cast—razor thin margins. But those few votes were enough to add 50 electoral votes to Truman's total.

A difference of less than ONE vote per precinct in Ohio and California would have switched these 50 electoral votes to the Dewey column—throwing the decision into the House of Representatives!

Second guessing the election? Sure. But not the importance of each vote.

John F. Kennedy VS. Richard M. Nixon—1960

Kennedy barely topped Nixon with a national plurality of only 112,253 votes out of almost SIXTY-NINE MILLION cast—a margin of less than ONE vote per precinct. About half of one per cent of the votes cast in TWO states (Illinois and New Jersey) swung 43 electoral votes to Kennedy. If that tiny percentage of the vote in those two states had been reversed, it would have been enough to throw the election into the House of Representatives!

That makes two Presidential elections within 12 years that might have been decided by the House of Representatives, doesn't it? Right. A slight change or increase in the total vote of only a couple of states could have shifted the decision from the PEOPLE to the HOUSE in 1948 or 1960.

FOR GOVERNOR

Your Governor runs your state government. Whether it's good or bad, corrupt or honest, depends a great deal on your Governor—and on YOU.

There have been many "photo finish" races for Governor when a few votes made the difference. Here are some examples from ONE year—1962:

Maine. John H. Reed (R) VS. Maynard C. Dolloff (D)

Reed was re-elected by 483 votes out of 293,000 cast—less than ONE vote per precinct.

Minn. Elmer L. Andersen (R) VS. Karl F. Rolvaag (D)

Andersen lost his bid for re-election by only 91 votes out of almost 1,240,000 cast—less than ONE vote for every FORTY-TWO precincts, or about ONE vote per COUNTY.

Rhode Island. John A. Notte, Jr. (D) VS. John H. Chafee (R)

Chafee defeated Governor Notte by 398 votes out of 328,000 cast—less than ONE vote per precinct.

There were other close ones in 1962. But let's reach back to 1839 for a CLASSIC: *Marcus Morton was elected Governor of Massachusetts by ONE VOTE out of 102,066 cast.* That's right—by ONE VOTE!

Well, does one vote really count?

FOR U. S. SENATOR AND CONGRESSMAN

Your Senator and Congressman represent you in Washington. These are mighty important offices—important to your state and district, and to the nation. If you neglect to register, forget to get an absentee ballot, or just stay home on Election Day, don't gripe about anything that Congress does or doesn't do. *YOU are responsible.*

Your vote could be the one that counts in electing a Senator or Congressman. Just look at a few "cliff-hanger" elections that took place in ONE year—1962.

SENATE

Alabama. Lister Hill (D) VS. James Martin (R)

Alabama came within 6,803 votes of electing its first Republican U.S. Senator. 397,071 votes were cast. Hill was re-elected by less than TWO votes per precinct.

Indiana. Homer E. Capehart (R) VS. Birch E. Bayh (D)

Capehart was defeated by 10,944 votes out of about 1,800,000 cast—a difference of about 2½ votes per precinct.

South Dakota. Joe Bottum (R) VS. George S. McGovern (D)

McGovern won by 597 votes out of 254,319 cast—much less than ONE vote per precinct. Just one more vote for Bottum in every THREE precincts would have reversed the result.

CONGRESS

Minn. Robert J. Odegard (R) VS. Alec G. Olson (D-F-L)

Olson won by 348 votes out of 154,272 cast—a difference of about ONE-HALF a vote per precinct.

New York. Hugh L. Carey (D) VS. Francis E. Dorn (R)

Dorn lost by 383 votes out of 110,821 cast—less than TWO votes per precinct.

Va. J. Vaughn Gary (D) VS. Louis H. Williams (R)

Gary won by 348 votes out of 58,067 cast.

John O. Marsh, Jr. (D) VS. J. Kenneth Robinson (R)

Marsh won by 598 votes out of 52,011 cast. Less than 3 votes per precinct would have changed the results in both Virginia elections.

How often does this sort of thing happen? Often enough to prove the power of one precious vote. IT COULD BE YOURS!

FOR LOCAL OFFICE

Your local elected public officials determine the kind of community you and your family live in. Yet the election score cards are filled with tight races when one vote—or just a few votes—have swung local elections.

What is the moral? Simple. Make sure that your local government is what YOU want it to be. Check if you're registered...and then vote.

YOU ARE ELECTED!

Congratulations! You have been elected to an office that millions of people throughout the world would love to hold: *American Citizen*. There's even been a Special Day set aside for you. It's called "Election Day." This is when you—the American Citizen—have the *right* and the *responsibility* to raise your voice.

Your VOTE is your VOICE on Election Day. That's the way you speak up to select those who run YOUR government, fix YOUR taxes, make policies affecting YOUR livelihood, and shape the kind of world in which YOU and YOUR children will live.

Whether it's a close election or a landslide, you'll be heard. The close ones make your elected leaders stop and think. The big pluralities back up what they represent. Either way, remember this on Election Day:

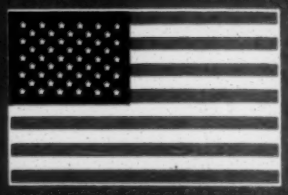
Vote...and the choice is yours!

Don't vote...and the choice is theirs!

Register...or you have no choice!

P.S. SEE YOU AT THE POLLS!

JUST ONE VOTE PER PRECINCT COULD DECIDE THE NEXT ELECTION FOR PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES. IT'S HAPPENED BEFORE



THE AMERICAN HERITAGE FOUNDATION
[illegible]

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PRESIDENT LYNDON B. JOHNSON:

"The ballot box represents an awesome responsibility. But in the Presidential election of 1960, nearly 35 per cent of the nation's eligible voters neglected to go to the polls. We must do better next November. This can be accomplished by a non-partisan effort to simplify complicated voter registration in many states—and by a volunteer effort to inform communities of registration dates and requirements. Finally, it can be accomplished by a massive campaign to get every voter to the polls on election day."

• • •

FORMER PRESIDENT DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER:

"Believing as we do in self-government we make a mockery of our beliefs unless we participate in its processes. To register and vote is the simplest and clearest duty of the citizen. It is shocking that a third of our qualified voters surrender to others their right of determining the composition of their own government. I believe that both parties should take as a fundamental objective that of persuading every citizen to register and vote for the candidates of his choice."

• • •

PRESIDENT'S NON-PARTISAN COMMISSION ON REGISTRATION AND VOTING PARTICIPATION:

"Leadership for such local efforts to improve voter participation has long been provided by the American Heritage Foundation. Through a variety of programs, this organization has stimulated citizen and group interest in public affairs, and has waged a continuing battle against low voter turnout."

• • •

FROM: The American Heritage Foundation
11 West 42nd Street
New York, New York 10036

For further information call:
Henry Toy, Jr.
212-279-4355

LWDV
WDV

For Release October 19, 1964

NEW YORK, N. Y. - Concerned by political apathy among young voters, a group of prominent educators and laymen have formed the Joint Committees on Civic Education to work for up-grading civic education programs in the schools throughout the nation.

A two-year "groundwork" program initially of a size of $1,000,000 has been planned. Financial support in the amount of a $500,000 challenge for the project to get started has come from the Danforth Foundation.

The Joint Committees is a team operation combining leaders in education - individual and institutional - with lay leadership in a coordinated national effort to develop a "breakthrough" program of civic education.

The American Heritage Foundation according to its Chairman Alfred E. Perlman who is president of the New York Central System, "will perform the roles of coordinator, catalyst and sponsor of the combined group known as the Joint Committees on Civic Education." Well known for its sponsorship of the "Freedom Train" in the late Forties and for the "Register and Vote" campaigns it conducts every two years, the nationally recognized, non-partisan, public affairs agency will also play a vital role in interpreting the educational programs to the public.

The creation of the Joint Committees on Civic Education is "heartening evidence of America's concern for the maintenance of a healthy society based on freedom with responsibility," according to Dr. Henry I. Willett, former president

- more -

of the American Association of School Administrators. Willett, in speaking for the Joint Committees, added: "Increasingly in recent years scholars in education have been urging a bold new look at programs in civic education in American Schools." Some of the causes for their concerns cited by Willett are:

"1. Young people in the 21 to 29 age group typically show themselves to be the least politically active age group in the national electorate, despite the fact that each generation has more formal education than its predecessor, according to studies made at the Survey Research Center.

2. From a national point of view, there is a disorganized multiplicity of efforts in civic education, a fragmentary approach to a problem requiring a total attack, and little basic research to guide what has to be done.

3. Pioneering efforts by able teachers have been handicapped by the paucity of adequate instructional materials and the failure of communities to give them support to discuss topics which border on the controversial.

4. Some schools have attempted significant changes in their programs. However, revised programs have not been evaluated adequately."

A Committee for Educational Policies consisting of leaders in relevant disciplines is responsible for program planning and educational policies. It supervises the initial education projects, determines what other committees are needed and decides on the program, policies and personnel for these committees. Members of this important committee include: Dr. Angus Campbell, Director of The Survey Research Center, University of Michigan; Dr. John Hope Franklin, Professor of History, University of Chicago; Merrill Hartshorn, Executive Secretary of the National Council for the Social Studies; Dr. Franklin Patterson, Director of the Lincoln Filene Center, Tufts University; Monsignor James P. Shannon, President, St. Thomas College, St. Paul, Minnesota; Henry Toy, Jr., Educational Consultant and former president of the National Citizens Council for Better Schools; Dr. Henry I. Willett, Superintendent of Schools, Richmond, Virginia; and, Dr. Howard E. Wilson, Dean, School of Education, University of California at Los Angeles.

A Public Advisory Committee, composed of Trustees of The American Heritage Foundation and other outstanding citizens is being organized. Merrill Hartshorn, long associated with efforts to improve the Social Studies, said of this committee: "The lay leadership and know-how the Public Advisory Committee will bring to the job of obtaining public understanding of the educational programs is essential."

Thomas D'Arcy Brophy, president of The American Heritage Foundation pointed specifically to some of the projects already underway.

1. The Lincoln Filene Center will furnish the staff assistance needed by the several committees within the group. Dr. John S. Gibson, Acting Director, and Harvey Pressman of the Center will serve as coordinators. Mr. Brophy emphasized that such cooperation avoided the need for hiring new staff while utilizing strengths already available. The Center, located at Tufts University is the only group of its kind serving the areas of citizenship and public affairs.

2. The Survey Research Center at the University of Michigan has agreed to make a study of the results of civic education among high school seniors in the United States. The study, according to Dr. Angus Campbell, Director of the Center, "will gather data not only on student attitudes toward and understandings of politics and government (the things to be explained), but also on the range of events and forces which one can reasonably suppose have had something to do with molding these attitudes. The study will not stop with the conclusion that many experiences have some effect. It will go on to determine how much effect they have, and hence suggest useful points of leverage for action programs," Campbell emphasized.

3. The National Council for the Social Studies, which represents some 14,000 Social Studies teachers will undertake a study, in behalf of the Joint Committees, of promising practices in civic education in the schools. The survey, according to NCSS Executive Secretary, Merrill Hartshorn, "will be made by visiting teams of experts who will spend two to three days in each school system selected by a distinguished advisory committee." The work of this study will be integrated with other programs of the Joint Committees assuring added benefits to all.

4. Dr. Howard E. Wilson, Dean of the School of Education, UCLA, announced that in behalf of the combined effort UCLA will undertake to outline an extensive program of education for political behavior. Serving with Dean Wilson on a special committee at UCLA are Dr. Richard Maxwell, Dean of the Law School and Dr. Richard Langaker, Chairman of the Department of Political Science. Under the committee's direction, teaching materials and testing instruments relating to political concepts will be developed and tried out experimentally in the schools. "Not only will this committee be giving full cooperation in a national effort at improving education in civic behavior," said Wilson, "it will be launching a regional program leading to the creation of a Southwest center for leadership in the field." Dean Wilson, in commenting on the significance of this move said: "No function of education is more important for a democracy than is that of education for political citizenship, and yet no function is more neglected in contemporary education."

Other experts who have agreed to serve on one of the various committees to the new effort include: Dr. James M. Becker, Director, NCA Foreign Relations Project; Miss Adeline Brengle, Bloomington (Ind.), Junior-Senior High School; Dr. Philip E. Converse, Associate Professor of Political Science, University of Michigan; Dr. Jack Dennis, Assistant Professor of Political Science, University of Wisconsin; Dr. Stanley E. Dimond, School of Education, University of Michigan; Dr. David Easton, Professor of Political Science, University of Chicago; Dr. Edwin Fenton, School of Education, Carnegie Institute of Technology; Dr. Frederick W. Frey, Associate Professor of Political Science, Massachusetts Institute of Technology; Margaret Gill, Secretary, Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development; Dr. William H. Hartley, Towson (Md.) State College; Dr. Robert D. Hess, Chairman, Committee on Human Development, University of ~~Michigan~~ Chicago; Dr. Herbert Hyman, Chairman, Department of Sociology and Associate Director, Bureau of Applied Social Research, Columbia University; Dr. Francis A. J. Ianni, Anthropologist, Washington, D. C.; Dr. M. Kent Jennings, Survey Research Center, The University of Michigan; Dr. Richard Kislik, Vice-President, Random House; Dr. Robert E. Lane, Professor of Political Science, Yale University; Dr. Richard I. Miller, Director, Center for Educational Research, University of Kentucky; Dr. Harvey Pressman and Dr. Bradbury Seasholes, Lincoln Filene Center for Citizenship and Public Affairs, Tufts University; Dr. Robert Solomon, Vice-President, Educational Testing Service, Princeton, New Jersey; Dr. Isidore Starr, Professor of Education, Queens College;

Dr. Louise Tyler, School of Education, University of California at Los Angeles; Dr. Natalie Joy Ward, Los Angeles City Public Schools.

Coordinator for the Joint Committees is Henry Toy, Jr. whose office is with The American Heritage Foundation at 11 West 42nd Street, New York City, 10036.

FROM: The Danforth Foundation
607 North Grand Boulevard
St. Louis, Missouri 63103

For further information call:
David Zimmerman
314-533-6200

For Release October 19, 1964

ST. LOUIS, MO. - "The creation of the Joint Committees on Civic Education, sponsored by The American Heritage Foundation, is a welcome move," Dr. Merrimon Cuninggim, Executive Director of The Danforth Foundation said today when announcing a grant of $500,000 to this project. He added: "The Danforth Foundation had sought the opportunity to put some of its resources to work in a constructive educational program for increasing the understanding of Americans about our national goals and ideals, for alerting us to all present dangers, and thus for increasing our sense of civic responsibilities, individually and in groups. The Joint Committees on Civic Education," stated Cuninggim, "appear to us at the Foundation to present an unusual opportunity to support the efforts of informed and competent people in a positive program of action in a much neglected field."

Some significant efforts in Civic Education have already been made in different parts of the country. "But, much more remains to be done," said the Foundation executive. "Furthermore, coordination among all the worthy programs working at some part of the task is needed. It is heartening to see this development which brings together responsible leadership from the lay public with leaders from various disciplines within education."

The Danforth Foundation was created in 1927 by the late Mr. and Mrs. William H. Danforth of St. Louis. Its purpose is to strengthen education, through its own programs and through grants to schools, colleges, universities and other educational agencies.

From: THE AMERICAN HERITAGE FOUNDATION
11 West 42nd St., New York 36, N. Y.
(BRyant 9-4355)

GENERAL ELECTION: Tues., NOVEMBER 3, 1964

REGISTRATION DEADLINES - 1964

STATE	REGISTER FOR GENERAL ELECTION BY:
ALABAMA	October 23
ALASKA	At time of voting
ARIZONA	September 21
ARKANSAS	October 1
CALIFORNIA	September 10
COLORADO	October 14
CONNECTICUT	October 10
DELAWARE	October 17
FLORIDA	October 3
GEORGIA	May 2
HAWAII	October 13
IDAHO	October 31
ILLINOIS	October 5
INDIANA	October 5
IOWA	October 31
KANSAS	Wyandotte, Johnson, Shawnee & parts of Sedgewick Counties: October 13 - elsewhere: October 23
KENTUCKY	September 5
LOUISIANA	October 5
MAINE	Varies by towns and cities; registration permitted on election day in rural towns
MARYLAND	Counties of Baltimore, Allegheny, Anne Arundel, Prince Georges, Dorchester, Frederick & Washington: September 22 -- others September 21
MASSACHUSETTS	October 2
MICHIGAN	October 5
MINNESOTA	October 13
MISSISSIPPI	July 3
MISSOURI	St. Louis, October 9; Kansas City, October 7; Other cities over 10,000 October 5
MONTANA	September 18
NEBRASKA	Lincoln, Omaha: October 23 - others: October 24
NEVADA	September 26
NEW HAMPSHIRE	Name must be on checklist - Cities: October 24; Towns: October 31; Others vary
NEW JERSEY	September 24
NEW MEXICO	October 5
NEW YORK	October 10
NORTH CAROLINA	October 24
NORTH DAKOTA	Registration Not Required

STATE	REGISTER FOR GENERAL ELECTION BY:
OHIO	September 24
OKLAHOMA	October 23
OREGON	October 3
PENNSYLVANIA	September 14
RHODE ISLAND	September 4
SOUTH CAROLINA	October 5
SOUTH DAKOTA	October 14
TENNESSEE	October 3
TEXAS	March 6
UTAH	October 31
VERMONT	October 31
VIRGINIA	October 3
WASHINGTON	October 3
WEST VIRGINIA	October 3
WISCONSIN	Milwaukee: October 14; Others: October 21
WYOMING	October 19
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA	September 18

THE AMERICAN HERITAGE FOUNDATION
11 West 42nd St., New York, N.Y. 10036
(BRyant 9-4355)

NATIONAL NON-PARTISAN
"REGISTER AND VOTE"
PROGRAM

"NEW 1964 CAMPAIGN MATERIALS"

"REGISTER AND VOTE" BOOKLET - Your Guide on How to Conduct a Non-Partisan Register and Vote Drive in Your Community.

28 pages - 4" x 9" (pocket-size)

1 - 24	copies.....	45¢ each
25 - 99	"	40¢ "
100 - 249	"	35¢ "
250 - 499	"	30¢ "
Over 500	"	Special Discounts

"YOUR VOTE COULD BE THE ONE THAT COUNTS" LEAFLET - Shows the importance of a single vote by citing dramatic examples of recent important elections decided by a hairline margin of votes. Designed for mass distribution. Space available for sponsor's imprint - if you wish.

4 pages - 3½" x 8½" - 2 colors

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"VOTE" POSTER 11" x 14" - paper - 2 colors

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"REMEMBER TO REGISTER" (Mail insert or giveaway, 3" x 5" - 2 colors).....$8 per M.

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THE AMERICAN HERITAGE FOUNDATION

HIGHLIGHTS OF THE RECORD

At the request of President Truman, the Foundation conducted the 37,000-mile tour of the Freedom Train (1947-49)... At the request of President Eisenhower, it sponsored The Crusade For Freedom in support of Radio Free Europe (1953-55)... At the request of the Republican and Democratic National Committees, it has conducted - for the past twelve years - a program to persuade qualified citizens to register, vote on an informed basis, and contribute to the party of their choice. All-time records in voter turnout have been achieved: in 1952, 62.7 per cent; in 1960, 63.8 per cent -- as compared to 51.5 per cent in 1948.

Other programs to promote more active citizenship have been conducted.

Former Chairmen of the Foundation, in order of succession, have been Winthrop W. Aldrich, Henry Ford II, Walter Bedell Smith and David Sarnoff.

WHAT NOTABLE AMERICANS HAVE SAID ABOUT IT RECENTLY

PRESIDENT JOHN F. KENNEDY - The White House, August 28, 1962

"I want to congratulate the American Heritage Foundation for its efforts on a non-partisan basis to remind us of the fundamental obligations of citizenship. In my opinion, the Foundation's 'Register, Vote on an Informed Basis and Contribute to the Party of Your Choice' program is a vital public service that deserves the support of every American citizen regardless of political affiliation."

FORMER PRESIDENT DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER - Telegram to
American Heritage Foundation Meeting, January 8, 1964

"Believing as we do in self-government we make a mockery of our beliefs unless we participate in its processes. To register and vote is the simplest and clearest duty of the citizen. It is shocking that a third of our qualified voters surrender to others their right of determining the composition of their own government. I believe that both parties should take as a fundamental objective that of persuading every citizen to register and vote for the candidates of his choice."

Excerpt from REPORT of PRESIDENT'S COMMISSION ON
REGISTRATION AND VOTING PARTICIPATION, November 1963

"Leadership for such local efforts to improve voter participation has long been provided by the American Heritage Foundation. Through a variety of programs, this organization has stimulated citizen and group interest in public affairs, and has waged a continuing battle against low voter turnout."

Washington Contact:
Brendan Byrne
Hotel Statler (EXecutive 3-1000)

The American Heritage Foundation
11 West 42nd Street
New York, N. Y. 10036
BRyant 9-4355

FOR RELEASE - June 16, 2 P.M.

Washington, D. C., June 16 - "Forty million Americans of voting age are not registered and will forfeit their right to vote in the important November elections unless they place their names on the registration rolls," Thomas D'Arcy Brophy, president of the non-partisan American Heritage Foundation, told a meeting, at the Hotel Statler today, of 80 national membership organizations participating in the 1964 National Non-Partisan "Register and Vote" Campaign. The campaign is sponsored by the foundation and the Advertising Council.

"The organizations have a combined membership of some 100 million, -- with some overlapping, of course," said Mr. Brophy. The organization leaders attended an 11 A. M. news conference and preview of this year's new campaign materials which were created as a public service by Grey Advertising, Inc. Samuel Dalsimer, vice-chairman of the agency presented the materials.

An estimated 10 million dollars worth of advertising time and space will be contributed by American business through the Advertising Council as a public service in support of the campaign, according to Theodore S. Repplier, president of the council.

"Newspapers, magazines, company publications, radio and television networks and stations and their advertisers will bring the campaign to the attention of millions of Americans from now 'til election day," Mr. Repplier stated.

Other speakers at the press conference were: John M. Bailey, chairman, Democratic National Committee; William E. Miller, chairman, Republican National Committee; Theodore S. Repplier, president of the Advertising Council and Robert C. Shropshire, vice president, - marketing, The Nestlé Company, Inc., volunteer campaign coordinator.

Vigorous foes in the political arena, Mr. Bailey and Mr. Miller united in wholehearted praise for the new campaign theme and materials. The theme is as follows:

"Vote... and the choice is <u>yours</u>!
Don't vote... and the choice is <u>theirs</u>!
Register... or you have <u>no</u> choice!"

Following the press conference, the organization leaders attended a luncheon given in their honor by the American Heritage Foundation. Luncheon speaker was Dr. Angus Campbell, director, Survey Research Center, University of Michigan. A recognized authority on political behavior, Dr. Campbell is the author of the well-known book, "The American Voter." Excerpts from his talk:

"There are already a disturbing number of people in our society who have no real commitment to their role as citizens, make no effort to inform themselves, or to participate in any kind of political activity. We all know that failure to vote is high in this country and we know that most of these non-voters are eligible to vote if they would make the effort. They do not vote because they are not motivated. Government and politics are too remote, too complicated, too overwhelming. They feel themselves helpless in the face of great political and social forces they do not understand. They can't believe that any individual action on their parts can have any meaningful result. They have become detached and disengaged from the political order. They are no longer citizens in any real sense. They are simply inhabitants.

"Repeated experiences in the democracies of Western Europe have shown that people who lack political anchorage are largely responsible for the violent and disruptive swings in the vote which have brought political havoc to certain of those countries. Although such people are not engaged by the normal processes of political life, in times of crisis they can be aroused and mobilized by demagogic leaders who promise quick and simple answers.

"It is not likely of course that this country will be subject to the kinds of violent upheaval we have seen in Europe in the last thirty years. It is important nevertheless to protect the stability of our political system. The greater the number of apathetic non-voters who can be swept into action by some dramatic crisis, the greater the potential of disruptive oscillations in our political affairs. This number is now very sizable in this country and efforts should be made to reduce it. This cannot be accomplished simply by inducing these people to go to the polls occasionally. The long-term solution to this problem lies in a slow, persistent chipping away of the apathy which is now so widespread. No rapid breakthroughs are likely to be accomplished but an imaginative and continuing program of education and activation should produce rewarding results."

# # # # #

THE AMERICAN HERITAGE FOUNDATION
11 West 42nd Street
New York, N. Y. 10036

HOW TO PLAN SPECIAL COMMUNITY PROGRAMS FOR FIRST VOTERS

The purpose of the ceremonies is to honor first voters on their attaining voting age and to dramatize the fact that voting by secret ballot in free elections is one of the most precious privileges of American citizenship. Voters in the 21 to 29-year-old group have the poorest record of voting participation and this program can inspire them to do better. It can also serve as an effective reminder to all of us that the key to preserving our precious American heritage is informed participation at the polls in all elections.

TYPES OF PROGRAMS

Morning
11:00 A.M.....Formal Reception by Mayor in City Hall - Tour of City Hall.

Refreshments - perhaps furnished by local merchants.

Noon.....Twelve Noon - outdoor affair. Bandstand, flags, bands playing, etc.

"Citizenship Rally" to honor First Voters. Attended by Board of Trade, business, civic, veterans, educational groups, etc.

Evening
8:00 P.M.....Formal Reception and Dance.

Welcome - His Honor the Mayor - awarding First Voters Certificates, suitable for framing to First Voters.

Short Addresses. Music and Dancing.

Step One

Careful analysis of the work-a-day patterns of the town will determine the most appropriate time and place.

Make sure the time does not conflict with normal school hours, work schedules, popular TV programs or other local events.

Step Two

The invitation to the Community Party for First Voters should be dignified enough to befit the occasion, yet indicate that it would be fun to be present. Here is a suggested invitation:

The Young Voters Committee of the City of

_____ invites _____
(city) (name)

to take his place with the other First Voters at a reception (party, dance, etc.) to be held in their honor at _____ on
(place)

_____ at _____.
(day) (time)

Step Three

The roster of First Voters can be compiled with the assistance of several offices in the town: a. draft boards; b. board of elections; c. high school principals' offices and the registrars of local colleges; d. personnel offices of industrial plants, stores and business firms.

Step Four

Elements that make every program come-to-life are: Originality of theme, variety in choice of speakers, dynamic pace of program.

Step Five

Suggested Program (can be adapted to occasion and hour)

Invocation	It would be appropriate to have all three faiths represented by clergymen on the program.)
Address	His Honor, the Mayor or other leading citizen.
Salute to the Flag and National Anthem	Led by top-ranking local military officer or war veteran.
First Voters' Pledge	Led by clergyman of another faith.
Speakers	President, Bar Association or League of Women Voters, or Junior Chamber of Commerce, etc.
Benediction	Clergyman of another faith.
March	"When You Reach the Age of 21," by Gerald Marks
Group Singing	(Always good program builders) "God Bless America," etc.

NEW VOTER'S PLEDGE

"I will ever be conscious from this day forth, that by my civic acts of commission or omission, I strengthen or weaken our community, State and Nation.

"I will fight for the ideals and priceless heritage of our American traditions.

"I will revere and obey our laws, and will do my utmost to inspire like reverence and respect in the minds of my family, neighbors and associates.

"I will strive constantly and increasingly to quicken the American public's sense of civic duty and deepen its love of country.

"Thus in all these ways I dedicate myself to build the United States of America into a greater, stronger leader in the family of freedom-loving nations than it was before this day when the responsibility became mine.

"SPECIFICALLY, AS A NEW VOTER:

"I will vote at all elections.

"I will inform myself on candidates and issues and will use my greatest influence to see that honest and capable officials are elected.

"I will accept public office when I can serve my community or my country thereby."

Modern adaptation by the American Heritage Foundation of the Athenian Citizenship Oath which the young men took in ancient Athens when they became of voting age .....300 B. C.

2

WHAT IS THE ADVERTISING COUNCIL?

The Advertising Council, supported financially by many U. S. corporations and the advertising industry, operates on a volunteer basis and as a non-partisan, non-profit public service organization.

Shortly after the attack on Pearl Harbor, the advertising industry voluntarily organized the War Advertising Council to conduct and promote national campaigns to help win the war. The constituent organizations then and now are: American Association of Advertising Agencies, Association of National Advertisers, Bureau of Advertising (American Newspaper Publishers Association), Magazine Publishers Association, National Association of Broadcasters and the Outdoor Advertising Association of America.

The "War" Advertising Council conducted many home front drives: BUY WAR BONDS -- SAVE TIN -- PLANT VICTORY GARDENS -- GIVE BLOOD -- ENLIST -- and about 100 other campaigns. To these projects an estimated $1 billion worth of advertising was contributed. So effective was advertising in this war effort, that American business decided to continue The Advertising Council as a permanent, peace-time operation.

Each year, since the war, The Advertising Council has conducted 15 or more major campaigns in the public interest. In addition, 50 or 60 other worthy projects receive substantial support through the cooperation of broadcasters and sponsors of radio and television programs.

Functioning privately, with no subsidy from Government, the Council applies strict criteria to applications for campaigns from both Government and private organizations. The project or problem must be of national importance, non-political, non-sectarian, non-commercial, etc.

Business executives serve without fee as coordinators of the campaigns, the advertising agencies create the campaigns without charge; and the newspapers, magazines, poster companies and broadcast stations and networks contribute all the advertising space and time necessary to bring the many messages to the attention of the public. At commercial rates this public service contribution would amount to some $225 million per year.

The offices of the Council are located in New York, Washington, Chicago and Los Angeles.

Remember to Register!

Vote... and the choice is yours! Don't vote... and the choice is theirs!

Vote...
and the choice is yours!

Don't vote...
and the choice is theirs!

Register...
or you have no choice!

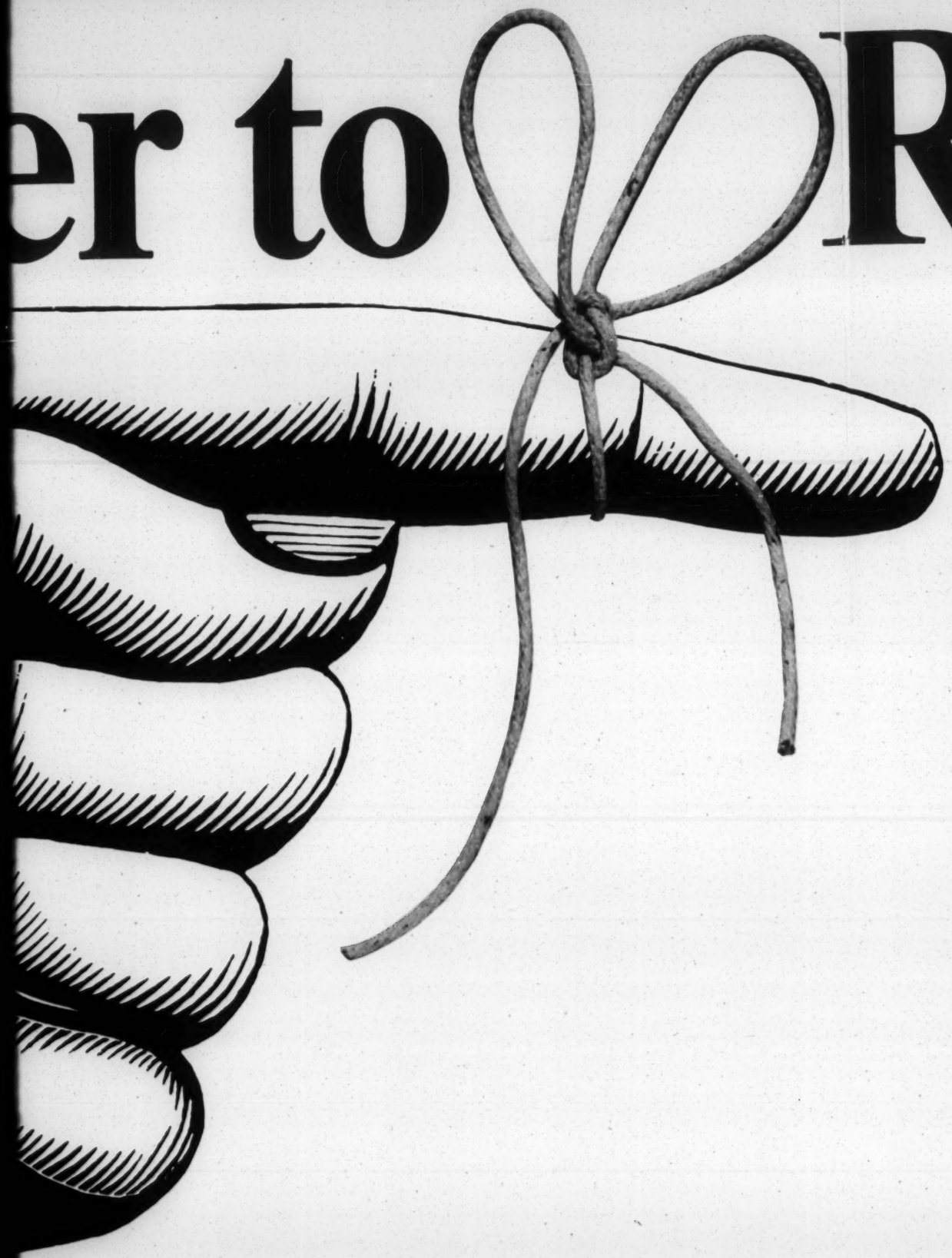
Remember to

THE AMERICAN HERITAGE FOUNDATION

ADVERTISING COUNCIL PUBLIC SERVICE

Vote... and the choice is yours! Don't vote.

er to Register!



WHEN:

WHERE:

ours! Don't vote... and the choice is theirs!

Vote...
and the choice is yours!

Don't vote...
and the choice is theirs!

Register...
or you have no choice!

Published as a public service in cooperation with The American Heritage Foundation and The Advertising Council.

NEWSPAPER AD MAT NO. RV-4-64
50 LINES

Vote...
and the choice is yours!

Don't vote...
and the choice is theirs!

Register...
or you have no choice!

Published as a public service in cooperation with The American Heritage Foundation and The Advertising Council

NEWSPAPER AD MAT NO. RV-2-64—600 LINES (4 columns x 10¾ inches)
ALSO AVAILABLE: **NO. RV-1-64—1000 LINES (5 col. x 14¼"): NO. RV-3-64—100 LINES (2 col. x 3½").**

Make file
ASC News letter

APR 1 1963

AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS

STEPHEN WISE CONGRESS HOUSE • 15 EAST 84TH STREET • NEW YORK 28, N.Y. • TRAFALGAR 9-4500

March 29, 1963

Dear Friend:

Both the American Jewish Congress, and I personally, are happy that the Defense Fund has made it possible for me to add your name to the mailing list of the weekly newsletter which I have been writing for the past four years on civil rights and civil liberties.

I trust that you will find the letter interesting and worthwhile. There is, of course, a very special pleasure in sending the letter to you since, as you may know, I have, for a great many years, been a member of the Executive Committee of the Defense Fund.

Sincerely yours,

Shad Polier

SHAD POLIER

SP:b
Encl.

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4/- Amer Jewish Congress newsletter

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A. L. WIRIN

LEO PFEFFER, Director
JOSEPH B. ROBISON, Assistant Director

March 28, 1963

Dear Friend:

"The Swing Man." My newsletter of September 7, 1962 predicted that Justice Arthur Goldberg would be "The Swing Man" in the "New Supreme Court," which resulted from his appointment and the appointment of Justice Byron R. White to fill the vacancies created by the retirement of Justices Frankfurter and Whittaker. The correctness of this prophecy was attested in Gibson v. Florida Legislative Investigation Committee decided on Monday by a 5-to-4 vote, with Justice Goldberg writing the majority opinion.

Rev. Theodore R. Gibson, then President of the Miami branch of the NAACP, was ordered to appear before the Committee on November 4, 1959 and to bring with him records showing the identity of members of, and contributors to, the Miami branch. At the hearing he was given the names of 14 persons previously identified by another witness, Robert J. Strickland - a professional informant - as Communists or members of Communist fronts or affiliated organizations. Strickland had further testified, largely on the basis of hearsay, that in years past these persons had attended occasional meetings of the Miami branch "and/or" were members of that branch, which had a total membership of about 1,000.

Rev. Gibson volunteered that he could associate none of the 14 persons identified as having any association with the NAACP. However, he advised the Committee that he had not brought the records with him to the hearing and stated that he would not produce them for the purpose of answering questions as to whether they were members of the NAACP. For this refusal, the Florida courts adjudged him in contempt, imposed a six-months jail sentence and a fine of $1,200.

On Monday, the Supreme Court reversed the conviction on the ground that it constituted a violation of the rights of free speech and free association, protected by the First and Fourteenth Amendments. Justice Harlan wrote a dissenting opinion in which Justices Clark, Stewart and White concurred.

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Justice White also wrote a separate dissent.

The majority opinion of Justice Goldberg placed the reversal on the narrowest of the possible grounds. This was, that Florida had failed to establish a substantial connection between the Miami branch of the NAACP and any Communist activities. In the absence of such a showing, the Court ruled, the State was not justified in infringing upon "the strong associational interest in maintaining the privacy of membership lists of groups indicated in the constitutionally protected free trade in ideas and beliefs." The opinion clearly indicated that the same protection might be claimed by "all legitimate organizations," even though it recognized that there was a special reason for so holding "where the challenged privacy is that of persons espousing beliefs already unpopular with their neighbors, and the deterrent and 'chilling' effect on the free exercise of constitutionally enshrined rights of free speech, expression and association are consequently more immediate and substantial."

Justice Goldberg distinguished the four cases in which the Supreme Court in recent years sustained, 5-to-4, contempt convictions against witnesses who refuse to answer legislative inquiries on the ground that their right to remain silent was protected by the First and Fourteenth Amendments. Barenblatt, Wilkinson and Braden, involving the power of Congressional committees, were distinguished on the ground that the defendants had refused to answer a question or questions relating to their "own past or present membership in the Communist Party." "The result in those cases," Justice Goldberg wrote, "was founded on the holding that the Communist Party is not an ordinary or legitimate party, as known in this country, and that, because of its particular nature, membership therein is itself a permissible subject of regulation and Government scrutiny." Justice Goldberg went on to say, assuming the correctness of the premises on which those three cases were decided, no further determination of compelling Governmental interest was deemed necessary, since the direct object of the challenged questions had been the discovery of membership in the Communist Party. By this latter statement, Justice Goldberg made clear that neither he nor the other four Justices who joined in his opinion, were subscribing to the correctness of the premises upon which those decisions rested. Having said this, Justice Goldberg proceeded to distinguish the Gibson case on the ground that it was the NAACP itself which was the subject of the investigation and that there was no suggestion that either the Miami branch or the National organization were subversive, or that their activities or policies were either Communist-dominated or influenced. On the contrary, as he pointed out, the record was clearly to the contrary.

Uphaus, in which the Supreme Court had upheld an investigation by the State of New Hampshire, was distinguished on several grounds, without indication as to whether the present majority would, in any event, follow it in the future. Among the grounds for distinction was the fact that Uphaus, who had charge of a summer camp maintained by the World Fellowship, had refused to disclose the guest list, although a State statute required the camp, as a place of public accommodation, to maintain a guest register open to public authorities. Still another distinction was said to exist in the fact that the Supreme Court had found that a sufficient connection had been shown between subversive activities and the World Fellowship itself to justify compulsory disclosure of the guest list. While such a finding was actually made in the Uphaus case, a careful scrutiny of the opinion of the majority in that case persuaded me, at that time, that the finding was based more upon fantasy than fact.

Justices Black and Douglas, while joining in the opinion of Justice Goldberg, wrote separate concurring opinions, setting forth their views as to why the conviction of Rev. Gibson should be reversed. It seems to me that Chief Justice Warren and Justice Brennan are in general accord with the Black-Douglas approach. Whether it is also shared by Justice Goldberg, only future cases can disclose.

In substance, the Black-Douglas concept of the First Amendment freedoms seems to me to be summarized in the following declaration in Justice Douglas' opinion in the present case:

> "In my view, government is not only powerless to legislate with respect to membership in a lawful organization; it is also precluded from probing the intimacies of spiritual and intellectual relationships in the myriad of such societies and groups that exists in this country, regardless of the legislative purpose sought to be served..."
>
> "There is no other course consistent with the Free Society envisioned by the First Amendment. For the views a citizen entertains, the beliefs he harbors, the utterances he makes, the ideology he embraces and the people he associates with are no concern of government. That article of faith marks indeed the main difference between the Free Society which we espouse and the dictatorships both on the Left and on the Right."

In the course of his opinion, Justice Douglas cited several law review articles as pointing out "the need for a pervasive right of privacy against government intrusion." One was an article by Joseph Robison, Associate Director of CLSA which appeared in the Columbia Law Review in 1958.

"The Great Writ." This is the term by which, for centuries, English and American courts have referred to the writ of habeas corpus used to challenge the legality of the imprisonment of a person. In 1867 the lower Federal courts - whose jurisdiction is fixed by Congress - were for the first time empowered to grant a writ of habeas corpus to inquire into the legality of the detention of persons held in the custody of State officials. Interestingly, the 1867 legislation was prompted by the Congressional determination to provide an effective instrument for dealing with the anticipated unwillingness of some State courts fully to protect the liberties of Negroes whose slavery had just been ended by the Thirteenth Amendment. In any event, the new power granted to the Federal courts was intended to vest in them the fullest authority permitted by the Constitution.

For the first fifty years after the enactment of the 1867 statute the United States Supreme Court, by and large, gave it increasingly restricted application. It did so out of a purported deference to the sensibilities of the States to Federal intervention in the administration of their criminal laws. Nevertheless, the practical effect of this line of cases was to give the last word to State courts upon the issue of whether the defendant had been denied his Federal rights guaranteed by the Constitution.

The shocking, but logical, consequence of this judicial emasculation of the Great Writ was the Leo Frank case, decided in 1915. There, the Supreme Court, 7-to-2, ruled that a Federal District Court was powerless to determine whether Frank, a Jew, had been denied a fair trial in Atlanta, Georgia, because the courtroom had been dominated by a mob. The majority were excoriated in an historic dissent written by Justice Holmes in which Justice Hughes (later Chief Justice) concurred. Eight years later the Supreme Court in Moore v. Dempsey refused to follow Frank in a case involving five Negroes sentenced to death by an Arkansas court also dominated by a mob. In Moore Justice Holmes wrote the prevailing opinion with Justices McReynolds and Sutherland dissenting.

Unhappily, the cases after Moore, even as recent as 1953, continued to show the same grudging refusal to give full effect to the Great Writ.

Monday, a week ago, in the Noia case, the Supreme Court, in an historic opinion by Justice Brennan, swept into discard all of the niggling qualifications with which the Great Writ had become encrusted over the course of a century. Writing for a 6-to-3 majority, Justice Brennan stated that, whenever the claim is made that a constitutional right of a defendant has been denied in a State criminal prosecution, that issue is always open for re-examination, unless the Supreme Court has considered it on a direct appeal from the highest State court or unless the defendant has deliberately chosen not to present his constitutional issue in the State courts. Moreover, the opinion frankly stated that the burden of considering such claims of denial of constitutional rights was too great for the Supreme Court to deal with them on direct appeal and that the only effective remedy must be by habeas corpus proceedings commenced in the United States District Courts.

Justice Brennan concluded his opinion with a moving declaration:

> "It should be unnecessary to repeat what so often has been said and what so plainly is the case: that the availability of the Great Writ of habeas corpus in the federal courts for persons in the custody of the States offends no legitimate state interest in the enforcement of criminal justice or procedure. Our decision today swings open no prison gates. Today as always few indeed is the number of state prisoners who eventually win their freedom by means of federal habeas corpus. Those few who are ultimately successful are persons whom society has grievously wronged and for whom belated liberation is little enough compensation. Surely no fair-minded person will contend that those who have been deprived of their liberty without due process of law ought nevertheless to languish in prison... If the States withhold effective remedy, the federal courts have the power and the duty to provide it. Habeas corpus is one of the precious heritages of Anglo-American civilization. We do no more today than confirm its continuing efficacy."

Three of the Justices dissented on the ground that the Constitution prevented any Federal Court from considering a Constitutional issue where the defendant had failed to press his contention in the highest court of the State. In their view, it did not matter that the conviction rested upon a confession which the Brooklyn District Attorney conceded had been extorted.

Justice Clark, who together with Justice Stewart, concurred in the dissenting opinion written by Mr. Justice Harlan, went even further. He indulged in his unfortunate practice of threatening that the decision of the Supreme Court, which he found unpalatable, will - and should - result in Congressional retaliation. In the present case, Justice Clark's threat was that Congress would - and should - by statute modify the jurisdiction of the Federal courts under the act of 1867 so as to prevent independent consideration by the Federal courts of alleged denials of Federal Constitutional rights. His opinion was obviously designed to lend aid and comfort to States Righters. Some have already expressed resentment against the use by the Federal courts of the Great Writ to insure preservation of Constitutional rights. Others will seize this opportunity to try to discredit the Supreme Court for different reasons, among them its decisions on school desegregation and religious practices in the public schools. Only an alert and informed public opinion can forestall such crippling legislation or assure its veto by the President if enacted by Congress.

Sincerely yours,

Shad Polier

Shad Polier

LWD ✓
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April 4, 1963

LEO PFEFFER, Director
JOSEPH B. ROBISON, Assistant Director

Dear Colleague:

Showdown in Mississippi. Greenwood, Mississippi, population 20,436, is the county seat of Leflore County, in the heart of the Delta. The non-white population of the County makes up 64.6% of the population, but less than 1% of the voting-age Negroes are registered voters. Last August the Department of Justice brought suit to enjoin the discriminatory practices of white voting registrars. Tired of waiting for effective action by the Federal District Court, four Negro agencies united in a registration drive. They are the NAACP, CORE, Southern Christian Leadership Conference and Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). Their plan is to encourage registration by the use of teams of 30 to 40 persons so as to achieve a breakthrough in the fear which held back Negroes from seeking to register.

The speedup efforts of these groups, operating as the Council of Federated Organizations, immediately resulted in both unofficial and official retaliation by the white community. Last month James Travis, a Mississippian and Field Secretary for SNCC was shot. A fire was set to buildings in the Negro community in Greenwood, but was put out before it reached the one in which the SNCC office was located. This mishap was immediately righted by the burning of that building as well. The car in which a group of organizers were riding was shot up. Finally, when Negroes mobilized to march in large groups to the courthouse for the purpose of registering, Greenwood police, augmented by civilian auxiliaries, set police dogs on them and arrested a number of the marchers. All of the 11 arrested at the first demonstration were convicted of disorderly conduct and sentenced to four months in jail and fines of $200. Eight of them are still in jail.

At this point the Department of Justice stepped in again by another suit to enjoin County and City officials from harassing voter registration workers and interfering with the rights of Negroes to assemble peaceably or conduct demonstrations. The suit also seeks the release of the eight registration workers who are still in prison.

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1- agencies — AJC

Application for a restraining order pending a hearing on the request for a preliminary injunction was made to Federal District Judge Claud Clayton, Jr. on Monday and immediately rejected by him. As a result, police have continued to arrest demonstrators and presumably the Mississippi courts will continue to convict them on charges of disorderly conduct. With a display of speed unusual for him, Judge Clayton set the request for a preliminary injunction down for formal hearing today. His record for procrastination in other civil rights cases leaves no doubt, however, that such promptness in granting a hearing in the present suit was due to an awareness on the part of Judge Clayton that, otherwise, the Department of Justice would "go over his head" and apply to the Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit for a restraining order. He was obviously mindful of the fact that this course of action was followed by the Department of Justice last October when another diehard segregationist, District Judge William H. Cox, refused to enjoin the prosecution of John Hardy, a leader in the campaign for Negro registration.

On September 7, when Mr. Hardy brought two Negroes into the office to register, the white registrar hit him on the head with a gun and the sheriff immediately arrested him on the charge of breach of the peace. The Justice Department promptly appealed to Judge Cox, who had been newly appointed by President Kennedy, to enjoin the prosecution. When this application was refused, the Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit forthwith granted a temporary restraining order pending a full trial at which the Justice Department would have the opportunity to offer proof to sustain its charge that the State criminal proceedings were being used to prevent Negro registration. The 2-to-1 decision of the Court of Appeals was made by Judge Richard T. Rives of Alabama and Judge John R. Brown of Texas. Judge Ben F. Cameron of Mississippi dissented. The Supreme Court of the United States refused to grant review.

The record of Judge Clayton, an Eisenhower appointee, does not provide any reason to expect that he will grant the relief sought by the Department of Justice. Indeed, probably the best that can be hoped for is that Judge Clayton will grant a full hearing and hand down an early decision which can then be presented to the Court of Appeals for review.

Two cases will, I believe, indicate Judge Clayton's hostility to civil rights. In Noelle Henry v. The Coahoma County Board of Education, a complaint, along with a motion for preliminary injunction, was filed in October, 1962, alleging that the plaintiff, a Negro school teacher, had been refused a teaching contract for the current school year in reprisal for her membership in the NAACP and her activities, and the activities of her husband, in the civil rights field. The motion for preliminary injunction has not yet been set for a hearing, notwithstanding several letters from plaintiff's counsel requesting that this be done. Early responses from Judge Clayton were based on the fact that certain members of the defendant School Board named in the complaint had resigned and it was the Judge's contention that the suit should not be heard until this problem was corrected. An order dropping the former Board members and naming the newly added members was signed on February 15, 1963, but Judge Clayton has even since claimed that his busy calendar will not permit hearing.

Judge Clayton displayed no greater wish to expedite matters even in a suit brought to end the obviously unconstitutional practice of racial segregation in Mississippi travel facilities. In that case, Bailey v Patterson, suit was filed on June 9, 1961 seeking injunctive relief against the State of Mississippi, the City of Jackson, and various common carriers. Because a State segregation law was involved, a three-

Judge District Court was convened. It consisted of Court of Appeals Chief Judge Elbert Paul Tuttle of Atlanta, Georgia and District Judge Sidney Mize and Judge Clayton, both of whom are Mississippians. (It was Judge Mize who, in another case, repeatedly refused to order the University of Mississippi to admit James Meredith and was reversed by the Court of Appeals.)

A motion for preliminary injunction was set for July 10, 1961, at which time Judge Clayton and Judge Mize, over the strenuous objection of Chief Judge Tuttle, voted to grant a motion for a continuance until August 7, 1961, based on the alleged illness of the State's Chief Counsel. A hearing on the case in September, 1961, resulted in a 2-to-1 decision on November 17, 1961 in which Judge Clayton joined with Judge Mize in voting to deny plaintiffs' request for injunctive relief on the basis of the doctrine of abstention, i.e., that the Federal Courts should withhold relief until the case had been carried through the State judicial system. Circuit Judge Rives of Alabama wrote a strong dissenting opinion. The majority's decision was summarily reversed, on February 26, 1962, by the United States Supreme Court in a per curiam opinion.

At his press conference yesterday, President Kennedy said, "I would hope that the court would find that there has been a denial of rights which seems to me evident but which the court must decise"...The Constitution of the United States and the laws enacted thereunder -- in this case, the Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1958, to protect the rights of Negroes to register and vote -- are the "supreme law of the land." However, one cannot expect that supremacy to be upheld by the appointment of United States District Judges who are hostile to such legislation and to the guarnatees of equal protection of the laws promised by the Fourteenth Amendment.

"Bull" Connor Defeated. Yesterday former Alabama Lt. Gov. Albert Boutwelle, a soft-spoken segregationist, was named Mayor of Birmingham in a run-off election in which the total vote of 51,378 was a record high for a city election in the State's most populous city. Mr. Boutwelle received 29,630 votes to 21,648 for City Commissioner Eugene ("Bull") Connor. The winning margin was certainly accounted for in large part by the 8,000 Negroes who were among the 68,000 registered voters. They had good cause to vote solidly against Connor since he has long been notorious, locally and nationally, for his ruthless enforcement of segregation. The fear in which Bull Connor has been held is attested by the fact that even white Christian ministers have been afraid to meet with Negro clergymen for fear of being arrested for violation of a Birmingham ordinance forbidding mixed meetings. It is, of course, a sad reflection upon the courage of the white ministers that they were unwilling to risk arrest and thereby challenge what is clearly an unconstitutional local law.

The Whipping Post and the Constitution. Yesterday the Delaware Supreme Court unanimously rejected the appeal by Franklin W. Cannon from a sentence of 20 lashes as a probation violator. The sentence requires that the whipping be inflicted "publicly by strokes on the bare back well laid on." Cannon contended that such a whipping constitutes "cruel and unusual punishment" prohibited by the Eighth Amendment and made applicable to the States by Due Process of Law Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. Originally Cannon, who had a record of juvenile arrest, was sentenced to 20 lashes for automobile theft, and placed on probation. When he was arrested several months later and charged with larceny, the whipping sentence was reimposed.

Delaware is the only State which continues to allow whipping of criminals. Its statute goes back 246 years and, no doubt, this form of punishment was once generally prevalent in the United States. In my opinion,

however, in this day and age it so offends the respect for human personality that it will be held unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court and it is my hope that the case will go to that Court.

Amicus Curiae And The Supreme Court. The March issue of the Yale Law Journal carries an article, "The Amicus Curiae Brief: From Friendship to Advocacy." by Professor Samuel Krislov, of the Department of Political Science at Michigan State University. It traces the evolution of briefs submitted as a "friend of the court." In the course of the article, Prof. Krislov notes that: "An increased reliance on litigation as a means of vindicating minority rights otherwise difficult to obtain through the political process, however, resulted in civil rights organizations such as the ACLU, and the American Jewish Congress, being among the most active filers of amicus curiae briefs over the past few years."

At another point in the article, Prof. Krislov observes that: "Some amicus curiae briefs have, of course, been of great legal guidance to the Court...Mr. Justice Frankfurter relied greatly upon the Synagogue Council of America brief in the McCollum case, for example..."

In McCollum, the Supreme Court held unconstitutional the conduct of released time for religious classes in public school buildings during the school day. Actually the brief referred to by Prof. Krislov was submitted not only on behalf of the Synagogue Council - comprising the Rabbinical and Synagogue organizations of the Reform, Conservative and Orthodox groups - but also the National Community Relations Advisory Council, a co-ordinating body of national Jewish organizations and the local community relations organizations. The brief in that case was prepared by Leo Pfeffer, National Director of the Commission on Law and Social Action of AJCongress.

It is interesting to note that Chief Justice Warren made reference last month to another brief prepared by Leo Pfeffer for the Synagogue Council. and the NCRAC. This occurred during the argument of the Maryland and Pennsylvania Bible reading cases. The Attorney General of Pennsylvania had just stated that the opposition to these practices stems from persons who were seeking to further atheism. The Chief Justice called his attention to the fact that the Court had received a brief submitted on behalf of the Synagogue Council of America. Needless to say, the Attorney General dropped his argument on this point like a "hot potato."

The Right of Conscience And The Obligation of Jury Service. On March 8 the Supreme Court of Minnesota unanimously upheld the contempt conviction of a woman who had refused to serve on a jury because of her belief that such conduct violated the Biblical admonition, "Judge not so that you will not be judged." The Court rejected the contention that compulsory jury service constituted a denial of religious freedom guaranteed by the State and Federal Constitutions. Justice Otis said: "The likelihood of this [woman's] conscience being unduly burdened by service on a jury is slight compared to the sense of guilt which might well afflict a conscientious objector who may be required to kill another human being in time of war without any constitutional right o exemption." Whatever the power of Congress to require a person to serve as a combatant, the fact is that our draft laws have consistently granted such persons exemption on grounds of religious beliefs. Moreover, it verges, in my opinion, upon the absurd, to analogize the obligation of jury service with the obligation to defend one's country. It is fantastic to urge, as did the Minnesota Supreme Court, that to allow exemption from jury service because of religious principles, "is to invite erosion of every other obligation a citizen owes his community and his country."

Sincerely yours,

Shad Polier

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JOSEPH B. ROBISON, Assistant Director

April 11, 1963

Dear Friend:

Dr. Oppenheimer and the Ghost of McCarthy. Last Friday, the Atomic Energy Commission awarded to Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer the Enrico Fermi Award, the highest honor that can be bestowed by it. The Award, which carries a grant of $50,000, was made upon recommendation of the General Advisory Committee of the Commission, which includes many of the most distinguished scientists in the country, and required the approval of the President of the United States. If tradition is followed, the formal presentation will be made at the White House on December 2, the 21st Anniversary of the first chain reaction in an atomic pile.

The award to Dr. Oppenheimer is, in effect, an admission of the grave injustice done to him in 1954 when following his suspension by President Eisenhower, the then members of the AEC, by a vote of 4-to-1, denied him security clearance as a consultant to the Commission. The sole dissenter was Dr. Henry D. Smyth, now United States representative to the International Atomic Energy Agency.

Those who followed the 1954 hearing and remember the time in which it was conducted, will recall the general atmosphere of hysteria and fear which prevailed, and that the weather-maker in those days was Senator Joseph F. McCarthy of Wisconsin. It is, it seems to me, a mark of how far we have emerged from what bordered closely upon a state of national paranoia that the unjust verdict is now being revised and with the approval of President Kennedy.

It is characteristic of Dr. Oppenheimer that, in acknowledging the award, he made a strong plea for freeing science from the shackles of unnecessary security. He said that, under the guise of security regulations, the public was too often misinformed and even misled. He warned that security could be used to give the country a one-sided view, that the public could be led to believe that nuclear war could be made more tolerable by developments in the offing, and that this could

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1-Agencies - AJC

lead to a relaxation of efforts to avert such a war.

In the McCarthy era many would have arisen to denounce such a statement as bordering upon treason. It is well for our nation and for the world that in the even more dangerous times in which we live, the Award was made to a great man who continues to speak his deep moral convictions.

United States v. Barnett, et al. On Tuesday, the Federal Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit at New Orleans denied, 7-to-1, applications by Gov. Ross A. Barnett and Lt. Gov. Paul Johnson of Mississippi, for dismissal of charges of criminal contempt arising out of their obstruction of the enrollment of James H. Meredith at the University of Mississippi last September and their failure to provide him with the protection of the State law enforcement authorities in violation of the order of the Court of Appeals. The sole dissenter was Circuit Judge Ben F. Cameron of Meridian, Mississippi.

The Court, however, split 4-to-4 on the further motion made by Gov. Barnett for a jury trial. That issue will therefore be directly presented to the United States Supreme Court. In view of the vital importance of the question, it is appropriate that it be answered by the Supreme Court before the actual trials are conducted. The determination of this question will be crucial since no one would be bold enough to assume that even a Federal jury in Mississippi would bring in a verdict of guilty, no matter how overwhelming the proof.

Nor can anyone with certainty predict how the Supreme Court itself will rule upon this question. In Green v. United States, decided in 1958, the Court upheld, 5-to-3, the power of the Federal District Court in New York to try without a jury, on charges of criminal contempt, two defendants for failure to surrender to begin serving their sentences. The defendants in that case were Green and Winston, two of the eleven defendants convicted in 1949 of violation of the Smith Act. The orders requiring them to surrender were issued after the Supreme Court had affirmed their convictions in June 1951. Following the affirmance, both disappeared and remained fugitives for more than 4½ years.

Chief Justice Warren and Justices Black and Douglas dissented in the Green case on the ground that the Constitution prohibited summary trial before a single District Judge and required an indictment by a grand jury and trial before a jury. (Justice Brennan, who also dissented, did not reach that issue because he regarded the proof in the Green case as being insufficient to show that the defendants had actual knowledge of the order requiring them to surrender.)

Only two of the five Justices who were in the majority in the Green case are still on the bench. They are Justices Clark and Harlan. In the meantime the other three - Justices Frankfurter, Burton and Whittaker - have retired and have been replaced by Justices Goldberg, White and Stewart. To make matters even more uncertain, Justice White, having been involved in the Meredith case, may not participate on the appeal from last Tuesday's decision.

Under these circumstances it is possible that the Supreme Court may divide 4-to-4. Presumably, this would mean that the denial by the Court of Appeals of the application for jury trial would remain the law of the case.

Other Footnotes to the Meredith Case. On Tuesday, G. Roy Kerciu, Assistant Professor of Art at the University of Mississippi, was arrested on two charges: obscenity and desecration of the Confederate flag. Both charges were based on the exhibition of his painting, "America the Beautiful," conveying the spirit of the mob which last September sought to bar Meredith's admission to the University.

The $4\frac{1}{2}$ x 8 foot oil painting portrays a Confederate blue standard covered with the racist slogans shouted by the rioters. These include: "Impeach JFK," "Yankie Go Home," "Kennedy's Koon Keeper" and "A Good Nigger is a Dead Nigger." The charge of obscenity apparently is based upon the inclusion of the slogan "***the NAACP." The word indicated by the asterisks is actually painted over. Consequently, any obscenity attributed to it must therefore reflect the mind of the complainant.

Professor Kerciu was arrested on the complaint of Charles G. Blackwell of Ellisville, Mississippi, a law student at the University. Blackwell was a candidate for State Representative from Jones County in the August Democratic Primary. He is an officer of the Oxford-Ole Miss Citizens' Council and Past President of the Campus Chapter of Patriotic American Youth, an ultra right-wing group.

Professor Kerciu was immediately released by the Justice of the Peace on a $500 bond. The maximum penalty on the two charges is seven months imprisonment and $600 in fines. However, even a Mississippi court - at least above the level of the Justice of the Peace - will, it seems to me, realize that a conviction would be an obvious violation of freedom of speech protected by the First and Fourteenth Amendments. Indeed, a trial may well prove a boomerang since, obviously, any desecration of the Confederate flag was its use by the rioters last September in the disgraceful opposition to Meredith's entry as a student.

Yesterday, the local chapter of the American Association of University Professors unanimously adopted a double-headed resolution. It called upon the University's administrators to issue a vigorous public statement upholding Professor Kerciu's right to express his conviction through the painting. It also demanded that the University's counsel represent Professor Kerciu at the trial. This second demand is based on principle rather than necessity, since Professor Kerciu is already represented by Thomas A. Etheridge of Oxford, a former United States Attorney for the Northern District of Mississippi.

Meanwhile, last Friday the Justice Department reported to Congress that it expected that by June 30 - the end of the current Federal fiscal year - it will have expended $559,000 in enforcing the court orders directing Meredith's admission to the University of Mississippi. This enormous figure should serve as a reminder of the burden involved in enforcing the constitutional right to desegregated public education. It emphasizes the necessity for legislation which will authorize the Department of Justice to intervene in all such cases.

Armistice at Greenwood? Last Thursday "a deal" was made between the Department of Justice and the officials of Greenwood, Mississippi. The eight Negro leaders in the registration drive were released from jail upon their own recognizance. Further proceedings against them are to be held in abeyance until a hearing next October on the Government's application for a permanent injunction against the arrest of persons seeking to encourage Negroes to register. As part of the package, the application to Federal District Judge Claude Clayton, Jr. for a temporary injunction against such arrests was withdrawn, without prejudice to renewal if efforts were again made to intimidate Negroes seeking to register.

The very next day, last Friday, the Greenwood police arrested 12 Negro demonstrators. They were promptly fined $100 and some of them given jail sentences up to 30 days. They were immediately released on bail pending their appeal to the County Court where they will have a new trial. However, in the spirit of the Thursday accord, it may be that the City will not press for a further trial in the County Court at this time. This development is indicated by the fact that the City is now furnishing buses to transport Negroes from their central meeting place to the Registrar's Office, and return.

. . .

While transportation facilities are provided by the City, the registrars continue their slowdown operations and few Negroes are likely to be registered until a ruling by the three-Judge Federal District Court which is scheduled to hold hearings this summer on the suit brought by the Department of Justice last August.

A three-Judge court was convened because the suit not only charges discrimination by the registrars but also seeks to enjoin as unconstitutional two statutes. One of these requires that applicants interpret the Mississippi Constitution to the satisfaction of the Registrar. The other provides that the names of applicants be published in the newspapers for at least two weeks before they are acted upon. The first statute provides a perfect excuse for refusing to register Negroes and the second invites intimidation.

Birmingham. Reports of events of the past week in Birmingham, Alabama, have noted that prosecution of the demonstrators following their arrests have been held up by removal of the cases to the Federal District Courts under a civil rights statute which traces back to the Reconstruction era of the post-Civil War period. In my judgment, the Federal District Court will rule the statute is inapplicable and will remand the cases to the State courts. If the charges are pressed, the demonstrators will almost certainly be convicted for peacefully protesting against police brutality and the segregation of lunch counters. Ultimately, in my opinion, many, if not all of the convictions, will be reversed after the cases have traveled the long road to the United States Supreme Court.

Practically, therefore, what will happen next in Birmingham may well depend upon other factors. Among these is the possibility that next Monday Police Commissioner "Bull" Connor and the other members of the present form of Government will be displaced by the recently elected moderate Mayor, former Lt. Gov. Albert Boutwelle. At the moment it is uncertain whether the Commissioners will step aside or whether they will seek to hold their offices for another two years on the claim that they were not terminated by last week's election. On the basis of experience, it is difficult to believe that Connor will relinquish his regime of tyranny unless and until the Alabama courts rule that his day is done.

If Connor is ousted, the hand of the new Mayor would be strengthened by an expression by the President of the shame and shock with which the nation has witnessed what has been happening in Birmingham where public officials have used the power of their office to do violence to those seeking to exercise their Constitutional rights of protest against segregation and discrimination.

Sunday in New York. Last Thursday the New York Legislature passed a bill granting New York City the option to enact a local law permitting persons who observe the Sabbath on a day other than Sunday to keep their stores open on Sunday. The bill, which goes into effect September 1, applies only to family-operated stores and requires that the local law be approved by December 31. In my opinion, there is no doubt that the local option will be exercised.

As the bill was originally passed by the State Assembly, the local option was extended to all cities. Senate Majority Leader Walter F. Mahoney - obviously responding to Catholic pressure which opposed any legislation relaxing the Sunday law - adamantly insisted on the measure being limited to New York City. It is interesting to note that Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller, who had been out of the State on a political junket, immediately signed the bill upon his return last Sunday.

The broader bill introduced by Assembly Speaker Joseph F. Carlino was supported by the State Council of Churches and the Protestant Council of the City of New York, as well as by eight Jewish groups.

Sincerely yours,

Edward Bennett

MAY 23 1963

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May 17, 1963

Dear Friend:

Birmingham and Other Points South. The winds of change continue to blow throughout the South. Nor is Birmingham the only storm center. Elsewhere - in Greensboro and Raleigh, North Carolina, in Nashville, Tennessee, and even on the Eastern Shore of Maryland - private businesses and government officials seem disposed to recognize the legitimacy of demands of Negroes for an end to exclusion from lunch counters and other places and even more important, for the establishment of bi-racial committees to deal with the fundamental problem of the transition of the Negro to first class citizenship. While even in those places sporadic acts of violence and arrests continue, they seem subordinate to the spirit of moving ahead.

Not so in Birmingham. And for the obvious reason that the lame-duck City Administration, typified by Police Commissioner "Bull" Connor, and the State Administration, headed by Gov. George C. Wallace, are determined to smash the settlement finally negotiated last week between the leaders of the Negro community, headed by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. and a subcommittee designated by the powerful business and banking leaders of the white community. The denunciation of the settlement by City and State Administration was bound to incite - even if not intended to incite - violence by lawless white elements. The fruits were the bombings last Saturday night of the home of Dr. King's brother and the Gaston Motel, owned by a Negro and providing the only interracial hotel facility in Birmingham. Neither place had been given police protection.

The bombing immediately precipitated counterviolence by the irresponsible and most depressed elements in the Negro community. This gave Gov. Wallace the excuse for which he was looking. Hundreds of State Police were rushed into Birmingham where they proceeded to act in characteristically brutal fashion. Since then, the State Police have been augmented by other State officers, despite the plea of the local Chief of Police that he has no need for any of their services, and a

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reign of terror - under the guise of law enforcement - prevails in the Negro community. So high-handed have been the arrests made that many have been freed without trial by the Records Court and others have been released under relatively nominal bond.

But for the intervention of President Kennedy on Sunday, Gov. Wallace would in all likelihood have declared martial law in Birmingham and rushed in the National Guard to smash the Negro protest movement. He was checkmated by the President's positioning 3,000 Federal troops near Birmingham and, even more importantly, by the President's announcement that papers had been prepared to place the National Guard in Federal Service. The President acted under the authority of a post-Civl War statute relating to the suppression of domestic violence.

While there is some dispute as to the exact terms of the settlement agreement reached last week, it would appear to have provided for desegregation of lunch counters in five department and variety stores, for the desegregation of restrooms in these and two other stores, and for the promotion of a token number of Negroes to sales positions. It is not entirely clear whether it also provides for the appointment of a bi-racial committee to deal with the reopening of public parks (closed to avoid defiance of a Federal Court order) and the prospective desegregation of public schools.

Even this modest beginning, negotiated by a subcommittee of the "Senior Citizens Committee" on behalf of the Birmingham "Power structure," has not received the clear endorsement of the parent body. Indeed, the "Big Mules" seem to have gone no further than to declare that a majority recognized the necessity for the merchants - none of whom are members of the Committee - making concessions in order to end the tense situation resulting from police suppression of Negro demonstrators. Thus, apparently even the most "enlightened" forces in the white community are lacking either in courage or in conviction or both.

The situation in Birmingham seems likely to remain on an uneasy status quo until the Alabama Supreme Court hands down a decision - expected next week - as to whether the recently elected moderate City administration - headed by Mayor Albert Boutwell - will take office or whether the present reactionary and racist City Government will continue in power until October, 1965. If Boutwell and his colleagues prevail, there is reason to hope for an implementation of the settlement agreement. If the Connor group continues in office, one would, indeed, be optimistic to hope that the settlement agreement will be honored. If it is dishonored, the moderate elements in the Negro community will have no alternative but to mobilize once again the demonstrations which produced the settlement agreement in the first place and they will be faced by an even more determined oppostion. In that case the President will, in my judgment, have no alternative but to turn to the Federal Courts for injunctive relief - on the theory that civil rights are being denied under the cloak of police power - or turn to Congress for new legislation to make possible effective Federal intervention.

A Fantastic Decision. On Tuesday, United States District Judge Frank M. Scarlett dismissed a suit brought to desegregate the public schools of Chatham County, including the City of Savannah. His ruling is in clear defiance of the holding in the School Desegregation Cases decided by the Supreme Court in 1954.

Judge Scarlett's ruling was predicated upon the ground that evidence introduced by white parents who were permitted to intervene established the intellectual inferiority of Negroes as a group. Moreover, he found that such inferiority"was attributable in large part to hereditary factors, predictably resulting from a difference in the physiological characteristics of the two groups." He concluded, therefore, that any

plan of over-all school desegregation would seriously injure both white and Negro students and adversely affect the educational standards and accomplishments of the public schools.

Judge Scarlett went even further and found that the admission of individual Negro students, who matched the intellectual achievements of white students, should be denied because of the "psychological harm" which he found would result to those who were admitted and to those who were rejected. As to the former Judge Scarlett found that they would suffer from "social rejection by the dominant group" and that, moreover, they would ultimately fall behind their white peers. As to those Negro students excluded by the application of academic tests, Judge Scarlett held that they would be even more greatly injured by the admission of more talented Negro children because they would have been singled out as inferior to those admitted.

These fantastic findings were based upon testimony offered by so-called "experts" far better known for their racist views than for their academic standing. Attorneys for the NAACP Defense Fund who are representing the families of Negro children objected to this testimony and declined to cross-examine. They took the position, which in my view will be upheld by the Court of Appeals of the Fifth Circuit, that such evidence is irrelevant, that is to say, that the decision of the Supreme Court means that segregation because of race is unconstitutional.

One may safely predict that the Court of Appeals will summarily reverse Judge Scarlett and that the Supreme Court will refuse to review the reversal. Judge Scarlett's decision is therefore interesting only because it will provide the occasion for ending the myth that the Supreme Court decision in 1954 rested upon particular sociological and psychological findings rather than upon a basis principle of constitutional law.

The Faceless Accuser and the Constitution. Although involving an area far removed, a decision of the United States Supreme Court last Monday may throw some light upon its attitude toward a bill passed by the House of Representatives last week. This would authorize the National Security Agency to dismiss a person as a "security risk" without being told the reason for his ouster and without any right of appeal.

Monday's decision involved the far less dramatic issue of the right of an applicant for admission to the Bar to be told of the specific grounds on which he was found lacking in "the character and general fitness requisite for an attorney and counsellor at law" and to confront and cross-examine persons who made statements impugning his integrity. The failure to provide these safeguards, the Supreme Court ruled, in a 7-to-2 decision, violated due process of law guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment. The two dissenting Justices - Clark and Harlan - did not reach the merits of the case because, in their view, the case had been disposed of on non-Federal grounds in the New York courts.

It is to be hoped that the Bill passed by the House will die in the Senate, as did an identical measure last year, and that, if it should pass the Senate, the measure will be vetoed by the President. If the bill should become law, the United States Supreme Court may some day be faced with a grave constitutional issue which it has so far been able to avoid.

Entirely apart from the constitutional issue, in my judgment Representative Roosevelt, Democrat of California, who unsuccessfully urged the inclusion of safeguards, was completely sound in pointing out that a dismissal as a security risk would make an employee an economic pariah. His proposal was defeated by a vote of 132-to-39.

The contrary argument which prevailed in the House was that the Roosevelt amendment was inconsistent with the needs of national security and

that, moreover, "no person has the right to be hired by the National Security Agency." The latter argument is, of course, entirely specious and would justify the refusal to hire persons because of their race, creed or color. The first argument, it seems to me, has no support in fact. Rather, it appears to me to be an expression of the same phobic fear which once led the Defense Department to authorize Government contractors to dismiss employees without charges and without right of confrontation.

In Greene v. McElroy, decided in June, 1959, the Supreme Court struck down the regulation, in an 8-to-1 decision, on the ground that it had not been authorized either by Congress or by the President. Indeed, Chief Justice Warren - writing for himself and Justices Black, Douglas, Brennan and Stewart - strongly intimated that the failure to provide these safeguards would raise serious constitutional objections. Justice Clark, the sole dissenter, termed the decision a "temporary debacle" and declared that if it were ever held that the Constitution required such safeguards, the result would be a "rout of our internal security."

Four years have passed since Greene. During that period neither President Eisenhower nor President Kennedy found it necessary, in the interest of "our national security" or in order to avoid a "debacle," to authorize the repromulgation of the regulation. Apparently, in the meantime, the national security has been preserved.

Governor Lawrence v. FBI. My newsletter of May 3 pointed out that more than five months had passed since President Kennedy issued an Executive Order to curb discrimination and segregation in housing built with Federal assistance. It noted that, apart from the Chairman-Director, former Governor David L. Lawrence of Pennsylvania, none of the public members of the Committee had been selected, although the program depends for its effectiveness upon their appointment. It also noted that, by way of excuse, Governor Lawrence, in a speech delivered the previous Thursday, explained the delay on the ground that time was needed to make security checks. My newsletter observed that it seemed to me nothing short of weird that the FBI would require so many months in order to check the security qualifications - whatever that may mean - of seven persons to fill the vacant seats on the Committee.

On May 13 Clyde Tolson, Associate Director of the FBI, wrote charging me with "disregard of truth" in my criticism of his Agency. He said: "For the record, requests made of the FBI in connection with the matter you mentioned have all been handled within a month of their receipt."

It seems to me that the quarrel is not between the FBI and me and that it would have been much more appropriate for Mr. Tolson to have addressed his communication to the Chairman-Director. In any event, it would seem, in the light of Mr. Tolson's letter, that the Administration should further explain Governor Lawrence's excuse for the delay in the appointment of the public members of the Committee.

Sincerely yours,

Shad Polier

Shad Polier

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LEO PFEFFER, Director
JOSEPH B. ROBISON, Assistant Director

April 17, 1963

Dear Friend:

Usually this letter is written Wednesday evening. However, this week I am otherwise committed. Hence, in order to avoid being a day late, the letter is being written a day ahead of the usual schedule.

A Draconian Proposal. Yesterday, the Federal Civil Rights Commission issued an unprecedented "interim report". The Commission, which was established by the Civil Rights Act of 1957, has general powers to investigate and make reports to the President and Congress. It is authorized to hold hearings to which it may subpoena witnesses, but has no law enforcement or administrative authority.

The special report praised the Kennedy Administration for "strong administrative action in assuring that violators of Federal laws are prosecuted and that court orders are enforced in Mississippi." It went on, however, to say that, since October, 1962, open and flagrant violations of constitutional guarantees in Mississippi had precipitated serious conflict. It took particular note of the fact that "citizens of the United States had been shot, set upon by vicious dogs, beaten and otherwise terrorized because they sought to vote." The Commission declared that "all this affronts the conscience of the nation". It suggested that the President "explore his legal authority" to withhold Federal funds from Mississippi until the State ends its "subversion of the Constitution". It likewise urged that Congress "consider seriously" the idea of legislation withdrawing such funds.

During the fiscal year which ended June 30, 1962, the Commission pointed out, the Federal Government received $270,000,000 in taxes in Mississippi but paid to the State more than $600,000,00 These payments include various grants in aid programs, U. S. Corps of Engineers contracts, military contracts, direct military and civilian payrolls, redevelopment loans and grants, small business loans, public works projects and Federal agency grants. It called attention to the fact that at the present time the National Aeronautic and Space Agency is proceeding with

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plans to build a $400,000,000 moon rocket engine test center in Mississippi.

The six-man Commission is chaired by Dr. John A. Hannah, President of Michigan State University. The Vice-Chairman of the Commission is Robert G. Story, of Texas, one of the most distinguished attorneys in the country. The other members are: Erwin N. Griswold, Dean of Harvard Law School; Rev. Theodore Hesburgh, President of Notre Dame University; Dr. Robert S. Rankin, of North Carolina, Chairman of the Political Science Department of Duke University; and Spotswood W. Robinson III, of Virginia, Dean of Howard Law School in Washington.

The Commission's report was unanimous in concluding that "only further steps by the Federal Government can arrest the subversion of the Constitution in Mississippi." In addition to proposing withholding of Federal funds, the Commission urged the President formally to direct the people of Mississippi to comply with the Constitution and that he strengthen efforts to "suppress existing lawlessness and to provide Federal protection to citizens in the exercise of their basic constitutional rights."

One may well doubt that the President or the Congress will take the draconian measure proposed by the Commission of cutting off Federal funds. On the other hand, the Special Report -- joined in by both white Southern members, Story and Rankin -- must inevitably put civil rights at the top of the agenda of the Administration and Congress. It points unerringly and inescapably to what has long been known by all persons concerned with civil rights: The responsibility of the Federal Government to assure those rights requires that the Department of Justice be empowered to bring suit in the Federal courts for their vindication.

Meanwhile in Alabama. The Birmingham situation, reported at length in last week's newsletter, remains essentially unchanged. Arrests of demonstrators continue. Among those recently jailed are three of the leaders of the protest movement: Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Rev. Dr. Ralph Abernathy, both formerly of Montgomery, Alabama, and now of Atlanta, Georgia; and Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth, formerly of Birmingham but now pastor of a church in Cincinnati. None of those arrested have been brought to trial because of the removal of their cases to the Federal Court. For the reasons stated in my letter last week, it is my opinion that they will be returned to the State courts. Hopefully, the prosecutions will be delayed until it has been decided who are the city officials of Birmingham.

Yesterday suit was brought by Mayor Albert Boutwell and the new nine-man City Council elected April 2, to oust the prior administration which claims that it has the right to continue in office until October, 1965, and which has a long and notorious history of vicious anti-Negro persecution. A hearing on the ouster suit will be held next Tuesday but it will probably require another two weeks before a final decision is handed down by the State Supreme Court. If the ouster is upheld there is reason to hope that Birmingham will begin to see the start of desegregation of lunch counters, the reopening of parks on a desegregated basis and a general change in the atmosphere.

The defense of the arrested demonstrators has been taken over by attorneys for the NAACP Defense Fund. On Monday they moved to set aside the sweeping injunction granted last week without a hearing by a State Court Judge against demonstrations. The motion to set aside the injunction challenges it as unconstitutionally restricting freedom of speech and assembly. Until now no effort has been made to enforce the injunction by contempt proceedings against any of the demonstrators. This may be due to realization by the Birmingham officials who obtained the injunction that it is violative of constitutional rights.

Whether the demonstrations will continue pending the resolution of the question of who are the rightful government of Birmingham is at the moment unclear. In any event, there are indications that the tremendous mobilization of the Negro community may be directed toward encouraging greater future registration. At the present time there are estimated to be from 11,000 to 12,000 voters registered, out of a Negro population of 140,000. The fact that Boutwell, former Lt. Gov. of Alabama, was elected by a margin of 8,000 out of 50,000 votes cast, indicates how decisive the Negro vote can be in Birmingham in assuring, or increasing the likelihood of, a city government which is moderate on the race issue.

On the Alabama University Front. News of the situation in Birmingham overshadowed the fact that on Monday suit was filed by attorneys for the NAACP Legal Defense Fund on behalf of three Negro students seeking immediate transfer from their present schools to the University of Alabama at Tuskasloosa. The students, all of whom are Alabama residents, are attending Negro colleges in Alabama and Georgia. In all likelihood two other Negroes will soon file suits to be admitted to post-graduate courses at the University's Extension in Huntsville, Alabama, where they are presently employed as engineers, at an aircraft plant.

Technically, these suits will be brought by way of seeking compliance by the University with the injunction against racial discrimination issued against it in 1955 in the Autherine Lucy case. Miss Lucy's attendance at the University was short-lived. After she had been driven from the campus by mob action, readmission was denied because she had, in the interim, issued a charge - which she was unable to prove - that the officials of the University had acted in complicity with the mob.

Birth Control for Relief Recipients. On December 3, 1962 the Illinois Public Aid Commission, by a vote of 6-to-4, adopted a policy of providing contraceptives for women on public relief who requested them. By its action the Commission authorized payment from public funds for medical examinations, advice and prescriptions by physicians to married women regardless of whether they have children, to unmarried women with children, but not to unmarried women who were childless. The vote followed two days of public hearings with support coming from Protestant and Jewish groups, the Planned Parenthood Federation of America, the Chicago Gynecological Society and the American Public Health Association, as well as the Commission's Medical Advisory Committee. It was opposed by the Catholic Church. All four of the dissenting Commissioners were Catholic.

The majority of the Commission, led by Chairman Arnold H. Maremont, contends that women on relief have the same right to contraceptives as those who can afford them. The minority, including State Auditor Michael J. Howlett, a Catholic, says that providing contraceptives to unmarried women and separated wives, a large percentage of women on relief, encourages promiscuity, which is a violation of state laws against adultery and fornication.

When the program went into effect on April 1, a taxpayer suit was filed immediately requesting an injunction against the Auditor and the State Treasurer releasing any funds to pay the prices of pharmacists filling prescriptions for contraceptives. Illinois Attorney General William C. Clark, a Catholic, supported the request for injunction and directed that no funds be expended until the matter was determined by the Circuit Court. Maremont immediately retained independent counsel to represent him and the other members constituting a majority of the Commission.

The situation became even more complicated when Judge John G. Lupe, before whom the case came for decision, adjourned the whole matter pending action by the Illinois Legislature which has before it a bill barring the Commission from providing birth control information or contraceptive devices for unwed mothers or mothers not living with their husbands.

The bill, if passed, would exclude from the program approximately 50,000 families receiving State aid for dependent children. Faced with this sabotage of the program, Maremont plans to go directly to the Illinois Supreme Court for an order directing the Auditor and the Treasurer to honor vouchers issued by the Commission. In the absence of a decision by the highest court of the State, the program may largely come to a standstill if the Chicago Retail Druggists Association votes at a meeting, scheduled to consider the matter, that prescriptions will not be filled until the legal issue has been settled. The Executive Secretary and Business Manager of the Association is Michael J. Mankowski, a Catholic.

The motivating consideration for the Commission's original decision was admittedly the desire to reduce the number of illegitimate children on relief and thus to cut the expense of the aid to dependent children program. No doubt Illinois, like many other States, would prefer to deal with the problem by simply denying all assistance to illegitimate children. That alternative is not available since such action disqualifies the States from reimbursement of any part of the aid to dependent children program by the Federal Government. In the case of Illinois, this would mean giving up over $200 million of Federal funds, representing 52.5% reimbursement of the State's expenditures for this program. The program covers some 200,000 families, of whom only 50,000 include illegitimate children. Obviously, Illinois will not be willing either to forego the Federal funds or to suspend the entire program.

On Monday the Chicago Catholic Interracial Council, which has consistently opposed the program of providing birth control information and contraceptives, interposed a new argument. In an open letter to the Illinois House of Representatives, the Council urged that the program had an anti-Negro motivation. This strange racist anti-racist argument was as follows: The supporters of the program had frequently referred to "preventing the birth of 'unwanted, unloved children.'" From this proposition, with which few humane or civilized persons would quarrel, the Council went on to assert that "The ugly truth is that for too many people it is largely because the Negro is presently the chief recipient of the program and is particularly unwanted and unloved that this program attracts support. Even in the unlikely event that its end result is achieved, it will not eliminate poverty or promote good family life among the Negro poor, but only eliminate Negroes. This is surely not the conscious motive of many partisans of the Illinois Public Assistance Program, but it is the motive of some, and may well be part of the motive, albeit unrealized, of a great many."

Sincerely yours,

Shad Polier

Shad Polier

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April 25, 1963.

Dear Friend:

State Legislation Against Discrimination In Interstate Employment Upheld. Last year the Colorado Supreme Court ruled that the State Anti-Discrimination Law could not be applied to the case of a Negro pilot refused employment by Continental Airlines because of his race. It held that the clause of the Constitution which empowers Congress to regulate interstate commerce requires that "with reference to interstate carriers the regulation of racial discrimination is a matter in which there is 'need for national uniformity,' and the states are without jurisdiction to act in that area."

On Monday the United States Supreme Court unanimously rejected this reasoning. It pointed out that there was no possibility that a pilot hired in Colorado would be barred solely because of his color from serving a carrier in another State. It noted that recent decisions had settled that any State law requiring applicants for any job to be turned away because of their color would be invalid under the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment and that any such requirement in a Federal law would violate the Due Process Clause of the Fifth Amendment. Accordingly, it concluded, a statute to prevent discrimination in hiring on account of race does not impose a constitutionally prohibited burden upon interstate commerce.

The United States Supreme Court also considered, and dismissed as without merit, arguments advanced by Colorado that Federal law had so pervasively covered the field of discrimination in interstate commerce as to preclude state legislation. The Court ruled that, assuming that the Civil Aeronautics Board is vested with power to deal with such discrimination, that fact was immaterial so long as the power remains "dormant and unexercised." The Court also rejected the contention that the Railway Labor Act imposed upon an air carrier a duty to engage only in fair, nondiscriminatory hiring practices, although it took note of the fact that the Act has been applied to prohibit labor unions from using

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their exclusive bargaining power to discriminate against minority groups whom they are supposed to represent.

Finally, the United States Supreme Court brushed aside the argument that enforcement of Colorado's Anti-Discrimination Act would interfere with the Executive Order - originally issued by President Eisenhower and subsequently broadened by President Kennedy - requiring government contracting agencies to include in their contracts clauses by which contractors agree not to discriminate against employees or applicants because of their race, religion, color or national origin. The Court expressly declined to rule upon whether, in any event, an Executive Order can foreclose State legislation. Instead, the Court said: "It is impossible for us to believe that the Executive intended for its orders to regulate air carrier discrimination among employees so pervasively as to preempt state legislation intended to accomplish the same purpose."

The importance of Monday's decision is evident from the fact that a contrary result would have emasculated the fair employment practice laws of 25 States. Sixteen of these States filed briefs as friend of the Court in support of the constitutionality of such legislation and two Assistant Attorneys General were permitted to argue in opposition to the Colorado ruling. They were joined by the Justice Department. A brief amicus curiae taking the same position was also filed jointly by AJCongress, the NAACP Defense Fund and the American Civil Liberties Union.

Obviously, if the Colorado decision had been upheld, vast sectors of economic activity would be once again open to discrimination by private employers. Industry and commerce in the United States do not stop at political boundaries of any single State or even at our national borders. Thus, if there were any validity to the position taken by the Colorado Court, the same principle would have barred the complaint by AJCongress against the practices of the Arabian American Oil Company (ARAMCO) of questioning job applicants as to whether they were Jewish. As a matter of fact, ARAMCO did, unsuccessfully, raise this objection, claiming that New York had no power to deal with alleged discrimination against persons seeking employment which might require them to work in Saudi Arabia, which excludes Jews.

New York Housing Discrimination Ban Extended. On Monday Governor Rockefeller signed a bipartisan bill extending the coverage of the State Law Against Discrimination to the sale or rental of all housing except rentals in owner-occupied one and two-family dwellings. The new law, which becomes effective September 1, will cover approximately 95% of the private housing in the State. As originally enacted in 1961, the statute included exemptions which left uncovered almost 85% of private housing outside of New York City and nearly 60% of the housing market in the State. The fight for more adequate legislation has been led for many years by the New York State Committee on Discrimination in Housing, a coordinating group of forty civil rights groups, consisting of civic, religious and labor organizations. AJCongress was one of the original organizers of the Committee.

Sharing Public School Space With Parochial School Barred. The New York State Constitution prohibits the use of public property or funds in aid of denominational schools. This provision was cited by AJCongress at a meeting of the New York City Board of Education on March 27 in opposing the application of Beth Jacob School, an Orthodox Jewish day school, to rent five classrooms in a Brooklyn public school building. The public school in question has a listed capacity of 1,934 pupils and enrollment of only 940 students. Under the proposal, public school

students would continue to use the part of the school which was not leased to the Jewish day school.

AJCongress urged that the resultant segregation of pupils within the public school building along religious lines would result in inter-religious divisiveness, lead to the introduction of religious symbols and practices and invite competition among religious groups in their dealings with public officials in efforts to obtain similar arrangements. The Public Education Association joined in opposing the application by Beth Jacob School. It contended that "Mingling public and parochial or private school children in the manner suggested here is bound to have unfortunate effects on both groups of children. While being brought together in the same building, they will in fact be separated by differences which may be difficult for them to grasp. Religious or other symbols that may characterize the children's or the teachers' garb or their facilities would add to the confusion."

The Board of Education sidestepped the issue by submitting the question to Dr. Charles A. Brind, Counsel to the State Education Department. Last Friday Dr. Brind disposed of the issue on the ground that the Board of Education had no authority to rent out the space to anyone. He distinguished the situation where a school auditorium is made available to community groups in return for a fee to cover the cost of custodial services and light and heating. Dr. Brind also rejected the suggestion that the School Board could declare the classrooms surplus and turn them back to the City as unneeded, and thus enable the City to rent rooms to the Beth Jacob School. He pointed out that it would be impossible to sever legally the unneaded rooms from the rest of the building. He further stated that it would also be unwise and unsound to mingle public and parochial pupils in a public school building, and observed that all kinds of problems would arise.

Federal Funds and Mississippi. My newsletter last week expressed doubt that the President or the Congress would take the draconian measure proposed by the Civil Rights Commission of cutting off Federal funds from all Mississippi until the State ends its "subversion of the Constitution." On Friday President Kennedy, in replying to a question at a luncheon of the American Society of Newspaper Editors, declared that he did not have this power, and expressed the view that it would be unwise to give such power to the President. He went on to say, however, that it was "very clear" that Federal funds should not be expended "in a way which encourages or really permits discrimination."

On the same day the President wrote to the Chairman of the Commission, promising to give the proposal "prompt and careful review," but noting that it "raises difficult and far-reaching Constitutional considerations." It remains to be seen whether such review will lead the President to conclude that he can take steps to assure that the more than $600 million in Federal funds poured into Mississippi each year are administered without discrimination on account of race.

Hopefully the President will conclude that the time has come to test the right of the Department of Justice to bring suits in the Federal District Courts to enjoin any such discrimination, and that such action need not await upon a Congressional authorization. While the outcome of such litigation cannot be predicted with any certainty, even failure would serve the important purpose of calling public attention to the fact that Federal funds were being misused and that legislation should be enacted by Congress expressly empowering the Department of Justice to bring suit to put an end to such practices.

There can be no doubt that Mississippi is determined to defy the Constitution. On the other hand, the wholesale cutting off of Federal funds seems to me to be the wrong remedy for the disease. There are, in my opinion, other remedies, and their administration is long overdue.

Birmingham. As predicted in my newsletter of April 11, Federal District Judge Clarence W. Allgood returned to the Recorders' Court the cases of more than 250 demonstrators which were sought to be removed under a post-Civil War civil rights statute. Whether the cases - charging violation of city ordinances - will now be tried in the State Court may depend upon the outcome of a suit brought by the recently elected city officials to oust the regime of "Bull" Connor and his fellow commissioners, who claim the right to continue in office until 1965. On Monday the would-be new administration won the first round before Circuit Court Judge Edgar J. Barron but a final ruling by the Alabama Supreme Court probably will not be handed down until next week at the earliest. If Mayor Albert Boutwell and the new City Council, elected April 2, take office, the pending criminal charges may be dropped as part of a plan of working out a new era in race relations in Birmingham.

Meanwhile, a suit brought by Connor and his fellow Commissioners in the State Circuit Court, seeks to ban all demonstrations. A sweeping temporary restraining order to that effect was granted by Circuit Court Judge W.A. Jenkins, Jr. on April 10, and efforts to have it stayed have so far been unavailing. Instead, Judge Jenkins has proceeded with the trial of contempt charges against Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. and 10 other leaders of the desegregation campaign for violating the provisions of the restraining order. This trial was completed on Tuesday and a decision is expected Friday. It would come as no surprise if Judge Jenkins held the defendants in contempt and imposed heavy sentences upon them. Presumably, the same treatment would then be administered to the other 38 Negroes arrested on the same charge.

Ultimately, in my opinion, the convictions will be set aside by the United States Supreme Court on the ground that the temporary restraining order was both so vague and so sweeping as to nullify the right of peaceful protest granted by the Fourteenth Amendment. However, unless a new city administration drops the suit, the NAACP Defense Fund will certainly seek some immediate relief from the Supreme Court so that the order of Judge Jenkins will not, in the interim, crush the protest movement.

A Further Footnote to the Meredith Case. My newsletter of April 11 reported the arrest of G. Roy Kerciu, Assistant Professor of Art at the University of Mississippi on charges of obscenity and desecration of the Confederate flag because of the exhibition of his painting, "America the Beautiful," in which he sought to portray the spirit of the mob which last September sought to bar James H. Meredith's admission to Ole Miss. The complainant, Charles G. Blackwell of Ellisville, Miss., a law student at the University, was a candidate for State Representative from Jones County in the August Democratic Primary. He is an officer of the Oxford-Ole Miss Citizens' Council and Past President of the Campus Chapter of Patriotic American Youth, an ultra right-wing group.

Last Wednesday Mr. Blackwell withdrew the charges because "This thing has just got all out of proportion." Presumably he had reference to the fact that the local chapter of the American Association of University Professors had adopted a resolution calling upon the University's Administrators to issue a vigorous public statement upholding Professor Kerciu' right to express his conviction through the painting and demanding that the University's counsel represent him in the criminal proceedings. It may well be that the withdrawal of the charges also reflected the realization by Blackwell - or wiser heads who counselled him - that a trial could prove a boomerang.

Sincerely yours,

Shad Polier

Shad Polier

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LEO PFEFFER, Director
JOSEPH B. ROBISON, Assistant Director

May 3, 1963

Dear Friend:

Further Developments in the Birth Control Controversy. On Tuesday the Illinois Senate rescinded its approval of Arnold H. Maremont as Chairman of the State Public Aid Commission. Mr. Maremont, a Chicago industrialist, had been the principal advocate of the program which the Commission adopted last December, by a vote of 6-to-4, providing contraceptives upon request of women on public relief. The vote followed two days of public hearings with support coming from Protestant and Jewish groups, the Planned Parenthood Federation of America, the Chicago Gynecological Society, and the American Public Health Association, as well as the Commission's Medical Advisory Committee. It was opposed by the Catholic Church and all four of the dissenting Commissioners are Catholic. As noted in my newsletter last week, the implementation of the program, originally scheduled to go into effect on April 1, has been tied up by litigation.

Mr. Maremont was appointed by Gov. Otto Koerner, a Democrat. The appointment was confirmed by the Illinois Senate, which is under Republican control. The Republican members voted unanimously for the removal, with Democratic Senators abstaining. Officially, the removal came about because Mr. Maremont asserted that the Republican Senators were holding up emergency public aid funds because most of the recipients were Chicago Negroes who voted Democratic. This charge of racism probably made his removal inevitable. Strangely enough, Mr. Maremont was recently charged by the Chicago Catholic Interracial Council with anti-Negro prejudice in instituting the birth control program, since most of the beneficiaries on the relief rolls would be Negroes.

Deprived of Mr. Maremont's leadership it may well be that the Illinois birth control program will be jettisoned. If so, the Catholic Church will have won a victory in the name of morality, although experience certainly demonstrates that morality is not encouraged by keeping persons in ignorance or

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depriving them of the means of planning their personal lives. That seems clearly to be the lesson of the past decade during which the rate of illegitimate births in Illinois has doubled. Moreover in Chicago one of every eight births is illegitimate - about three times the national average.

As was pointed out in my newsletter last week, the motivating consideration for the Commission's original decision was admittedly the desire to reduce the number of illegitimate children on relief and thus to cut the expense of the aid to dependent children program. In my judgment, the economic considerations will ultimately contribute to a more enlightened policy, even in States where the Catholic Church holds the balance of political power. Another factor which will contribute to that change will be, it seems to me, an increasing recognition within Catholic circles of the hostility and antagonism engendered by its insistence upon imposing by law its theological views upon the rest of the community.

A tremendously able critique of the position of the Church has recently been published by a distinguished Catholic physician, Dr. John Rock of Boston, an authority on infertility and birth control, who helped to develop the first oral contraceptive pill. In a recent editorial in "The Pilot," official organ of the Archdiocese of Boston, Cardinal Cushing, while taking issue with some of the arguments advanced by Dr. Rock, praises the book for its objectivity.

The ground will be further cut from under the position of the Catholic Church, in my opinion, when next year the United States Supreme Court reviews the Connecticut birth control cases. It is a practical certainty that the convictions of the New Haven Planned Parenthood Center will be affirmed by the highest Connecticut court. It is in my judgment equally certain that the convictions will be reversed by the United States Supreme Court - probably even unanimously - as a violation of the Due Process Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. Such a decision would, of course, impose no obligation upon States to furnish contraceptives or contraceptive information. Nevertheless, it seems to me the intellectual implications and repercussions of a decision striking down a ban upon such a program will go far beyond the actual holding of the case.

Even though such considerations may not be technically relevant to the issue which will be presented to the United States Supreme Court, it also seems to me that the members of the Court will not be unmindful of the increasing concern of the Federal Government with the problem of population explosion which is taking place throughout the world, particularly in the underdeveloped countries of South America, Asia and Africa. It is becoming generally recognized that population growth has become completely disproportionate to present and prospective rates of increase in economic development. It presents a threat to human welfare second in importance only to the threat of atomic warfare. It has also become increasingly evident that this country's programs of international assistance are doomed to become meaningless unless the beneficiaries of our financial aid can turn to us for advice and the actual means of population control.

At the same time it is becoming increasingly impossible to expect that the problem can be dealt with exclusively through private research and assistance. Only the Federal Government has the means to provide an adequate program. Nor is it likely that in responding to these urgent needs of the rest of the world, we will develop a birth control program which will be for export only.

It does not require taking a long view, it seems to me, to see that, in all likelihood, the next generation will witness a revolution throughout

the world, including the United States, with regard to the question of birth control. What is involved - the welfare, indeed almost the survival, as well as the dignity of human beings - will either sweep aside the theological doctrine of the Catholic Church or, as may well be more likely, the doctrine will itself change to meet the requirements of a changed world. It is to me fascinating that the scientific advances in the area of birth control indicate that the solution is not through the use of mechanical devices but through the development of chemical agents which Dr. Rock argues should be as technically acceptable to the Church as the rhythm method which it now sanctions.

Some of these observations may well seem far afield in a newsletter devoted to civil rights and civil liberties. On the other hand, it seems to me that, if valid, these considerations are highly relevant because they indicate what courts and legislatures, including the Congress, may be expected to do at a not very distant date with respect to a problem which touches upon the most basic of all human rights.

Jesuits Support Sunday Law Amendment. An editorial in the April 20 issue of "America," national Roman Catholic weekly, urges enactment of a New York City ordinance to permit persons who observe Sabbath on a day other than Sunday to keep their stores open on Sunday. Such a local law was authorized by legislation enacted at the recent session of the New York Legislature. The enabling statute empowers the New York City Council to adopt an implementing local ordinance before December 31 of this year.

Passage of the State law marked the successful conclusion of a campaign initiated by AJCongress 15 years ago, in which it was joined by many other Jewish groups, particularly the New York Board of Rabbis. The State law was also actively supported this year by the State Council of Churches and the Protestant Council of the City of New York.

In urging New York City to adopt "a fair Sabbath" law, the editorial in "America" said:

> "The people who stand to benefit most from the Sabbatarian exemption are mostly Orthodox Jews who religiously observe Saturday as their day of rest. To allow them to open shop on Sunday will not seriously impede the Sunday closing law's purpose of keeping one day a week free of business occupations and will relieve conscientious Jews of what they regard as an inequity."

It remains to be seen what position will be taken by the more conservative element of the Catholic Church, for whom Cardinal Spellman is the spokesman. This group opposed any relaxation of the Sunday law and prevented the adoption of a broader State law which would have extended the same right of local option to all communities in the State.

The Illusory Executive Order on Housing Discrimination. More than five months have passed since President Kennedy - after almost two years of delay - partially redeemed his campaign promise of issuing an Executive Order curbing discrimination and segregation in housing built with Federal assistance. My newsletter commented at the time that the Order, while historic in significance, was certainly less than half a loaf. It observed, that, on the other hand, even such crumbs are better than no bread at all. However, until today, it is more accurate to say that all that we have gotten is pie in the sky.

Apart from the Chairman-Director, former Gov. David L. Lawrence of Pennsylvania, none of the public members of the Committee have been appointed, although the program depends for its effectiveness upon their appointment. By way of an excuse, Governor Lawrence, in a speech delivered last Thursday, explained the delay on the ground that time was needed to make "security checks."

The best that can be said of this explanation is that it indicates no lack of good will but rather a fantastic obsession with questions of security in an area where the only subversion that exists or is likely to exist is in the very continuance of practices of discrimination and segregation. It seems to me nothing short of weird that the FBI would require so many months in order to check the security qualifications - whatever that may mean - of seven persons to fill the vacant seats of the Committee.

The Barnett Case. On Monday the United States Supreme Court agreed to consider next October the application made by Gov. Ross A. Barnett of Mississippi for a jury trial on the charges of criminal contempt arising out of his obstruction of the enrollment of James H. Meredith at the University of Mississippi and his failure to provide Meredith with the protection of State law enforcement authorities in violation of the order of the Court of Appeals. Review was made necessary by the fact that the Court of Appeals divided 4-to-4 on the issue, the ninth member of the Court, Judge Hutchinson of Texas, being unable to participate because of illness.

Since the proceedings are brought by the Federal Government, the statutes providing for jury trial are inapplicable. However, Gov.Barnett asserts that he has such a right under the Constitution.

As explained in some detail in my newsletter of April 11, the previous decisions of the U.S. Supreme Court provide no reliable basis for concluding how the present members of that Court will vote on that issue. Certain only is the fact that the determination of that issue will be crucial since no one would be bold enough to assume that even a Federal jury in Mississippi would bring in a verdict of guilty, no matter how overwhelming the proof.

Court Room Segregation Given Short Shrift. Not so long ago a wag observed that the most segregated parts of the South are its churches on Sunday morning. Even that image is beginning to change as churches in such places as Birmingham, Alabama have begun to admit Negro worshippers Indeed, the witticism was never entirely accurate. The distinction belonged equally to State court rooms where, moreover, segregation was even more outrageous since it was imposed by force of law in flagrant violation of the Equal Protection of the Laws Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. The United States Supreme Court so held on Monday. It did not even dignify the issue by writing an opinion nor did it permit oral argument. Instead, the Court merely issued a per curiam order summarily reversing the conviction of a Negro, Ford T. Johnson, for refusing to comply with the order of a Virginia Traffic Court Judge that he move from the "white" section of the court room to the "Negro" section.

Birmingham. Last Friday Circuit Judge W.A. Jenkins, Jr., assessed a relatively mild penalty of five days in jail and $50 fines against Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. and ten other leaders of the Direct-Action Campaign Against Racial Segregation in Birmingham for their defiance of the injunction issued on April 10. Moreover, the defendants were given a stay of 20 days in which to perfect their appeals. If the stay is continued by the Alabama Supreme Court pending the appeal, the injunction will in effect remain a dead letter since even if the convictions were affirmed, a stay would probably be granted by the United States Supreme Court pending review. In fact, it would seem to me that the granting of the stay by Judge Jenkins was intended to forestall application to the U.S. Supreme Court for that relief. There would have been, in my opinion, strong likelihood that such relief would have been granted since otherwise the defendants would have had to serve their sentence before their case could have been considered on the merits.

Sincerely yours,

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Rec'd 5-15-63

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May 9, 1963

LEO PFEFFER, Director
JOSEPH B. ROBISON, Assistant Director

Dear Friend:

Birmingham on the Brink. The next 24 hours may well determine whether Birmingham will become a turning point in the struggle of the American Negro for emancipation. If, as there is reason to hope, downtown stores desegregate lunch counters, restrooms and dressing rooms, and undertake to give Negroes jobs other than menial positions, a pattern may well be set which will be followed in other hard-core cities in the Deep South.

Such a development may also have great weight in the deliberations of the Alabama Supreme Court which next week will hear argument in a case involving the right of the recently elected moderate City Administration to take over the reins of government from the die-hard segregationists headed by Commissioner "Bull" Connor.

There is reason to expect that the new Administration under Mayor Albert Boutwell would reopen parks and playgrounds closed after a Federal court had ordered their desegregation. Moreover, the new Administration can be expected to accept the necessity for providing additional city jobs for Negroes, including policemen, and to prepare the community for compliance with the public school desegregation order that will, no doubt, be handed down in the near future by the Federal Court. Certainly the pending prosecutions would be dropped against the thousands of Negroes, adults, youths and children, arrested for defying Connor's ban on peaceful demonstrations against segregation and discrimination.

If this hoped-for turn of events proves to be the outcome, it will, in my judgment, be the result of two major forces. One of these, of course, is the magnificent solidarity, dignity and restraint exhibited by the Negro community in the face of police terrorism. While the ordinary people are, in a sense, the heroes of Birmingham, they have, of course, been inspired by the leadership of Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. and

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other ministerial figures.

The other force to which a peaceful and constructive settlement must be attributed is, in my view, the Birmingham "power structure." That term means principally big business and banking interests and, to some extent, the top white religious leadership. If they carry through with the promises implicit in the settlement, the Birmingham "power structure" will in effect have turned its back not only on petty tyrants such as Connor but also upon Gov. George C. Wallace who clearly would welcome the opportunity to declare martial law in order to break the spirit of the Negro community. The lesson will not, in my opinion, be lost upon the "power structures" in other communities, who, rather than the politicians, will determine the future course of events.

This hopeful picture may, of course turn out not to be the case and may prove to be wishful thinking. The truce may be broken by the refusal to accede to the demands of the Negro community, minimal as they are. In that case, no person now can predict the immediate outcome. The crisis that would ensue may well shake the foundations of our democracy as has no event since Fort Sumter was fired upon.

In the negotiations thus far, it seems to me, that too little credit has been given to the Attorney General of the United States and his representatives on the scene in Birmingham. Nor does it seem to me that the criticism leveled at the President for his relatively restrained role has been entirely well taken. This is not to say that, in my judgment, President Kennedy, apart from the immediate critical situation in Birmingham, has dealt with the underlying problem either with the authority or with the leadership which it deserves and requires.

As a serious student of history, the President well knows and should take to heart the lessons of the Buchanan Administration, when through default of leadership in the Presidency, the nation drifted into a bloody civil war which threatened its very existence. It is no answer for the President to intimate that his powers are limited. The difference between a Buchanan and a Lincoln was that the latter believed that it was his high duty to do all possible to save the Union.

In his Inaugural Address President Kennedy reminded all Americans that they should ask themselves not what their country could do for them but what they could do for their country. Surely the time has come when the President should say that one thing the people, and not least of all those in the power structure, can do, is to recognize that this nation cannot endure half emancipated and half unemancipated. The President can go far beyond making such an appeal to the consciences of the people who act in their individual and group capacities. He can point out that new laws are needed to assure to the Federal Goverment full power to preserve to Negroes the right of freedom of assembly and to protest their grievances, and that new statutes must be added to the books to make a reality of the constitutional guaranty of equal protection of the laws. He can so stir the American people that these powers will be enacted by Congress. To fail to attempt to do so in this critical hour of our nation's history would be to subordinate the country's future to political calculations as to the electoral vote in November, 1964.

The Attempt To Subordinate The Constitution To "States' Rights." The Constitution of the United States recognizes that even such a basic document may require change from time to time. It, therefore, contains a provision permitting any amendment except one which would deprive the States of an equal vote in the Senate. The wisdom of including in the Constitution a procedure for its amendment is attested by the fact that to date 22 amendments have been adopted.

Indeed, it is a historical truism that the Constitution itself would never have been ratified if it had not included provision for amendment. For the necessary ratification by nine of the original thirteen States would never have been achieved but for the assurance that there would immediately be submitted a series of amendments placing limitations upon the powers of the Federal Government. The promise was honored and the first ten amendments - popularly known as the Bill of Rights - were submitted to the States by the very first session of Congress and became part of the basic law in 1791.

Not until after the Civil War - with the ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment in 1868 - was there a Bill of Rights limiting the powers of State governments. These limitations were expressed by broadly stated guarantees that no State shall deprive any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law, nor deny to any person the equal protection of the laws. For a long time only the Equal Protection of the Laws Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment was given any significant civil rights or civil liberties content by the United States Supreme Court, applying it to strike down State action singling out Negroes for discriminatory treatment. During the last four decades the Supreme Court has, however, increasingly broadened the application of the Fourteenth Amendment. Thus, today it is held to incorporate the basic civil rights and civil liberties guarantees of the First Amendment. These are, of course, freedom of religion, speech, press, assembly and association, and the separation of church and state. Other rights spelled out by judicial interpretation in recent years have included the right to a fair trial, counsel in criminal cases, and freedom from state-enforced segregation.

In March 1962 in a landmark decision, Baker v. Carr, the Supreme Court ruled that the apportionment of seats in State legislatures was subject to challenge under the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment, on the ground of discriminating in favor of sparsely populated rural communities and thus rendering impotent the voices of citizens of the more populous part of the State. Since then, lower Federal courts and State courts have struck down legislative apportionment in 19 States. While the United States Supreme Court has yet to spell out the standards to be applied in these cases, it is fair to say that Baker v. Carr set off a political revolution which gives promise of ending rural domination of State government in this country.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the State legislatures have begun their own counter-revolution. Apparently they have little confidence that they will prevail in the Supreme Court. They have, therefore, chosen the route of amendment to the Constitution so as to deprive the Federal courts of power to hear any apportionment case or even to consider whether a State has gerry-mandered election districts against Negroes in order to assure that they will elect few or no representatives to the State Legislature.

When the Council of State Governments last December urged the State Legislatures to call for a Constitutional Convention, it did not limit the proposals to the ban on intervention by the Federal courts in apportionment and districting cases. In addition, it proposed two other amendments. One of them would emasculate the United States Supreme Court and the other would deprive Congress of any significant role as far as future amendments to the Constitution are concerned.

So far, the apportionment proposal has been approved by the Legislatures of eleven States. They are Arkansas, Idaho, Kansas, Missouri, Montana, Nevada, Oklahoma, South Carolina, South Dakota, Washington and Wyoming. In addition, this proposal has gone through one House of

the Legislatures in Colorado, Illinois, New Jersey, New Mexico, Oregon and Texas.

The second proposal is so fantastic that it has, in my opinion, little chance of being sponsored by two-thirds of the Legislatures. So far it has been approved by only four. This amendment would set up a new "Court of the Union" to review decisions of the United States Supreme Court involving Federal-State relations. It would be made up of the 50 Chief Justices of the State Supreme Courts. By a majority vote, this "Court" could set aside any decision which it deemed to infringe upon states' rights. It would therefore become the final arbiter of the meaning of the Fourteenth Amendment, with the result that civil rights and civil liberties would be Federal rights in name only.

The third proposal, like the first, has already commanded considerable support in the State Legislatures. So far it has been approved by ten States: Arkansas, Florida, Idaho, Illinois, Kansas, New Hampshire, Oklahoma, South Dakota, Texas and Wyoming. It would permanently establish a new method for amending the Constitution, which would bypass Congress in every respect.

This proposal would provide that whenever the Legislatures of two thirds of the States propose a constitutional amendment, it would have to be submitted for ratification to the State Legislatures and would become effective upon the approval of the Legislatures of three-fourths of the States. It will be noted that under this proposal, in contrast with the present provision of the Constitution, Congress would have no power to determine whether amendments should be submitted to State Conventions for ratification. This power which Congress presently enjoys is vital since Congress now has the power, it seems to me, to determine how such State Conventions shall be chosen. Thus, Congress could require that the Conventions be elected on a state-wide ballot or that election districts be set up which would assure against rural-domination of the State Convention.

In a brilliant analysis of the implications of this proposed amendment, Professor Charles L. Black, writing in the April, 1963 issue of the Yale Law Journal has urged that the proposal to change the method of amending the Constitution is so inconsistent with the spirit of the Constitution that the proposal should be treated only as a memorial to Congress and the Congress should have the complete discretion to determine whether it should be submitted for ratification.

In my opinion, if the public realizes the implications of these constitutional amendments proposed by the Council of State Governments, they will never secure the requisite vote of the Legislatures of two-thirds of the States necessary to require their submission for ratification by three-fourths of the States. In any event there will remain the opportunity to persuade Congress that apportionment-districting and Court of the Union proposals should be presented to State Conventions chosen on a fair basis of representation, and that the proposal to change the procedure for adopting future amendments should be relegated to the waste-basket.

Sincerely yours,

Shad Polier

Shad Polier

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LEO PFEFFER, Director
JOSEPH B. ROBISON, Assistant Director

May 24, 1963

Dear Friend:

Sit-Ins, the Supreme Court and the South. On Monday the United States Supreme Court set aside as unconstitutional the convictions of 28 Negro and three white students for sit-in demonstrations at lunch counters in Alabama and North and South Carolina. All of them had been convicted under "trespass" and similar city ordinances making it a criminal offense to refuse to leave a place of business when requested to do so by the owner.

In three of the cases there were city ordinances which required segregation; in the fourth case, a policy of segregation had been announced by the Mayor and Police Chief. Under these circumstances, in a series of opinions by Chief Justice Warren, eight of the nine Justices held that the convictions constituted action prohibited by the Fourteenth Amendment which provides that no State shall deny any persons the equal protection of the laws. It was immaterial, the Court ruled, whether the proprietor of the store would have sought to enforce a policy of segregation even if there had been no segregation ordinance or segregation ukase by officials. It is impermissible, the Court said, to "attempt to separate the mental urges of the discriminators."

Justice Harlan concurred with the other members of the Court in one of the cases where it appeared from the record that the owner of the store had called in the police because of the existence of the segregation ordinance. He dissented in the other cases on the ground that the records did not show whether the store owner had acted as a result of his own private prejudice. He would have sent these cases back for a new trial. Anyone with the slightest awareness of the pressures upon store owners must realize that they would have probably testified that their actions were "independent." The result would have been that segregation

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would have continued to be enforceable by criminal prosecution - unless and until the Court takes the position urged by Justice Douglas in his separate concurring opinion.

Justice Douglas took the position that places of business which invited the public were, particularly if required to operate under a state licence, no longer "private in character." Consequently, he said, any criminal enforcement of their segregation policies constituted State action violating the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. In reaching this conclusion, Justice Douglas urged that the time had come for the Supreme Court to reverse its landmark decision in the Civil Rights Cases, decided in 1883, invalidating a Federal statute barring inns, railroads and theatres from discriminating on the basis of race. The Supreme Court there held that the Equal Protection Clause ran against the State and not against the proprietor of places of public accommodations and that, consequently, such Federal legislation was unauthorized by the provision of the Fourteenth Amendment giving power to Congress to enact such legislation as it deemed necessary to effect the guaranty of equal protection of the laws.

It is interesting to note that in the Civil Rights Cases only one of the Justices dissented. He was Justice Harlan, the grandfather of the present Justice Harlan who, on Monday, was the lone dissenter - but from the opposite position. It may also be noted in passing that it was the first Justice Harlan who alone dissented in Plessy v. Ferguson, decided in 1896 in which the majority upheld enforced segregation in railroad transportation under the doctrine of "separate but equal facilities." That doctrine received its interment in the School Segregation Cases decided in 1954.

The Supreme Court had before it on Monday a fifth sit-in case which it left undecided and put down for reargument next Fall. It arose out of the prosecution of five Negroes who refused to leave a private amusement park near Baltimore. Maryland has neither a state policy nor laws favoring segregation. Consequently the decision in this case may require the Supreme Court to decide whether a prosecution under an anti-trespass statute constitutes State action prohibited by the Fourteenth Amendment where the premises involved are open to the general public, or whether it is to be held that such enforcement by criminal law at the instance of the private owner is beyond the reach of the Constitution. It may be that this issue will be avoided in the Maryland case because the expulsion and arrest were carried out by a private guard who also had the status of a deputy sheriff.

One of the sit-in cases decided on Monday involved prosecutions in the Birmingham Courts. That community, of course, had a segregation ordinance. Moreover, even if it had become clear that this ordinance was unconstitutional, Police Commissioner "Bull" Connor had threatened to prosecute store owners who desegregated their lunch counters, rest rooms and other facilites. The yielding of store owners to this threat triggered the massive demonstrations by the Negro community which led to thousands of arrests. As is well known, the indication by merchants that they would defy Connor (and Governor George C. Wallace who backed the position taken by Connor) led to bombings by white terrorists, counter-violence by some of the Negro community, the mobilization of Federal troops on a stand-by basis and the introduction into the Negro section of Birmingham of hundreds of State police and their auxiliaries who have brutally repressed the Negro population.

As of today Bull Connor and his cohorts are no longer in power. The Alabama Supreme Court has ruled that they were replaced by a new City Administration headed by Mayor Albert Boutwell elected in a recent referendum in which the Negro vote was decisive. A new day may be dawning in Birmingham.

Another case decided by the Supreme Court last Monday and a decision handed down by the Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit yesterday may well persuade not only the new City Administration but also the cautious "power structure" of the white business community not only that segregation is on its way out but that a beginning must be made in affording economic opportunities to the Negro community.

The other case decided by the Supreme Court on Monday involved the prosecution of Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth, a Negro Minister who was the principal architect of the mass demonstrations in Birmingham. He had been convicted of "aiding and abetting" a violation of the Birmingham anti-trespass ordinance on the ground that he had urged volunteers to participate in the sit-downs. Indeed, his disciples were among those whose convictions were reversed on Monday. The Shuttlesworth conviction was also reversed by the application of the well known legal principle that "there can be no conviction for aiding and abetting someone to do an innocent act."

It requires no particular expertise in constitutional law, in my judgment, to recognize that the decisions in the Shuttlesworth case and in the sit-in cases decided on Monday mean that convictions of the thousands of persons arrested in Birmingham for protesting against segregation in compliance with the edicts of Bull Connor would be set aside as invalid. For that reason alone it would be doubtful that the new City Administration would continue the prosecution of these cases. Moreover, to do so would certainly minimize, if not destroy, the chances for a constructive and peaceful solution of the Birmingham situation. Besides, if the prosecutions were pressed, the NAACP Defense Fund would, no doubt, also press for a hearing upon the suit previously brought in the Federal District Court at Birmingham to enjoin the prosecutions on the ground that they were violative of the Fourteenth Amendment.

The case decided yesterday by the Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit involved a suit to restrain the Birmingham Board of Education from carrying out its order for the expulsion and suspension of some 1100 Negro students for participating in the demonstrations. After a perfunctory hearing Federal District Judge Clarence W. Allgood on Tuesday refused to grant a temporary injunction against the School Board. This decision by Judge Allgood - a Kennedy appointee - was to be anticipated in view of his reputation as a die-hard segregationist. It was anticipated by the NAACP Defense Fund whose attorneys immediately filed an appeal and took the next plane to Atlanta, Georgia, where they requested a stay from Chief Judge Albert P. Tuttle of the Court of Appeals. Six hours after Judge Allgood had handed down his decision, Judge Tuttle granted the relief which Judge Allgood denied. While Judge Tuttle's decision is not final, there cannot be the slightest doubt that the Court of Appeals will accept his view that "It cannot be seriously argued that the arrest of these students can be legally justified."

The School Board - incidentally appointees of "Bull" Connor - will certainly comply with the order issued by Judge Tuttle. Anyone familiar with Judge Tuttle could be certain that noncompliance would result in immediate civil contempt proceedings and that the members of the School Board would have to stay in jail until they did comply.

Monday's rulings by the Supreme Court and yesterday's ruling by the Court of Appeals will certainly be productive of rethinking not only in Birmingham but throughout the South where thousands of cases are pending involving sit-ins and demonstrations. It has already caused some rethinking in the highest of quarters, namely, by the President himself. At his press conference yesterday, Mr. Kennedy said as much when he was asked whether he was considering asking Congress "for new civil rights legislation as a result of recent developments down South." The President's answer was that he thought there may be "things we could do which would provide a legal outlet for a desire for a remedy other than having to engage in demonstrations which bring them into conflict with the forces of law and order in the community."

> "I would hope that we would be able to develop some formulas so that those who feel themselves - or who are, as a matter of fact - denied equal rights would have a remedy. As it is today, in many cases they do not have a remedy, and therefore they take to the streets and we have the kinds of incidents that we have in Birmingham. We hope to see if we can develop a legal remedy."

The great American humorist of the early part of this century, Mr.Dooley, once said that the Supreme Court follows the election returns. It is a commentary upon the 1960s that today the President follows the Supreme Court.

It is, of course, to the credit of his Administration that the Department of Justice, as amicus curiae, not only urged the reversal of the sit-in convictions but also the reversal of Judge Allgood's refusal to enjoin the suspension of Negro students from the Birmingham public schools. It remains to be seen, however, whether the same "vigor" will be exhibited by the President in pressing for the legislation which, as my newsletters have repeatedly pointed out, is necessary in order effectively to put the United States Government behind enforcement of the guaranties of the Constitution under which it operates.

Further Notes on Alabama. Gov. Wallace has brought suit on behalf of Alabama in the United States Supreme Court, challenging the action taken by President Kennedy in ordering Federal troops into Mississippi on a standby basis so as to be in a position to take over law enforcement in Birmingham. At his press conference yesterday President Kennedy welcomed the suit, pointing out that "This is where these disputes should be settled." The President added that he hoped that the Governor had indicated by bringing the suit that he would accept the judgment of the courts. That the judgment will be one dismissing the suit is, it seems to me, beyond question.

At his news conference yesterday President Kennedy also made clear that the full force of the Federal Government - marshals and, if necessary, troops - will be employed to assure that there will be no interference with the order handed down by Federal District Judge Hobart H. Grooms on Monday ordering the enrollment of a Negro student at the main campus of the State University at Tuscaloosa and the admission of another at the University Extension at Huntsville. They are scheduled to be admitted on June 10 despite the plea for delay by the University until "the present state of unrest" in Alabama "has materially improved."

There is still reason to hope that Alabama will decide that it will not go the way of Mississippi - despite Gov. Wallace's threat to personally bar admissions to the University. The University has indicated willingness to comply with the court order. There have been many important voices raised in the State against violence. Sanity may, therefore, prevail over the political ambitions and recklessness of Gov. Wallace.

Sincerely yours,

Carl Rowan

JUN 3 1963

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return to VEP file

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May 31, 1963

LEO PFEFFER, Director
JOSEPH B. ROBISON, Assistant Director

Dear Friend:

Civil Rights in the Courts. Three civil rights cases were decided by the United States Supreme Court on Monday, two of them without opinion. In addition, during the past week a number of important civil rights cases were ruled upon by lower Federal Courts.

The Supreme Court peremptorily denied the State of Alabama leave to file a complaint challenging the action of the President in alerting and stationing military personnel in the Birmingham area. This action had been taken by the President under the authority of a post-Civil War statute permitting the President to use troops, or "any other means" to suppress an insurrection or domestic violence if it works to deprive any group of constitutional rights.

The suit which Alabama sought to institute in the Supreme Court asserted that the President's action was unconstitutional in view of the provision of the Constitution which says that the Federal Government shall protect the States against "domestic violence" if a State's Legislature or Executive requests help. The Department of Justice opposed on the ground that the President's action was designed to enforce the Fourteenth Amendment's guarantees of liberty and equality. In denying permission to file the suit, the Supreme Court never reached the issue that might be presented in the event that Federal troops actually took over law enforcement duties. Instead, the Court said, "Such purely preparatory measures and their alleged adverse general effects [upon States' rights] afford no basis for the granting of Federal relief."

The President's power is challenged in another suit commenced last week by the State of Mississippi in the Federal District Court to enjoin the continued deployment of Federal troops and marshals at Oxford to protect James H. Meredith, whose admission to Ole Miss last September had been obstructed by a riotous mob. However, the constitutional issue presented by the Mississippi suit will be of a very different character

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since it involves action taken by the President to secure the enforcement of, and to prevent interference with, the order of the Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit directing Meredith's admission to the University. No constitutional lawyer worth his salt could doubt that the President of the United States not only has the power but also has the responsibility for taking whatever action is necessary to assure compliance with the orders of the Federal courts.

By a coincidence, the need for the continued maintenance of Federal troops and marshals at the University of Mississippi was emphasized in a case decided this week. In a hearing before Federal District Judge Sidney Mize yesterday, the University - while conceding that Cleve McDowell, another Negro was fully qualified for admission to the Law School - asked that his request for a court order be denied because of the continued "campus" unrest. This argument was brushed aside by Judge Mize who, incidentally, was three times reversed by the Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit because of his refusal to order Meredith's admission. Technically, there will be a further hearing in the McDowell case on Monday, but it is certain that Judge Mize will issue an injunction directing McDowell's admission and that a stay of the injunction will be refused by the Court of Appeals.

It is unlikely, it seems to me, that either Governor Ross A. Barnett or Lt. Gov. Paul B. Johnson will have the temerity to repeat their performance of last September when they physically sought to obstruct Meredith's registration and thereby invited the institution by the Department of Justice of additional charges of criminal contempt. Both already face such charges in the Meredith case which is pending in the Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit, which divided equally on the issue of whether the defendants were entitled to a jury trial. Last week the Supreme Court declined to determine that question until next fall. Its decision will, therefore, probably come down after December 31, by which time Barnett and Johnson will no longer be in office. However, they will still be liable to punishment for any past conduct that is found to have been in contempt of court.

Meanwhile Gov. Wallace of Alabama appears to be determined to play the role of the boy who stood on the burning deck. He has reaffirmed his intention physically to block the admission on June 10 of the two Negro students admitted to the University of Alabama. The groundwork for criminal contempt proceedings against Gov. Wallace was laid on Monday when the Department of Justice sought in the Federal District Court an order enjoining him from interfering. A hearing on the application for injunction is scheduled to be heard before District Judge H. Hobart Grooms next Monday. Unless the Governor publicly retreats, the injunction will shortly be issued and, in any event, it is likely that Federal marshals will accompany the students when they appear to enroll at the main campus at Tuscaloosa and at the University Extension at Huntsville on June 10.

The situation on June 10 will differ from that which existed in Oxford last September. It is well known that the Administration will take whatever action may be necessary - including mobilization of Federal troops - to suppress interference with the order of the Court. In addition, influential elements in Alabama have publicly urged that there be no defiance of the orders of the Court.

The second case decided by the Supreme Court last Monday, without opinion, involved its refusal to allow an appeal by the Clarendon County, South Carolina School Board. This action left in effect the reversal by the Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit of a decision by District Judge C.C. Wyche. The latter had ruled that separate suits must be brought

on behalf of each Negro child complaining of racial segregation and that no suit could be commenced until relief had been sought under the South Carolina pupil assignment law.

The Clarendon County Case has a long history. Indeed, it was one in the group of cases involved in the 1954 school segregation decisions of the Supreme Court. Nine years have passed since then and the arch segregationists who sit on the Federal Bench in South Carolina have seen to it that not one step of progress has been made toward desegregation. The Clarendon County Case is, perhaps, the classic example of the interpretation - or rather misinterpretation - given by hostile Southern judges to the edict handed down by the Supreme Court in 1955. Upon further argument as to the time-table for public school desegregation, the Court declared that this should proceed "with all deliberate speed."

The refusal of the Supreme Court to review the Clarendon County Case last Monday was not accompanied by any opinion. However, in a case decided on the same day, the Court made crystal clear that it regarded these dilatory tactics of the lower Federal courts as violative of its mandate and that it intended to brook no further delays.

The Supreme Court found occasion to express its views on public school desegregation in the course of an opinion, written by Justice Goldberg for a unanimous court. Technically the case involved only the question whether the formula of desegregation "with all deliberate speed" applied to public parks and other municipal recreation facilities in Memphis, Tennessee.

The case, brought with the assistance of the NAACP Defense Fund, was commenced in May, 1960. Segregation was not denied. Instead, Memphis pointed to partial desegregation already effected and attempted to justify its further delay on the ground of the need and wisdom of proceeding slowly and gradually. The Federal District Court denied relief and ordered the City to submit, within six months, a plan for providing additional time. The Court of Appeals for the Sixth Circuit affirmed. Under the plan subsequently formulated, complete desegregation would not have been achieved until 1971.

In reversing the lower courts in the Memphis case, the Supreme Court held that the considerations which led it to formulate the concept of "deliberate speed" in public school desegregation were not applicable in the case of public facilities since the latter do not involve the elements of compulsory attendance, the adequacy of teachers and facilities, and questions of geographic assignment. The Court, however, took the opportunity to go much further. It declared that the concept of "deliberate speed" was never intended to countenance indefinite delay in elimination of racial barriers in schools." Moreover, it indicated that "types of plans or programs for desegregation of public educational facilities which eight years ago might have been deemed sufficient" no longer meet the test. Rather, it said, the original decision laid down in 1955 had contemplated that delay would not be "tolerated" unless it imperatively and compellingly appeared unavoidable. Furthermore, it reminded that "Hostility to the constitutional precepts underlying the original decision was expressly and firmly pretermitted [omitted] as an operative factor.

Of overwhelming significance is that portion of the opinion by Justice Goldberg in which he said:

> "The rights here asserted are, like all such rights, present rights; they are not merely hopes to some <u>future</u> enjoyment of some formalistic constitutional promise. The basic guarantees of our Constitution are warrants for the here and now and, unless there is an overwhelmingly compelling reason, they are to be promptly fulfilled."

In sharp contrast to Monday's decision of the Supreme Court, is the ruling the next day by United States District Judge Seyborn H. Lynne, refusing to order the desegregation of Birmingham, Alabama public schools. A prime examplar of those Southern judges who are fighting a last-ditch war against desegregation, Judge Lynne ruled that Negro parents must first make application for transfer of their children under the Alabama pupil assignment law. This ruling was made in the face of repeated decisions of the Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit that school authorities may not require resort to such administrative remedies where, as in Birmingham, the original school assignments are based upon a dual school system, with children assigned to white and Negro schools even though they live in the same geographic area. Although the Supreme Court has never ruled upon that question, it was clear even before Monday's decision that it will uphold the view of the Fifth Circuit.

Last Friday, the Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit again demonstrated its unwillingness to tolerate sabotage by unfriendly District Judges. In this instance, it reversed Judge Frank M. Scarlett's May 14 decision dismissing a suit to desegregate public schools of Chatham County, including the City of Savannah, Georgia. As noted in my newsletter of May 17, Judge Scarlett's ruling was predicated upon the ground that evidence introduced by white parents who were permitted to intervene, established the intellectual inferiority of Negroes as a group, and that compliance with the Supreme Court's decision would be detrimental both to the Negro plaintiffs and to white students. The Court of Appeals recognized Judge Scarlett's decision as being an outright defiance of the Supreme Court. At the same time it cracked down on another likeminded District Judge, Daniel H. Thomas, who had refused to order the Mobile, Alabama School Board to submit a desegregation plan.

The Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit will soon be called upon to review two extremely important cases recently decided by Federal District Judges in Alabama. The first of these was decided by Judge Mize on May 17; the other was decided today by Judge Grooms. They involved suits instituted by the Justice Department to end segregation in schools built with and supported by Federal financial assistance granted them as "impacted areas" because of the high concentration of Federal employees and military personnel in the area. Both District Judges ruled that the Justice Department had no standing to assert the rights of the children involved and, in the absence of express authorization by Congress, had no standing to assert any right of the Government of the United States.

In my view the Fifth Circuit - and ultimately the Supreme Court - will uphold the right of the Department of Justice to bring suit in such cases. Such a ruling would certainly be welcomed by Congress as providing an escape from the dilemma which it now faces in connection with the pending bill to provide funds for impacted areas after June 30, 1964. Last week the House Education and Labor Committee approved a provision excluding from the benefits of the bill any school district which refused to start desegregation by that date. If the courts hold that this result can be achieved without a segregation rider, it seems to me that even Southern Congressmen and Senators will breathe a sigh of relief at not having to stand up for their principles at the expense of losing $69,495,000 in Federal aid.

Sincerely yours,

Shad Polier

Shad Polier

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LEO PFEFFER, Director
JOSEPH B. ROBISON, Assistant Director

June 7, 1963

Dear Friend:

The Time Is Now. The past week has witnessed continued demonstrations by Negroes in the South, sometimes joined in by a handful of white persons, in protest against exclusion from theatres, bowling alleys, lunch counters and other places of public accommodation. The white communities have responded in various ways. In some instances the barriers of segregation and exclusion have been lowered. In others bi-racial commissions have been or are in the process of being established, to provide a means of communication. In still others the answer has been repression by police brutality, by arrests and by sweeping injunctions granted by local courts.

What seems to me to emerge from this kaleidoscopic pattern is a determination by the Negro in the South that the time is now to remove the shackles of second class citizenship. Thus the demonstrations have gone beyond demanding the amenities which are essential to decent living. They have begun to encompass insistence upon truly equal opportunities of employment.

Given the social and economic structure of the South, it seems to me that change at the pace which even the most moderate of Negro leaders insist upon can be achieved only by Federal intervention. Nor, in my judgment can progress, commensurate with their entirely valid demands be brought about by Presidential action alone. Basic civil rights legislation is essential.

It is all to the good that President Kennedy should meet with the heads of nationally operated restaurants, theatres, hotels and other establishments to urge upon them the ending of racial discrimination in their Southern establishments. But what the Negro in the South seeks is not favor granted under a time schedule fixed by private business but status now assured by positive law. It is well that the President, speaking in San Diego, California yesterday, should point out

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the terrible human and economic consequences of public school segregation proclaimed in the South and practiced de facto in the North. But what is needed is for the Federal Government to assume the almost impossible burden carried by Negro parents in securing the enforcement of the already established right of their children to a desegregated education. It is heartening that the President has directed Federal agencies to exert themselves to prevent discriminatory hiring practices in Federal construction programs. But this falls tragically short of an effective Federal fair employment practices law which would bar discrimination in the great segment of American industry - much of it in the South - whose operation affect interstate commerce and are therefore subject to Federal regulation.

There are no constitutional impediments to effective Federal legislation. The enactment of the Federal Fair Labor Standards Law during the New Deal was used to end the disgrace of child labor in most of the significant industrial establishments in the country. The Supreme Court has made clear that the sweep of Congressional power under the Commerce Clause of the Constitution extends to vast areas of business and industry on the ground that their conduct affects, even if it does not directly involve, interstate commerce. The issue is therefore not one of constitutional power but of the willingness to exert power. Moreover, as the Federal laws banning child labor fully demonstrate, it is not unprecedented for Congress to utilize the Commerce Clause as authority for dealing with problems which are both social as well as economic in character.

It is understandable, therefore, that the nation awaits with deep interest and concern the message which the President is expected to send to Congress next week urging a civil rights program. It will await with no less interest and concern, in the weeks and months that follow, to see with what force and vigor the President will rally the country to support his program. For certain it is that, without the unqualified and unremitting leadership of the President, no significant program can secure enactment. This was underlined, in my judgment, by the caucus of 33 Republican Senators on Wednesday on the issue of civil rights legislation.

The Republican caucus met at the instance of Sen. Jacob K. Javits of New York, who proposed a strong resolution committing the Party to civil rights legislation and to cloture, if necessary, to end a filibuster. Instead the caucus limited itself to a general promise to "support further appropriate legislation." This outcome is ominous as far as civil rights is concerned since the Democrats in the Senate, other than the Southerners, cannot muster the two-thirds vote necessary to cut off debate without the assistance of a substantial majority from the Republican side. Whether the President can move the country to move the Dirksen-Goldwater wing of the Republican Party from their alliance with Southern Democrats may well be problematic. It is however not too much to hope that under determined leadership by the President, the filibuster can be broken if it should become apparent that a clear majority of the Senate is prepared to enact the fundamental legislation necessary to deal with issues of the day.

Any student of the American political scene is mindful of the importance of Southern Democratic votes in the House to the enactment of other phases of the President's program, both in domestic and international affairs. Yet, if inadequate and incomplete measures are proposed by the President on civil rights, in order to hold Southern votes for other programs, the result, in my judgment, will be so to blunt the issues as to assure defeat of any significant civil rights legislation. President

Kennedy is, therefore, faced with a major political dilemma. Even the boldest action upon his part may not win the day for civil rights legislation. The issue, however, is not whether he will win but whether he will assign the highest priority to what, in my opinion, is the issue of first importance for the nation.

A Major Decision on School Desegregation. On Monday the United States Supreme Court unanimously condemned as unconstitutional two Tennessee desegregation plans which permitted pupils to transfer out of schools in which their race is in a minority. The inpact of the decision is indicated by the fact that similar provisions are in use in some Virginia communities and such practices are expressly sanctioned by statute in Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Louisiana and North Carolina.

The Tennessee plan approved by the Federal District Court and by the Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit was attacked on the ground that it provided racial factors as valid conditions to support transfers which by design and operation would perpetuate racial segregation. In striking down the plan the Court, in an opinion by Mr. Justice Clark, said "The recognition of race as an absolute criterion for granting transfers which operate only in the direction of schools in which the transferee's race is in the majority is no less unconstitutional than its use for original admission or subsequent assignment to public schools." He dismissed the claim of equality because both Negro and white students could opt to transfer from a school in which they are in a minority as nothing more than a disingenuous attempt to revive the doctrine of "separate but equal" facilities held unconstitutional in the 1954 School Segregation Cases. The court further said:

> "Not only is race the factor upon which the transfer plans operate, but also the plans lack a provision whereby a student might with equal facility transfer from a segregated to a desegregated school. The obvious one-way operation of these two factors in combination underscores the purely racial character and purpose of the transfer provisions. We hold that the transfer plans promote discrimination and are therefore invalid."

The heart of the opinion of Mr. Justice Clark seems to me to be contained in the statement that "No official transfer plan or provision of which racial segregation is the inevitable consequence may stand under the Fourteenth Amendment." This statement, in my judgment, distinguishes the transfer plans which some Northern communities have - all too inadequately and hesitatingly - adopted under which Negroes are transferred from neighborhood schools in order to end de facto segregation resulting from housing segregation. It would seem to me to be a complete distortion of the ruling of the Supreme Court in the Tennessee cases to view it as requiring that educational authorities must be color blind. It provides no excuse for delay or evasion to communities outside of the South in dealing with the problem of de facto school segregation.

Another Important School Desegregation Decision. That school segregation is not an entirely Southern phenomenom is illustrated by another case decided by the United States Supreme Court last Monday. It involved the Chenot school in St. Clair County, Illinois. The complaint charged that when Chenot was built in 1957 its attendance boundaries were drawn so as to make it exclusively a Negro school. It further complained that when an adjacent school in Centrevill became overcrowded the fifth and sixth grade classes, containing 97% white students, were transferred to Chenot where they were kept segregated and compelled to use separate entrances and exits.

. . . .

Despite this bald and shocking instance of segregation within a single school building the lower Federal courts denied relief on the ground that the plaintiffs had not exhausted the administrative remedies provided by Illinois law. Under that statute an appeal could be taken to the State Superintendent of Schools but only if 50 residents of the school district filed a complaint charging racial segregation. Even if the Superintendent upheld the charges, his decision would not become effective unless and until an enforcement suit was brought by the Illinois Attorney General.

It comes as no surprise that the Supreme Court made short shrift of the contention that the Negro parents were not entitled to immediate relief in the Federal courts. The basis of their suit, the Supreme Court pointed out, in an opinion by Mr. Justice Douglas, is "plainly federal in origin and nature," namely that the public school authorities "have been and are depriving them of rights provided by the Fourteenth Amendment." Under these circumstances the Supreme Court held it was immaterial whether the conduct of the school board is "legal or illegal as a matter of state law," and that the plaintiffs were entitled to have their claims adjudicated in the Federal courts.

While it is not surprising, it is disappointing again to witness the spectacle of Mr. Justice Harlan dissenting. Rarely in the modern history of the Supreme Court has any Justice indicated such a deference to the sensitivity of states' rights, and certainly not in the area of desegregation. It will be recalled that Mr. Justice Harlan alone dissented in the sit-in cases decided by the Supreme Court two weeks ago in which it was held that trespass statutes could not be enforced in a community where segregation was commanded by local law or by the ukase of local law enforcement officers.

In the sit-in cases Juatice Harlan would have left it to Southern judges and juries to decide whether a merchant ordering Negroes to leave a lunch counter acted upon his own or was motivated by the pressure of local laws or officials. If Justice Harlan's view had prevailed the result of course would have been that segregation would have continued to be enforceable by criminal prosecution. Happily the other members of the Court took the view that it is impermissible to "attempt to separate the mental urges of the discriminators."

If the dissent of Justice Harlan had prevailed in the Chenot case the mischief would have been equally great. It would not only have sanctioned the delay incident to an administrative appeal but, even more serious, it would have then required those discriminated against to wait upon the course of litigation in the state courts to enforce the administrative order. It requires no great imagination to realize that Southern states would promptly have restocked their arsenal of evasive devices so as to utilize the Illinois technique of delay and obstruction in public school desegregation.

Sincerely yours,

Shad Polier

Shad Polier

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June 13, 1963

LEO PFEFFER, Director
JOSEPH B. ROBISON, Assistant Director

Dear Friend:

There will be no newsletter next week. As Chairman of the Governing Council, I will be in Israel in connection with the "Dialogue" sponsored by AJCongress. This year a group of distinguished American intellectuals and their Israeli opposite numbers will explore - and the audiences in Jerusalem and Tel Aviv will join them in exploring - the extent to which their Jewish identity influences and is reflected in their work. My own role is that of chairman and moderator.

Murder in Mississippi. Early yesterday morning, Medgar W. Evers, State NAACP field secretary, was fatally shot through the back as he was about to enter his home in Jackson, Mississippi. President Kennedy today issued a statement declaring that he was "appalled by the brutality of this act" and gave assurance that the Department of Justice would put all of its investigatory machinery at the disposal of local police.

The arrest and conviction of the murderer will not bring to justice all who bear the responsibility for this crime. Among them are the public authorities of Mississippi - from the highest to the lowest. They have repeatedly set examples of lawlessness by their denial - often by brutal means - of the exercise by Negroes of such fundamental rights as voting, sending their children to desegregated public schools, and peacefully demonstrating against their exclusion from lunch counters and other public places.

The murder of Evers will not terrorize Negroes in Mississippi or anywhere else in the South. Rather it will reinforce their determination to achieve true freedom. Further, it will underline to all men of good will in the South, as well as in the rest of the country, how close to moral bankruptcy the South has come in seeking to preserve a way of life which became an anachronism a century ago.

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The President and Civil Rights. Addressing the nation Tuesday night President Kennedy uttered words which, if spoken by his predecessor upon the occasion of the Supreme Court decision in the school segregation cases in 1954, might well have spared the country much of the travail of this past tragic decade. Segregation and discrimination, President Kennedy pointed out, exist in every city, in every State of the Union, producing in many cities a rising tide of discontent that threatens the public safety. He warned that the issue is not merely "a legal or legislative" one, although he recognized that new laws are needed at every level. He said:

> "We are confronted primarily with a moral issue. It is as old as the Scriptures and is as clear as the American Constitution. The heart of the question is whether all Americans are to be afforded equal rights and equal opportunities; whether we are going to treat our fellow Americans as we want to be treated."

The President's address last night was foreshadowed by a speech which he delivered on Sunday before the National Conference of Mayors. He then said that we are in the midst of "a moment of moral and constitutional crisis" in American race relations and that "the time for token moves and talk is past."

President Kennedy has delayed until next week the sending of his message to Congress. His address last night, however, indicates some of the points which seem likely to be covered by this program. These include a request for authorization to the Department of Justice to participate more fully in lawsuits designed to end segregation in public education. "The orderly implementation of the Supreme Court decision," he declared, "cannot be left solely to those who may not have the economic resources to carry their legal action or who may be subject to harassment."

Other features that will be requested will probably be greater protection for the right to register and vote and the legally enforceable right - "without being forced to resort to demonstrations in the street" - to receive equal service in places of public accommodation such as hotels and restaurants, and theatres and retail stores. All Americans will do well to ponder upon the President's declaration that:

> "It is not enough to pin the blame on others, to say this is a problem of one section of the country or another, or deplore the facts that we face. A great change is at hand, and our task, our obligation is to make that revolution, that change peaceful and constructive for all.
>
> "Those who do nothing are inviting shame as well as violence. Those who act boldly are recognizing right as well as reality."

Gov. Wallace's Grandstand Play. On Tuesday, Gov. George C. Wallace went through his act on the campus of the University of Alabama at Tuscaloosa. He "interposed" himself to block the enrollment of two Negro students whose admission had been ordered by a Federal District Judge. As the Governor delivered his proclamation, Nicholas deB. Katzenbach, Deputy Attorney General, bluntly told him that the students would be registered during the day and that they would attend classes on Wednesday, and that is what happened. The President immediately federalized the Alabama National Guard, including the unit which Gov. Wallace had brought to dance attendance upon his performance. This time, when told by a man in uniform to step aside, the Governor complied. The curtain was rung down upon a style of acting which long ago went out of date - outside of the South. Vivian Juanita Malone and James Alexander Hood were enrolled. There is every indication that both faculty and fellow students at the University will prove that there are white ladies and gentlemen at that institution.

The Governor did not repeat his performance when another Negro student appeared to be registered at the University's Center in Huntsville today. Apparently even Gov. Wallace realized that he would have cut quite a ridiculous figure if he had done so.

ARAMCO. On Sunday a Defense Department spokesman said that Jews in the American Armed Forces had been serving in Saudi Arabia for several weeks as part of a mission which evidently includes the training of Saudi Arabian paratroopers. The Egypt-inspired and supported Yemen civil war, involving attacks on Saudia Arabian territory, has apparently persuaded the Saudis of the unwisdom of pressing their position that Jews are to be barred from their soil - a policy in which, to the shame of the United States, we acquiesced until a little over a year ago. At that time the agreement between the United States and Saudi Arabia for the use of the Dhahran airstrip, in which we pledged to send no persons of Jewish faith, even as troops or civilians in connection with the construction or operation of the base, was allowed to expire. Previous renewals of the lease with these offensive terms had of course been protested by all American Jewish organizations, including AJCongress.

It will be interesting to see whether Saudi Arabia will continue to forbid the entry of Jews as part of the operations of the Arabian American Oil Company (ARAMCO) against which AJCongress conducted litigation for more than six years because of its anti-Jewish policy. Last December ARAMCO waived any right to contest the decision of the New York State Commission for Human Rights finding that it had illegally questioned job applicants as to whether they were Jews and had refused to hire Jews to work in New York City as well as in Saudi Arabia. Under the terms of the stipulation ARAMCO also waived any right to challenge the validity of the Commission's order requiring it to cease and desist from its discriminatory practices including the screening out of Jews seeking employment involving travel to Saudi Arabia. It is of course within the power of Saudi Arabia to refuse visas to such persons. It remains to be seen whether that policy will be adhered to.

A Federal Remedy for Lawlessness by Southern Police. On May 30 the Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit handed down a 2-to-1 decision involving lawlessness by Southern police. The case involved a suit for damages brought in the Federal District Court by a Northern white couple who had been arrested and jailed in Montgomery and charged with disorderly conduct because they had eaten lunch with a group of Negroes in a "Negro" cafe. There had been no disturbance inside the cafe. The Court of Appeals assumed that the evidence supported the contention of the police that crowds had gathered outside "out of a spontaneous sense of outrage at the reported presence in the building of Negroes and whites eating together contrary to accepted social custom and usage." The arrest of the white husband and wife under these circumstances, the Court of Appeals ruled, was, as a matter of law, a violation of State law. It directed a new trial on that issue, in which the jury would be limited to the function of determining the amount of compensatory and punitive damages. Judge Brown, writing for the majority side, stated:

> "We may credit the concern which these police officers testified they felt. We think the circumstances existing that day and their stated good faith apprehensions were admissible as bearing upon the question of punitive, though not compensatory, damages. But liberty is at an end if a police officer may without warrant arrest, not the threatening violence, but those who are its likely victims merely because the person arrested is engaging in conduct which, though peaceful and legally and constitutionally protected, is deemed offensive and provocative to settled social customs and practices. When that day comes, freedom of the press, freedom of assembly, freedom of

speech, freedom of religion will all be imperiled. For the exercise of each must then conform to what the conscientious policeman regards the community's threshold of intolerance to be."

The dissent was by Judge Ben F. Cameron, the only segregationist sitting on this Circuit. He attacked the decision on the ground that it was based upon a "false major legal premise that what the plaintiffs were doing was entirely legal on the ground that the First and Fourteenth Amendment rights are absolute." The dissent, of course, indicates again the complete unwillingness of Judge Cameron to abide by the rulings of the Supreme Court where issues of civil rights are involved.

One would be indeed optimistic to assume that substantial damges - whether compensatory or punitive - will be awarded by a Montgomery jury in this case even though it is a jury in the Federal Court. Nevertheless, the fact that the police must answer to a court for their lawless conduct may provide some check.

On the Supreme Court 1963-64 Docket. On Monday the United States Supreme Court set down for argument next fall eight malapportionment cases. Six concern the makeup of legislatures in Alabama, Maryland, New York and Virginia; two challenge the fairness of Congressional districts in Manhattan and Georgia. They will provide the Court an opportunity to specify what standards of fairness must be met in apportioning legislatures. The Court's decision in Baker v. Carr last year firmly established that fairness is required by the Constitution and that that requirement is judicially enforceable. The decisions may well compel a reconstructing of the electoral pattern which will give to urban and suburban areas for the first time an effective voice in the selection of state legislators and Congressmen. Nothing could be more calculated to make government - State and Federal - responsive to the needs of the country.

Also on the agenda of the Court will be a series of sit-in cases which will squarely present the question whether, under the Fourteenth Amendment, Negroes may be prosecuted as trespassers for refusal to leave lunch counters at the request of store owners, in the absence of segregation ordinances or action by public officials commanding discrimination. The impact - but not the importance - of the Court's decisions in these cases may be minimized if, in the meantime, Federal legislation is enacted prohibiting exclusion from such places on account of race.

Toward a National Standard of Justice. In June 1961, the Supreme Court in the Mapp case held, 6-to-3, that evidence obtained by unconstitutional search vitiated a State prosecution. In so ruling the Court held that the Due Process Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment incorporated the prohibition against "unreasonable searches and seizures" set forth in the Fourth Amendment which curbs the power of Federal officials. Justices Frankfurter, Whittaker and Harlan dissented on the ground that the majority were, in effect, amending the Constitution. In their view the Due Process Clause required only that the prosecutions in State Courts comply with a standard of "fundamental fairness."

On Monday, the Supreme Court in Ker v. California reaffirmed Mapp by an 8-to-1 decision. This time only Justice Harlan dissented. Justices White and Goldberg who had filled the vacancies created by the retirement of Justices Whittaker and Frankfurter voted with the majority. The Court' decision in Ker marks a major step forward toward establishing a single standard of Justice in the administration of criminal law in the United States. It illustrates in this area - as the civil rights cases illustrate in another - the coming of age of this country. It recognizes that today there is equal need for protection of the individual against intrusion upon his right of privacy and his civil liberty, whether the threat comes from the Federal or a State government.

Sincerely yours,

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LEO PFEFFER, Director
JOSEPH B. ROBISON, Assistant Director

June 26, 1963

Dear Friend:

Reflections Upon Returning Home. Last Friday I returned from a brief visit to Israel where - as Chairman and Moderator - I participated in the "Dialogue" sponsored by AJCongress. As noted in my newsletter of June 13, this year a group of distinguished American intellectuals and their Israeli opposite numbers explored - and audiences in Jerusalem and Tel Aviv joined with them in exploring - the extent to which their Jewish identity influences and is reflected in their work.

It was interesting to me that almost every Israeli with whom I spoke - whether in connection with the Dialogue, or in the course of a lecture which I gave at the University on the American scene, or in casual conversations - wanted to know my estimate of the future of the civil rights struggle in the United States. It was evident from the questions that Israelis - and no doubt the same is true in many other countries - attach the deepest significance to this issue and regard its resolution as likely to determine our character as a nation and our role as a world leader.

A reading of the newspapers which have accumulated during my absence confirms the impression which I took with me to Israel. The Negro community in the North, as well as in the South, has become a torrential force determined to sweep aside the badges and disabilities of second class citizenship and to join in the mainstream of American life. The civil rights message sent to Congress by the President last Thursday lays down a program whose adoption by Congress would open important channels of opportunity for constructive self-realization of the potentials of talent of the submerged one-tenth of our population and would, it seems to me, mark the beginning of a new day in American democracy.

It would be a mistake in my judgment to suppose that the Negro will - or should - be satisfied with action by the

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Federal Government alone. A new look at State and municipal levels is called for and must be achieved. The time is past, for example, when Negroes in the North will continue to tolerate separate but unequal and inadequate public school education long excused as the inevitable by-product of de facto housing segregation. More fundamentally - and largely because Negro pressure will not permit further evasion - both Northern and Southern communities (as well as Congress) will have to face the necessity for taking steps in many areas to compensate for the handicaps imposed by decades of discrimination.

(Incidentally, the slow and reluctant response in this country is in sharp contrast to the attitude of Israelis toward their problem of "integration" involving the mass immigration of culturally backward Jews from North Africa. Any sensitive American must experience a mixed feeling of admiration and humility in observing the efforts being made in that country to assure that all of its citizens have equal opportunity to realize their inherent capacities.)

The way ahead will be difficult and in the short run the results may fall short of both need and expectation. Important - indeed vital - is the continued manifestation by the Negro community of its insistence upon early and basic change. Otherwise, the pace will certainly slacken and half a loaf is likely all that will be offered to those who seek the bread of freedom.

It would be an equally grave mistake, however, to assume that pressure from the Negro community alone will be sufficient. On the contrary, if that were the sole force we would, it seems to me, certainly witness failure, frustration and turmoil. Rather, it seems to me the most crucial role which unremitting pressure of the Negro community will play - in what hopefully will be a peaceful social revolution - is constantly to stir the conscience of the white community so that it will bestir itself to full participation in the realization of the American dream.

The Last Day of the Term. Monday, June 17, marked the close of the present term of the United States Supreme Court. Besides the decisions in the area of Separation of Church and State (discussed below), the Court decided three cases that merit mention. In each the Court divided 5-to-4, and in each Justice Goldberg was the swing-man, with Justice White aligning himself with the Conservatives.

In one of these cases the Court held that the Government's proof that an alien, during a two-year period, paid dues to and attended several meetings of the Communist Party, was not sufficient evidence of "meaningful association" to warrant deportation under the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952. In the second case it was ruled that an alien's innocent, casual and brief excursion to Mexico did not interrupt his residence in the United States, within the meaning of the same statute, so as to subject him to deportation because of conduct which occurred after his original entry into this country many years before. The opinions written by Justice Goldberg in these two cases reflected a determination to soften the impact of harsh laws by rejecting the literal construction favored by Justices Clark, Harlan, Stewart and White.

The same Justices dissented in the third case, in which the Court avoided ruling upon the constitutionality of the contempt conviction of Edward Yellin, who had declined, on First Amendment grounds, to answer questions put to him by the House Un-American Activities Committee regarding his alleged Communist activities. The majority reversed on the technical ground that the Committee had failed to comply with its own rules by refusing to grant the defendant's request that he first be heard in executive session so that the Committee could determine whether it would require him to testify at a public hearing.

The Yellin case marks another instance in which the present Court has gone to great lengths in order to avoid ruling upon the extent to which the First Amendment restricts the scope of compulsory testimony before Congressional Committees. If and when that question cannot be avoided, the critical vote is likely to be that of Justice Goldberg since his colleagues appear to be equally divided on the question.

Of the two Church-State decisions handed down by the Court, the more significant is, of course, that in which Bible reading and recital of the Lord's Prayer in public schools were held to violate the prohibition of the First Amendment (made applicable to the States by the Fourteenth Amendment) of the "establishment of religion." Only Justice Stewart dissented, it being his view that the Amendment's guarantee of "free exercise of religion" required that the Establishment Clause be read so as to permit a majority to conduct such religious exercises in the absence of proof that others were coerced to attend. Writing for the Court, Justice Clark dismissed this argument on the ground that, "While the Free Exercise Clause clearly prohibits the use of state action to deny the rights of free exercise to anyone, it has never meant that a majority could use the machinery of the State to practice its beliefs."

Earlier in his opinion Justice Clark pointed out the essential differences between the two aspects of the Amendment, saying that: "The distinction between the two clauses is apparent - a violation of the Free Exercise Clause is predicated on coercion while the Establishment Clause violation need not be so attended." Further, he wrote, the Establishment Clause has been consistently held by the Court eight times in the past 20 years, with only one Justice dissenting, to withdraw "legislative power respecting religious belief or the expression thereof." Under the test developed in those cases, Justice Clark pointed out, State action violates the Establishment Clause if either its purpose or its primary effect "is the advancement or inhibition of religion." Applying this test he struck down both the Bible reading and the recital of the Lord's Prayer on the ground that they constitute "religious exercises."

The opinion of Justice Clark also dealt with - and dismissed as specious - the argument - "that unless these religious exercises are permitted a 'religion of secularism' is established in the schools." On the other hand, he observed that by the same token, the State may not sanction exercises "affirmatively opposing or showing hostility to religion." Finally, he wrote:

> "It certainly may be said that the Bible is worthy of study for its literary and historic qualities. Nothing we have said here indicates that such study of the Bible or of religion, when presented objectively as part of a secular program of education, may not be effected consistent with the First Amendment. But the exercises here do not fall into those categories. They are religious exercises, required by the States in violation of the command of the First Amendment that the Government maintain strict neutrality, neither aiding nor opposing religion."

Separate concurring opinions were written by Justices Douglas, Brennan and Goldberg (in whose opinion Justice Harlan joined). All of the separate concurring opinions, however, expressly stated that the writers joined in the opinion of Justice Clark. The separate concurrence of Justice Douglas added another ground for holding that Bible reading and prayer recital violated the Establishment Clause. In his view, unconstitutionality also resulted from the fact that public funds were being used to promote a religious exercise. The concurring opinion of Justice Brennan - almost twice as long as all of the other opinions combined - is a mine of historical and scholarly discussion of the entire subject

of the Church-State aspects of the First Amendment and its incorporation into the Fourteenth Amendment.

It seems difficult to believe that a year ago a veritable storm was stirred up by the Court's decision holding unconstitutional, under the Establishment Clause, the recital of the non-sectarian prayer prescribed by the New York Board of Regents. Last week's decision did little more than raise a whimper from a few Protestant groups and some sharp words from three of the five American Catholic Cardinals, speaking from Rome, and obviously without the benefit of a reading of the full texts of the majority opinions. Most Protestant Churches and Jewish lay and synagogue bodies approved the decision. Editorial reaction was overwhelmingly favorable. This time much fewer Southern Congressmen and Senators rose to urge reversal by Constitutional amendment. It is, in my judgment, due in no small measure to the careful and widespread consideration by opinion makers during the past year that the June 17 decision received such general acceptance. Moreover, it seems to me that repetition of last year's bitter and unmeasured assault upon the Court by most - but by no means all - of the Catholic hierarchy is likely to be inhibited by Justice Brennan's concurring opinion in which he pointed out that:

> "It is implicit in the history and character of American public education that the public schools serve a uniquely public function: the training of American citizens in an atmosphere free of parochial, divisive, or separatist influences of any sort - an atmosphere in which children may assimilate a heritage common to all American groups and religions. This is a heritage neither theistic or atheistic, but simply civic and patriotic."

The other Church-State case decided by the Supreme Court involved the refusal by South Carolina of unemployment insurance benefits to a Seventh Day Adventist who had rejected otherwise suitable employment because of her religious belief which prohibited working on Saturdays. The Court, in a 7-to-2 decision, held that this constituted a violation of the Constitutional guaranty of free exercise of religion. Justice Harlan, with whom Justice White joined, dissented on the ground that requiring South Carolina to pay unemployment compensation was, in effect the granting of financial assistance to religion in violation of the Establishment Clause.

The decisions reached by the Court in the Church-State cases had been urged in briefs amicus curiae prepared by Leo Pfeffer, National Director of the Commission on Law and Social Action of AJCongress on behalf of the National Community Relations Advisory Council and the Synagogue Council of America. NCRAC is a policy-making body with which are affiliated community relations councils in 62 communities, as well as the Jewish Labor Committee, Jewish War Veterans and AJCongress. The Synagogue Council is a policy coordinating organization composed of the Conservative, Orthodox and Reform Synagogue and Rabbinical national bodies.

Incidentally, on the basis of the decision in the Bible reading-Lord's Prayer cases - which arose in Maryland and Pennsylvania - the United States Supreme Court vacated and sent back for reconsideration a Florida Supreme Court decision which not only upheld those practices but also sustained the holding of religious baccalaureate services, the questioning of public school children as to their religious affiliation and the inclusion of religious activities as a criterion for evaluating public school teachers for advancement and increments. This case, which arose in Miami, Florida, was jointly sponsored by the American Civil Liberties Union and AJCongress. Unless the Florida court reverses its decision, the case is likely to reach the Supreme Court again at the next Term, which begins in October.

Sincerely, Shad Polier

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LEO PFEFFER, Director
JOSEPH B. ROBISON, Assistant Director

July 3, 1963

Dear Friend:

A Report on Compliance by ARAMCO. Last Thursday Joseph B. Robison, Assistant Director of CLSA, met with representatives of the New York State Commission for Human Rights to review their report on compliance by the Arabian American Oil Company (ARAMCO) with the decision handed down by the Commission last September sustaining the charges by AJCongress that ARAMCO had illegally questioned job applicants as to whether they were Jewish and had refused to hire Jews for work in New York City as well as in Saudi Arabia. Under the terms of a stipulation entered into between ARAMCO, the Commission and AJCongress last December, ARAMCO waived any right to contest the decision or to challenge the validity of the Commission's order requiring it to cease and desist from its discriminatory practices and to take certain affirmative acts to wipe out the effects of past discrimination. Under the procedures of the Commission the compliance investigation was made by a Field Examiner operating under one of the Members of the Commission assigned to the case. In this instance the Field Examiner was the same person who had previously conducted an investigation for the purposes of the hearing on the original charges and was therefore fully familiar with the history of discriminatory practices.

On the basis of this further investigation, the Commissioner concluded that ARAMCO is complying in good faith with the Commission's order. Mr. Robison - who assisted me during the many years of litigation before the Commission and in the courts - has recommended that this conclusion be accepted and the Commission will be so advised. This, of course, does not mark an end to the matter since a further check will be made within the next six months to ascertain whether ARAMCO has continued its compliance efforts. In view of the importance of the ARAMCO case it seems to me that my readers will be interested in a summary of the facts disclosed by the recent compliance check.

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Applicants for jobs not requiring travel to Saudi Arabia are now hired without regard to religion. ARAMCO uses a large number of employment agencies, including the State Employment Service which has a firm non-discrimination policy. In addition, they place "blind ads" for secretarial help in the newspapers. Persons replying to the ads receive a letter from ARAMCO inviting them to fill out an application form. It has been ARAMCO's experience that persons with Jewish names do not go ahead with the application once they learn it is for work with ARAMCO.

Nevertheless, ARAMCO has offered jobs to three Jews. One did not show up on the first day. One remained only two days. The third has been on the job for a number of months. She confirmed to the Field Examiner that she is Jewish and told him that she was being treated "marvelously." The Field Examiner had the definite impression that ARAMCO was doing its best to comply with the decision and specifically to get a number of Jews on its New York payroll.

ARAMCO is no longer asking applicants for jobs in Saudi Arabia whether they are Jews. It is considering such applicants without regard to religion. If the applicant is approved, he is given a letter stating that he is "qualified for employment." He is then told to get a visa from the Saudi Arabian Consulate. No applicant has been turned down for a visa as yet. However, there is no indication that any of them have been Jewish.

While the case was pending, ARAMCO always insisted that this arrangement was impossible. It took the position that laws issued by the King of Saudi Arabia required every applicant for a visa to have a "sponsor" and that ARAMCO could not send a person to the Consulate for a visa without being willing to stand as his sponsor. Under this procedure, according to ARAMCO, it was required to vouch for the fact that the person was eligible for admission to Saudi Arabia (that is, not Jewish). Apparently ARAMCO has persuaded the King of Saudi Arabia that the laws of his country would have to be changed if ARAMCO was to continue to recruit personnel in the United States. In any case, ARAMCO has informed the Commission that Saudi Arabia no longer requires sponsors.

This, of course, is not to say that the Saudi Arabian Consulate will not screen out applicants for visas who are unable to satisfy it that they are non-Jewish. Consequently - until Saudi Arabia modifies its domestic policy - no person known to be Jewish will secure work in that country. The Commission, of course, has no power to control the immigration policy of Saudi Arabia - and AJCongress has never urged the contrary. What AJCongress sought from the outset - and originally was unable to obtain from the Commission - was a ruling that in the case of persons seeking work in Saudi Arabia, ARAMCO is only entitled to condition employment upon the applicant obtaining a Saudi Arabian visa and may not itself participate in the visa-issuing process by screening out Jews.

A Catholic View of Shared Time. Last Thursday through Sunday were spent by me on a "bus man's holiday" in attending the 1963 Plenary Session of the National Community Relations Advisory Council at Atlantic City. This is a policy making body with which are affiliated community relations councils in 57 communities as well as the Jewish Labor Committee, Jewish War Veterans, AJCongress and the Conservative, Orthodox and Reform national synagogue organizations. The plenum heard speakers on, and dealt with a variety of important issues in the areas of civil rights and civil liberties, including problems of separation of church and state. Space limitations compel me to restrict myself to a brief comment on the presentation Saturday evening by Rev. Gustave Weigel, S.J., who is Professor of Ecclesiology, Woodstock College and Associate Editor of America.

Father Weigel spoke on the subject of "Patterns and Currents Within the American Catholic Community." In the course of his speech he noted that some 4,500,000 (50%) Catholic children are attending parochial schools at the elementary level, some 950,000 (25%) are attending parochial high schools, and some 336,000 (15%) of Catholic students are attending church-controlled and directed colleges and universities. He expressed the view that the financial burden of this educational system had grown to the point where it was beyond the means of the Catholic community unless public funds were made available. He disclosed that serious discussion is now taking place within the Catholic community as to whether this financial problem should be resolved by eliminating the first four or the second four years of parochial schools at the elementary level. He went on to say that in another 20 years it might well be necessary for the Catholic community to eliminate parochial schools entirely at the elementary level.

At another point in his speech, Father Weigel commented on the recent decision of the United States Supreme Court holding unconstitutional the recital of the Lord's Prayer and the devotional reading of the Bible in public schools. He said that the ruling was of no real basic concern to the Catholic community although, he added, Catholics view the decision with regret because it eliminated recognition of divinity. The Catholic community, he went on, had long ago realized that it was impossible for public schools in the pluralistic society to provide what Catholics want in education, - education which is wholly permeated with religion. He also said that there was division within the Catholic community on the subject of Federal aid to parochial schools since there were some who were concerned that the acceptance of such aid involved the risk of control by public authorities of the content of the educational program.

These statements by Father Weigel in the course of his speech led to a number of questions. Among them was an inquiry as to whether he favored the shared time program - under which Catholic children would attend public schools for certain subjects - and, if so, how he reconciled such a position with the Catholic view that all education should be permeated with religion. While Father Weigel expressed himself as supporting shared time, he did not directly answer the second part of the question. Instead he made two points.

The first was that the shared time program was likely to be, for the foreseeable future, the only means by which public funds could be made available to relieve the parochial school system of its financial burdens. The second was that participation by Catholic children in the shared time program would probably be limited to such subjects as mathematics, science, home economics and such activities as gym and athletics. Although not so stated by Father Weigel, it was perfectly clear that these subjects and activities are those which are regarded as lending themselves least to opportunities for religious indoctrination. Moreover, it was equally clear that the use of public school facilities for such subjects as science and such activities as gym and athletics would be most likely to maximize the financial relief to parochial schools. In short, it seemed to me that Father Weigel's espousal of the shared time program rested upon a conviction that it offers to the Catholic community the best of both possible worlds.

Prior to the Saturday night session, the subject of shared time had been thoroughly debated in a workshop session and overwhelmingly rejected as a matter of policy and quite apart from any issue of constitutionality. It was recognized by the participants in the workshop that a tremendous expansion of the public school system would be made necessary by the complete abandonment of parochial schools and, indeed, by the dropping of four or eight years of parochial school education. On the other hand, there was no concern on this score because of the sentiment that the extra costs to taxpayers was a legitimate price to be paid for providing

public school education to all children whose parents sought it for them. In its concluding session the plenum reaffirmed the opposition of NCRAC to the shared time program.

Civility and Civil Rights. Nothing more completely exemplifies the traditional "Southern way of life" than the studied insistence of white persons in addressing Negroes by their given names. The explanation is, of course, obvious. To address a Negro as Mr., Mrs. or Miss is to recognize equality of status. This, of course, goes against the grain of most Southerners who, consciously or unconsciously, continue to cherish the notion that Negroes are inferior people.

There is one particular setting, in which this Southern custom is most incongruous, namely, in the courts. Last week a case arose in Gadsden, Alabama which will, ultimately, contribute to the undermining of this practice. The Gadsden case had its origins in the arrest of several hundred Negroes on charges of contempt for violation of an injunction issued by a State Court Judge against demonstrations. Several of the defendants instituted habeas corpus proceedings in the same court to have bail fixed pending trial of the contempt charge. In the course of the hearing one of them declined to answer questions put to her by the prosecutor so long as he persisted in addressing her as Mary, and refused to address her as Miss Hamilton. Southern justice was outraged and she was immediately sentenced to five days in jail and fined $50. Before review of the sentence could be obtained Miss Hamilton had served her five days in jail. Her case, however, has not become moot since the alternative to the payment of the fine, which she has no intention of paying, is an additional 20 days in jail. It is expected that a stay of the further jail sentence will be obtained pending appeal. The case will be carried to the United States Supreme Court if, as is likely, the conviction is not reversed by the higher Alabama courts.

It is my judgment that the United States Supreme Court will set aside the conviction. It may well do so summarily, and without hearing argument, on the basis of two cases decided in May. In both the Supreme Court reversed convictions of Negroes held guilty of contempt of court because they refused to obey the order of a State Court Judge to sit in the part of the courtroom designated as the Negro section.

The Proposed "Civil Rights Act of 1963." On June 19 Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield (D.,Mont.) and 45 other Senators of whom nine are Republicans, introduced a bill embodying the civil rights proposals urged in the Special Message sent on that day to Congress by President Kennedy. The bill was promptly referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, of which Senator James O. Eastland (D.,Miss.) is Chairman. There it is certain to languish unless the Senate leadership takes special steps to bring it to the floor. This may be done when an identical bill introduced in the House by Representative Emanuel Celler (D.,N.Y.), Chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, has been acted upon and has been sent to the Senate.

The bottleneck of the Senate Judiciary Committee has not, however, entirely prevented Senate consideration of the President's proposals. On June 19, Senator Mansfield also introduced a separate bill limited to the proposal for the enactment of a Federal statute prohibiting discrimination in place of public accommodation. Since this measure is based upon the power of Congress to regulate interstate commerce, it was referred to the Senate Commerce Committee, of which Senator Warren G. Magnuson (D.,Wash.) is Chairman. This week CLSA issued a summary and analysis of the bills. Prepared by Joe Robison, it is a most valuable and useful aid in evaluating the reports of the hearings now being conducted. Copies may be obtained by writing to the National Office of AJCongress.

Sincerely yours,

Shad Polier

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July 18, 1963

LEO PFEFFER, Director
JOSEPH B. ROBISON, Assistant Director

Dear Friend:

Some Further Observations on the "Civil Rights Act of 1963." President Kennedy's answer to a question at yesterday's press conference should have the healthy effect of ending the debate on the propriety of the scheduled protest March in Washington next month and of concentrating attention upon the urgent need for the enactment of civil rights legislation. The President recognized that the planned March "is a peaceful assembly calling for the redress of grievance" and expressed the view that it is "in the great tradition." He also took this occasion to point out that "some of the people, however, who keep talking about demonstration never talk about the problem of redressing grievances."

It is to be hoped that at his next press conference the President will be asked to explain what seems to me to be the weakest part of his proposed civil rights bill. Certainly, the most fundamental civil rights issue is the right of the Negro to secure equal opportunity for employment. Until that right is achieved even the right to desegregated education is likely to be of only limited value. For there will continue to be little opportunity - except as teachers - for the educated Negro to find a job in the South for which his education will have prepared him. The result will be the continued migration of a great part of those who are educated and the frustration of those who remain behind.

It is, therefore, discouraging that the Administration's bill proposes to deal with the problem of employment discrimination by establishing a "Commission on Equal Employment" which will have no effective enforcement power to deal even with discrimination by contractors or subcontractors participating in the programs or activities that are assisted by Federal funds. While the Commission would have the power - already vested in an ad hoc body created by Executive Order - to police the non-discriminatory provisions of such contracts, its powers would be limited to cancelling the offender's contract, barring it from future contracts until it ceased discriminating or requesting the Department of Justice to bring

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a suit to enforce the anti-bias clause. Although these sanctions sound impressive, experience has shown - most revealingly in the case of the billions of dollars of contracts originating in the Defense Department - that they are so inappropriate as to be largely meaningless.

It would seem as though each generation learns nothing from the previous one. The President's proposal for dealing with employment discrimination is all too reminiscent of the early New Deal days when labor was promised by the National Industrial Recovery Act the right to organize and bargain collectively. Ultimately it was realized that the promise was illusory and the National Labor Relations Board was established with enforcement powers to make the promise a reality. Obviously, the creation of such an administrative body with such enforcement power is equally essential if the promise of equality of job opportunity is to be made meaningful.

While it is true that President Kennedy, in his message to Congress last month, bespoke his approval of the bill already pending for the establishment of a Federal Fair Employment Practices Commission, his failure to include such a proposal in the Administration's bill - and his inclusion, instead, of a completely inadequate proposal - jeopardizes the possibility of securing such needed, long overdue legislation. The FEPC bill is, of course, not limited to Federal contracts but would cover employment in all industry subject to regulation of Congress under the Commerce Clause of the Constitution. It would prohibit discrimination not only by employers but by labor unions and has the support of the AFL-CIO as well as all civil rights organizations including AJCongress. It is not, it seems to me, too late for the President to urge that a Federal FEPC be substituted for his own inadequate proposal.

It is to be hoped that the March in Washington will be so managed that it will impress upon the country, as well as upon Congress, the urgency of the need for civil rights legislation. It is also to be hoped that the March will be used to focus attention upon the kind of civil rights legislation which is needed and the extent to which the Administration's proposal falls short of filling that need.

The Affirmative Duty to End Ghettoized Education. On June 27 the California Supreme Court handed down what appears to be the first judicial ruling imposing upon public school authorities the affirmative obligation to take steps to minimize school segregation resulting from the combination of de facto housing segregation and the fixing of school zones on the neighborhood principle.

The California case involved a suit by the parents of a Negro child for permission to transfer him from a predominantly Negro school. In support of the complaint it was charged that the school board, faced with the necessity of reassigning students from an all-white neighborhood, had deliberately chosen to allocate them to a school in which there were few non-whites, instead of assigning them to the predominantly Negro school. It was alleged that as a result, the racial imbalance of the predominantly Negro school had been intensified by excluding white students who, because of proximity or convenience, would have been required to attend it if boundaries had been fixed on a non-racial basis.

The California Supreme Court reversed the lower courts which had found that the complaint failed to set forth sufficient facts to show intentional discrimination. The Court, however, went further and upheld the contention - advanced by the Commission on Law and Social Action of the Southern California Region of the AJCongress - that there is an affirmative duty to seek to remedy racial imbalance in public schools caused

by residential segregation. Writing for a unanimous Court, Chief Justice Gibson said:

> "So long as large numbers of Negroes live in segregated areas, school authorities will be confronted with difficult problems in providing Negro children with the kind of education they are entitled to have. Residential segregation is in itself an evil which tends to frustrate the youth in the area and to cause anti-social attitudes and behavior. Where such segregation exists it is not enough for a school board to refrain from affirmative discriminatory conduct. The harmful influence on the children will be reflected and intensified in this classroom if school attendance is determined on a geographic basis without corrective measures. The right to an equal opportunity for education and the harmful consequences of segregation require that school boards take steps, insofar as reasonably feasible, to alleviate racial imbalance in the schools regardless of its cause.
>
> "School authorities, of course, are not required to attain an exact apportionment of Negroes among the schools, and consideration must be given to the various factors in each case, including the practical necessities of governmental operation. For example, consideration should be given, on the one hand, to the degree of racial imbalance in the particular school and the extent to which it affects the opportunity for education and, on the other hand, to such matters as the difficulty and effectiveness of revising school boundaries so as to eliminate segregation and the availability of other facilities to which students can be transferred."

Who Calls the Tune Should Pay the Piper. On July 1 the Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit sitting en banc upheld an injunction granted by the Federal District Court against the Powhatan County school authorities restraining them from closing all public schools to avoid a prior order of the District Court directing desegregation. That principle was settled several years ago in a similar suit involving Prince Edward County, Virginia. What was novel in the recent ruling of the Court of Appeals was its holding, by a 3-to-2 vote, that the District Court was in error in refusing to require Powhatan County to award counsel fees to Negro parents who had brought the suit. Writing for the majority, Chief Judge Simon E. Sobeloff, said:

> "The general rule is that the award of counsel fees lies within the sound discretion of the trial court, but, like other exercises of judicial discretion, it is subject to review. The matter must be judged in the perspective of all surrounding circumstances. Here we must take into account the long continued pattern of evasion and obstruction which included not only the defendants' unyielding refusal to take any initiative, thus casting a heavy burden on the children and their parents, but their interposing a variety of administrative obstacles to thwart the valid wishes of the plaintiffs for a desegregated education. To put it plainly, such tactics would in any other context be instantly recognized as discreditable. The equitable remedy would be far from complete, and justice would not be attained, if reasonable counsel fees were not awarded in a case so extreme."

It is, of course, common knowledge that States and localities in the South have paid very substantial fees to attorneys engaged by them to oppose school desegregation suits. Until now the financial burden of enforcing Constitutional rights has been borne by the parents of the

children, aided in many instances by the NAACP Defense Fund. In view of the tremendous number of cases other than school desegregation in which the Defense Fund is now involved, it will be a welcome relief if part of the financial burden of fighting the school segregation cases were imposed on those who had made such litigation necessary, even though it is unlikely that awards of counsel fees to plaintiffs' attorneys in these cases will ever be commensurate with the services rendered.

As noted above, the ruling of the Court of Appeals in the Powhatan County case broke no new ground in barring the school officials from closing the public schools so as to avoid compliance with a school desegregation order. A similar ruling had been handed down by the same Court several years ago with respect to Prince Edward County, Virginia. However, the injunction in that case against the School Board has so far been ineffective because the County Supervisors made inevitable the closing of the only public school in the County by refusing to include any funds for its maintenance in the tax levy.

As a result of the action (or inaction) of the County Supervisors, Negro children in Prince Edward County have been without education for the past four years. Meanwhile, white children have been attending a private school which for a time was indirectly subsidized by the grant of partial scholarships by the County and the allowance by the County of a credit against taxes to property owners sending their children to the private school. These subsidies were ended two years ago by a decision of the Federal District Court on the ground that they constituted public support of school segregation.

Subsequently, further proceedings were instituted to compel the Supervisors to levy taxes and to provide the funds for the reopening of the Prince Edward County Schools. The suit was predicated on the theory that Virginia was, in effect, sanctioning school segregation by permitting Prince Edward County to close its public schools while public schools operated in other parts of the State. This contention was upheld by District Judge Oren Lewis who directed the Supervisors to take the necessary action to provide funds for the reopening of the public schools. However, Judge Lewis stayed his decision pending review by the Court of Appeals. Both sides appealed.

When the latest of the Prince Edward County cases came before the Court of Appeals only three of the five members of the Court participated in the hearing. (Chief Judge Simon Sobeloff and Judge Albert W. Bryan stepped aside because of challenges by counsel for the Board of Supervisors.) Whatever the decision of the Court of Appeals in the case, the losing side will certainly seek - and may well be granted - review by the United States Supreme Court. The likelihood of such review - even if the Board of Supervisors is ordered to take action - is increased by the probability that the three Judges who heard the Prince Edward County case may well refuse to grant the application by the plaintiffs' attorneys for counsel fees. Two of the three Judges who heard argument in the Prince Edward County case - Clement F. Haynsworth and Herbert S. Boreman - dissented from that part of the ruling in the Powhatan County case.

Sincerely yours,

Shad Polier

Shad Polier

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August 1, 1963

LEO PFEFFER, Director
JOSEPH B. ROBISON, Assistant Director

Dear Friend:

Farewell, But Not Goodbye. This will be my last newsletter until after Labor Day. My apologies for having skipped the letter last week. Unfortunately, there were so many deadlines to meet in my private practice as an attorney that there simply was not time to write the newsletter and make my vacation get-away tomorrow.

Church and State in Florida. Almost four years ago AJCongress, acting on behalf of nine Jewish members of the Orlando community, brought suit in the Florida Courts to enjoin distribution of Gideon Bibles in the Public Schools of Orange County. The Gideon Bible consists of the New Testament, Psalms and Proverbs of the Old Testament. It is a (Protestant) King James version which is unacceptable to Catholics as well as to Jews.

As long ago as 1953, in the Tudor case, also brought by AJCongress, the New Jersey Supreme Court handed down a landmark decision banning Gideon Bible distribution as violating the First and Fourteenth Amendments of the Constitution. Legal proceedings were started in Orlando after unsuccessful efforts by the Central Florida Jewish Community Council to persuade the County Board of Public Instruction to stop the practice.

The action of the Trial Court in dismissing the complaint was reversed in December 1960 by the District Court of Appeals which followed the ruling in the Tudor case. A final ruling was delayed by an appeal taken by the Board to the Florida Supreme Court which did not hear argument until October 1961 and then did nothing until July 17, 1963 when the ban against Bible distribution was finally upheld.

The reluctance with which the Florida Supreme Court upheld the ban on the distribution of the Gideon Bible was indicated by its brief per curiam opinion. It cited as controlling authority the June 17, 1963 decisions of the Supreme Court in the Maryland and Pennsylvania cases holding unconstitutional Bible reading and the recital of the Lord's Prayer in public schools. It added: "An elaboration of any views which we may have to the contrary notwithstanding would be a fruitless expenditure of judicial time and labor."

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At the same time that the United States Supreme Court handed down its rulings in the Pennsylvania and Maryland cases, it remanded to the Florida Supreme Court for further consideration, in the light of those decisions, the Miami School case which involved not only Bible reading and the recital of the Lord's Prayer, but also other religious practices complained of in suits brought under the sponsorship of AJCongress and the American Civil Liberties Union.

These practices included the conducting of baccalaureate programs of a religious nature at the conclusion of the school year. Usually the services are combined with the graduation ceremony and the award of diplomas. In some instances they were held on Public School property and other times in churches. While Protestant ministers regularly appeared at these services, both rabbis and Catholic priests have declined to do so.

Another practice complained of in the Miami School case was the conduct of a religious census among children to ascertain their religious affiliations. All pupils are asked to state their religious preferences when entering the school and the answers become a part of the permanent school record of the pupil.

In addition, the complaints charged the imposition of a religious test for teachers and other employees of the public school system and the use of religious criteria in the employment of teachers and other employees. All persons seeking employment are required to answer a question on the application form as to whether or not they believe in God. Moreover, under the "Career Increment Program," teachers are rated on their "cultural" attitudes on a scale of zero to four. As to religion, a rating of four is given if the teacher "takes part in his own religious organizations and respects other religious beliefs." He rates three if "he practices a religious belief and if he takes part in his own religious organizations." If he merely "conforms to his own religious belief," he rates one. He rates zero if his evaluation "is less than" any of the "standards described above."

On July 11 the Florida Supreme Court, in compliance with the mandate of the United States Supreme Court, set the Miami School case down for further consideration. Briefs are to be filed and exchanged by August 15. Ruling was deferred upon the applications made for oral argument.

In view of the bitterly hostile opinion handed down by the Florida Supreme Court when the Miami School case was before it the first time, it is unlikely to strike down any religious practices which have not been specifically banned by the United States Supreme Court. Consequently, the chances are that the case will again have to be carried to the United States Supreme Court.

Public School Integration in Israel. Not many Americans realize that ours is not the only country which faces a major problem of integration in public schools. Few are aware that Israel is faced with a situation not altogether dissimilar from that which prevails outside of the South, that is to say, in those parts of the United States where for many years segregation has not been imposed by law.

Today, more than half of the children of Public School age in Israel are children of recent immigrants from North Africa and the Middle East. These children have not been able to meet the competition of the native born Israelis or of the children of European immigrants. Their parents are persons of poor education and generally of lower economic position. Their homes are "culturally deprived" and their parents are, therefore, less able to aid their children in their educational efforts

and less motivated to do so. The difficulties are further compounded by the fact that these families have many more children and the living quarters are such as to make study at home less likely.

This situation has already resulted in Oriental children being outnumbered upwards of 20 - 1 in high schools and there is even greater disparity at the university level. The consequence has been a limitation upon the opportunity for children of this background obtaining better paying jobs or developing into community leaders. In short, Israel is faced with the danger of becoming two nations.

To cope with this situation, the Ministry of Education has inaugurated a plan of education which starts at the prekindergarten level. Children of Oriental families will be given one or two years advanced starts so that when they enter kindergarten at five years of age they will have achieved the same proficiency in vocabulary and other skills as children from more cultured homes. In the elementary grades, children in need of extra schooling will be offered a longer school day so that they will be able to prepare their homework under proper guidance. In addition, they will be given the benefit of special after school cultural activities in which they will be introduced to the arts, good books, music and other activities. For those for whom the longer school day is not practical, extra summer school for two months is provided, all on a voluntary basis.

In order to introduce these children to the mainstream of Israeli education and culture, special teachers are being trained. To attract the best teachers to the schools where they are most needed, classes in these areas have been made smaller and special financial inducements have been provided to teachers. Moreover, new textbooks are being written especially for children for whom current textbooks are unsuitable as a way of introducing them to the Israeli ways of life and standards of culture.

Israel today does not have free high school education. This is due to the necessity to devote a large part of the budget to maintaining a defense to meet the threat of Arab countries which are the beneficiaries of armaments given or supplied at nominal cost by the Soviet Union. To compensate for the fact that Oriental children come from the lower economic strata, special high school scholarships are made available to them. Moreover, special courses are planned for the last year of elementary school so as to enable them to meet the competitive high school entrance examinations.

There is, of course, one great difference between the problem which Israel faces and that which confronts even our Northern and Western cities in regard to public school integration. That great difference lies in the fact that in Israel integration is sought whereas here it is grudgingly accepted, largely as a result of pressures exerted by the Negro community. There are, of course, underlying differences in the two situations, most important being a sense of brotherhood and a sense that no nation can grow healthily if divided. Nevertheless, these differences should not obscure the fact that the American way involves the tremendous sacrifice of human values and human resources, as well as a violation of our traditions and professions of equality of all men.

"Midnight Welfare Searches and the Social Security Act." Under this title Prof. Charles A. Reich, of the Yale Law School, has written an important article in the June 1963 issue of the YALE LAW JOURNAL, evaluating the legal implications of the growing practice in many States, and in the District of Columbia, of welfare officials making

unannounced inspections of homes to check on the recipient's eligibility for public assistance. Under State or local law, this is often determined by the presence or absence of an adult man supporting the family. Frequently, the inspection is part of mass raids based upon no particular evidence. The demand for entry often carries with it the threat, express or implied, that refusal will lead to discontinuance of public assistance, including the cutting off of relief payments essential to provide even a minimum of shelter, clothing and food for children.

The problem explored by Prof. Reich has national implications not only because it is prevalent throughout the country but also because the Federal Government has a direct interest. This arises out of the fact that under the Social Security Act a large part, frequently far more than half of the funds disbursed, are Federal moneys. The Social Security Act sets forth detailed requirements that State welfare plans must meet to comply for payment of Federal funds. It also provides for approval of these plans by the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare.

While nothing in the Social Security Act deals explicitly with the matter of searches, there is a clear precedent for the Secretary to prohibit such conduct. In January 1961, Secretary Flemming issued a directive disqualifying for Federal assistance any plan which denied aid to dependent children on the ground that the home in which the child was living was "unsuitable" on moral grounds. The existence of such authority on the part of the Secretary and the need for him to exercise it had been urged by a number of national welfare organizations, among them the Child Welfare League of America, on whose behalf I acted as Special Counsel.

Subsequently, in 1961, Congress ratified the action of the Secretary by incorporating his directive into the Social Security Act. The amendment, of course, allows - as did the Secretary's ruling - local welfare authorities to bring a proceeding in a children's or family court to have a child removed to more appropriate surroundings on the basis of a judicial finding of neglect. In practice, however, this procedure has largely remained unused for the simple reason that the cost of maintaining children in such alternative facilities is far greater than the cost of maintaining them in their own homes. It is a sad commentary on welfare administration, that it has generally been less concerned with morality than it has been with costs.

Prof. Reich's article concludes that these raids violate the provisions of the Fourth Amendment barring unreasonable searches and seizures. It is to be hoped that his article will persuade the present Secretary Celebrezze to follow the example of Secretary Flemming to issue a directive putting an end to these assaults upon persons on welfare. Such action by the Secretary is essential since the victims are persons unable to protect their own rights.

Sincerely yours,

Shad Polier

Shad Polier

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October 14, 1963

Dear Friend:

Federal Civil Rights Legislation. Last Monday the House, by a vote of 265-to-80, completed Congressional action to keep the Federal Civil Rights Commission alive for another year. However, as pointed out in my newsletter last week, the Commission staff has in the meantime practically disintegrated. Any prospect for rebuilding the staff and for retaining the present membership of the Commission will depend on the outcome of the over-all Civil Rights Bill now pending in the House. Under its provisions, the Commission would not only continue its present fact-finding role but would also become a "national clearing house" and an adviser to localities and individuals on civil rights problems.

Space limitations made it necessary to limit myself in last week's newsletter to a brief indication of some of the provisions of the over-all bill reported by the House Judiciary Subcommittee and now destined to run the gauntlet of the full Judiciary Committee and the Rules Committee before it can be brought to a vote in the House. As reported by the Subcommittee, the bill represents by far the most sweeping civil rights legislation ever to be considered seriously in Congress. Its substantive provisions cover virtually every major aspect of the race problem except housing segregation. The bill would not only strengthen practically all of the Administration's proposals but would add others of equal significance. The following is a summary of some of the major provisions:

Voting. Experience under the Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1960 has demonstrated that they provide no adequate remedy for disenfranchisement of the Negro in the South. The Civil Rights Commission in its most recent report has pointed out that in 100 hard-core Southern counties the voting registration figures for Negroes have risen only from 5% to just 8.3% "despite the passage of two civil rights acts, the institution of 36 suits by the Department of Justice [almost all of them under the present Administration] and the operation of dozens of private registration drives."

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Under the Civil Rights Act of 1957 Federal District Courts were authorized to appoint Voting Referees to register persons in an area where State officials continued to discriminate. No Federal Judge has exercised this authority. The bill would now authorize the President to appoint Voting Referees in any county where fewer than 15% of voting-age Negroes are registered. They would be chosen from a list of names drawn up by the Judges of the Federal Courts of Appeals.

The bill would also lay down certain standards aimed at eliminating specific discriminatory practices in order to simplify and shorten lawsuits. Thus, for example, it would require that literacy tests be given in writing, with the applicant receiving a copy of the test to help assure honest rating of his performance. In addition, the bill would place upon State officials the burden of proving that any sixth-grade graduate does not meet the literacy requirements. The bill goes beyond the Administration's recommendations--and follows that of the Civil Rights Commission--by making these reforms applicable to voting in State and municipal elections as well as in Federal elections.

The House bill also follows the recommendation of the Civil Rights Commission in laying the groundwork for implementation of a never-used provision of the Fourteenth Amendment. This provides that any State abridging the right of its citizens to vote shall lose a proportionate number of seats in the House of Representatives. The bill would direct the Census Bureau to tabulate, by race and color, the number of persons of voting age in each State, the number actually registered and the number who had voted since 1960. The invocation of this provision of the Fourteenth Amendment was concurred in by the two Southern members of the Civil Rights Commission in its report last month. Indeed, they felt so strongly about its necessity that they wrote a separate memorandum emphasizing their view that such a drastic measure was needed in order to deal with the problem.

Title III. As passed by the House, the Civil Rights Act of 1957 included a "Title III" allowing the Department of Justice to sue on behalf of individuals denied their civil rights by conspiracies of two or more persons. The Senate limited the provision to voting cases. The present bill would go even beyond the measure passed by the House in 1957 and would permit the Justice Department to seek an injunction in the Federal courts against the deprivation of anyone's constitutional rights by any person "acting under color of any statute, custom or usage."

In my judgment this is an absolutely essential provision of any effective civil rights legislation. Again and again we have witnessed the spectacle of Southern "law enforcement officials" and Courts crushing attempts by Negroes to exercise their First Amendment Rights of protest and demonstration and even their efforts to register as voters. Police and sheriffs have openly and repeatedly resorted to brutality. Mass arrests have been made under vague criminal statutes and under sweeping injunctions issued by State Courts. Recently even laws against "sedition" and "insurrection" have been invoked and bail has been denied pending trial on the ground that these crimes are punishable by death. Thousands of other persons arrested have been held in jails for long periods until exorbitant bail could be raised.

In short, "law and order" in the South has become an instrumentality for "legal" suppression of the Negro, and denial of his Federal rights. Those rights--constitutional and statutory--cannot be made effective if their vindication must wait upon appeals through the State Court systems and ultimate review by the United States Supreme Court. What is needed is the right of the Department of Justice to intervene at the outset to prevent these abuses.

In this connection it should be noted that the House Bill would permit review by the Federal Courts of Appeals of decisions of district Judges refusing to allow removal of lawsuits from State to Federal Courts when removal is sought on the ground that the State Court action is part of a plan to introduce wide Federal rights. Until now, Federal District Judges have consistently refused to entertain such cases and have remanded them to the State Courts. The result has been that segregationist District Judges--some appointed by prior Administrations but many of them appointed by President Kennedy--have nullified the right of removal for trial in the Federal Court.

Employment. The bill reported by the House Judiciary Subcommittee goes far beyond the Administration's limited proposal to give statutory authority to the President's Committee on Equal Employment opportunity to deal with job discrimination in the Government itself and on the part of Government contractors. Instead, the Subcommittee has incorporated in its bill a measure approved last July by the House Education and Labor Committee establishing an "Equal Employment Opportunities Commission." It would apply to labor unions and to employers having 25 or more employees. Orders of the Commission would be enforceable by direct resort to the Federal Courts of Appeals.

A Federal FEPC is, of course, fundamental to any meaningful civil rights legislation. It has the support of the AFL-CIO, as well as of all organizations and persons truly concerned with eliminating discrimination in employment.

Schools. Few persons realize how little public school desegregation has taken place in the Deep South since Brown v. Board of Education was decided nine years ago. For example: South Carolina has 11 out of 250,000 Negro children in school with whites, all as a result of court orders. In Georgia, less than 100 Negroes of 325,000 attend desegregated schools. All but 5 were court ordered. In Alabama, it took four court orders to enroll 21 Negro pupils. As a result, approximately one out of every 11,000 Negro children in Alabama now goes to a desegregated school. In Florida, North Carolina, Virginia and Tennessee not more than 2% of the Negro children attend school with whites. Clearly, the "all deliberate speed" commanded by the Supreme Court continues to be a snail's pace in much of the South.

The Administration proposed that the Department of Justice be allowed to bring school desegregation suits. However, its proposal limits this authority to situations where private persons are unable to sue because of poverty or fear. Unhappily, the House bill accepts this limitation. However, it expands the Administration proposal by making it applicable to all facilities publicly "operated, managed, controlled or supported." This would include such diverse municipal activities as parks and libraries.

The House bill also incorporates the Administration's proposals for Federal assistance to school districts undertaking desegregation. These include technical aid, training institutes and grants for special teachers and teacher training.

Public Accommodations. In the main, the House bill follows the Administration's recommendations for legislation barring discrimination in places of public accommodation involved in interstate commerce. Affected would be hotels and motels, theatres, and other places of amusement as well as retail stores. Exempted would be bona fide private clubs and owner-occupied private homes with no more than five rooms for rent.

In addition, the bill would bar discrimination in any enterprise that "operates under state or local authorization, permission or license" and any discrimination "controlled, encouraged or sanctioned" by the

state "directly or indirectly in any manner whatsoever." This provision is intended to utilize to the full the power of Congress under the Fourteenth Amendment to prevent discrimination by "State action" even where the conduct involved is not within the reach of Congressional power over interstate commerce. The House bill would authorize the Attorney General to bring civil suits if mediation efforts failed.

(The coverage of the public accommodations bill reported by the Senate Commerce Committee on Tuesday by a vote of 15-to-3 is substantially the same as that of the House bill. The Senate measure would expressly exempt local service establishments such as barber shops and shoeshine parlors. Like the House bill it would authorize intervention by the Department of Justice only after mediation efforts failed.)

(Under the Civil Rights Act of 1957 a person charged with criminal contempt for violating an order of the Court is not entitled to a jury trial unless the sentence runs more than 45 days or $300. This provision was inserted because it was realized that the criminal contempt provision would be a dead letter in voting registration cases if the Government was required to secure a jury verdict. The Department of Justice unsuccessfully urged the inclusion of a similar provision in the Senate Public Accommodations Bill.)

Federal Programs. Since 1946 the Public Health Service has granted $32 million to hospitals serving whites exclusively and a little over $4 million to hospitals reserved for Negroes. The program is based on the Hill-Burton Act which recognizes the principle of "separate but equal facilities."

An equally scandalous situation exists under the Federal training programs. Thus the Department of Health, Education and Welfare administers a program for training technicians under the National Defense Education Act. Of the 20,000 trainees in the South only 4.3% are Negroes. The program is in operation at 142 all-white schools, 14 all-Negro schools and three "non-segregated" schools.

The situation is not essentially different in the retraining programs administered by the Labor Department under the Area Redevelopment Act and the Manpower Development and Training Act. Thus, the recent report of the Civil Rights Commission notes that "There are no ARA trainees in Alabama, Florida, South Carolina, Tennessee and Virginia--States where non-white unemployment ranged from 19.6 to 40.5% in 1960." These facts underline the importance of the provision of the House Bill directing that each Federal agency giving aid shall adopt rules carrying out the policy of non-discrimination. To enforce this policy, the bill allows the Federal Government, in the alternative, to cut off the aid or to sue in the Federal courts to require non-discriminatory administration by the state agency receiving such aid.

Closing the Gap. All thoughtful Americans are mindful of the great gap between the ideals of equality and freedom professed by us and the realities as far as the Negro minority is concerned. That gap will to a significant degree be closed if the House bill becomes law. Moreover, the extent to which its provisions are enacted into law may well determine the degree to which the Revolution of our Times will be a peaceful one.

Sincerely yours,

Shad Polier

Shad Polier

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LEO PFEFFER, Director
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October 25, 1963

Dear Friend:

The President and the Civil Rights Bill. On Wednesday evening President Kennedy and Vice President Johnson met with Republican and Democratic leaders of the House in an effort to accomplish what the Attorney General had failed to achieve in his appearance last week at an executive session of the House Judiciary Committee. On that occasion, as noted in my letter last week, the Attorney General urged the watering down of the over-all Civil Rights Bill reported by the Subcommittee insofar as it went beyond the Administration's original proposals.

My letter last week took issue with three of the changes proposed by the Attorney General. Actually, there was a fourth major change proposed by him which had not been noted by me, and which was equally indefensible.

One of the changes urged by the Attorney General was the deletion of the provisions establishing a Fair Employment Practices Commission. He did so on the ground that their inclusion might result in alienating the Republican votes necessary to get the measure past the Judiciary Committee and the Rules Committee and onto the floor of the House. He proposed, instead, that FEPC be made the subject of a separate measure or be proposed as an amendment on the floor.

Another change urged by the Attorney General was removal of authority to the Department of Justice to institute proceedings in the Federal courts to enjoin local authorities from denying Negroes the enjoyment of rights given to them by Federal statutes and the Constitution. These include the First Amendment right of protest and demonstration.

Since writing my letter last week, I have been able to read the full text of the statement of the Attorney General before the Judiciary Committee. The grounds upon which he opposed the inclusion of this power of the Department of Justice to intervene to protect Federal and Constitu-

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tional rights are utterly shocking. The Attorney General argued that, before this power could be used, "It would have to be clear that a federally protected right has been or is about to be violated." He went on to say, "Limitations may be constitutionally imposed upon the time of demonstrations, their duration and the number of people." He added, it seems to me quite gratuitously, that "Not all demonstrations are protected by the First Amendment. Thus, no matter how properly they may be resented, not all offensive police conduct in connection with civil rights demonstrations would be within the reach of [the Subcommittee bill]."

All of this is, of course, quite beside the point. The Bill does not command that the Attorney General intervene in every situation where a claim is made that Federally protected rights have been or are about to be violated. The Bill simply authorizes the Attorney General to act when he believes that such is the case. Moreover, by bringing suit, the Attorney General affects no one's rights. He simply invokes the power of the Federal courts.

It is strange, and even weird, that the Attorney General should urge, in opposition to the grant of such authority, that the result of his bringing suit in appropriate cases "would necessarily involve the federal courts in determinations historically made by local police officials as to how many people should be allowed to protest, in what manner, and at what time of day." And that, "This use of the courts to control demonstrations might well be as unsatisfactory to the demonstrators as to the police."

Nor was this all. The Attorney General warned that "One result might be that state and local authorities would abdicate their law enforcement responsibility, thereby creating a vacuum in authority which could only be filled by Federal force." "This, in turn", he declared, "would require creation of a national police force...a step which is historically, and with good reason, abhorrent to our Federal system."

It seems to me that the ghosts of the Reconstruction Era which were conjured up by the Attorney General are figments of his imagination. The South--Mississippi possibly excepted for the time being--is not ready to abandon law enforcement as the price of giving up lawless enforcement of the law.

The words of the Attorney General are altogether too reminiscent of those of President Buchanan whose indecisiveness and fear to exercise power made our Civil War almost inevitable. No serious student of American history believes that that tragic event would have occurred if an Andrew Jackson or an Abraham Lincoln had occupied the White House. Nor can anyone believe that either of those two great Presidents would ever have permitted his Attorney General to proclaim the impotence of the Federal Government.

The third change sought by the Attorney General would limit the public accommodations provisions of the Bill to enterprises connected with interstate commerce, such as hotels, motels, restaurants, movie houses, etc. As noted in last week's letter, this would be even more restrictive than the Senate Bill reported by a vote of 14-to-3 on October 8.

A reading of the Attorney General's full statement has called my attention to a fourth major change urged by him. Under the Administration's proposal, the existing Civil Rights Law would be strengthened in voting registration cases by requiring that the same standards be applied to all persons, by prohibiting the rejection of applicants for immaterial errors, by requiring literacy tests to be in writing, and by creating a presumption that a person with a sixth grade education

is literate. The Bill reported by the Subcommittee made these provisions applicable to State as well as Federal elections.

The Attorney General stated that in his view the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments authorized the extension of these safeguards to State elections. However, he declared, "Others do not share my views in this regard." By "Others" the Attorney General was apparently referring to Representatives and Senators. For he went on to say "Their doubts both as to the constitutionality and wisdom of federal regulation of state elections could impede passage of the Bill."

As far as the issue of constitutionality is concerned, experts are overwhelmingly of the view that Congress does have power to prevent discrimination on account of race or color in State as well as Federal elections. Apart from Southerners, my attention has not been called to any members of Congress who seriously question the wisdom of, indeed the necessity for, such Federal protection. In any event, in my judgment, the inclusion of this provision of the Subcommittee Bill is not at all likely to impede its adoption. On the contrary, it seems to me that the Attorney General's position is an entirely needless concession to Southern sensibilities. Certainly, his position is not strengthened by his concluding argument that "The legislation would be effective whether or not state elections were covered."

It may be that the Attorney General assumes that once Negroes have been allowed to vote in Federal elections in the South, the Southern states will decide that no purpose would be served by continuing to bar them from voting in any local elections. It is incredible that the Attorney General should be so naive. The Southern States will hold out as long as they can to deny participation in the franchise to the Negro. They know--even if the Attorney General does not know--that the very power structure of the South will begin to change decisively when Negroes vote for sheriff, city councilmen, mayors and governors.

As this letter is written, it is uncertain whether the President and the Vice President will have any greater success than the Attorney General in persuading the Judiciary Committee to backtrack. Apparently, the stumbling block is the unwillingness, so far, of the Republican leadership to share the responsibility for the partial emasculation of the Bill. That leadership reflects, of course, the dominantly conservative faction of the Republican Party. Unless it cracks the whip, the more liberal element, led in the Judiciary Committee by John V. Lindsay, Representative from my own Congressional District in New York, probably will stand firm. In that case, the Bill may well emerge intact from the Judiciary Committee.

There will, of course, remain the obstacle of the Rules Committee. But at that point the issue will become one of reporting this Bill or no bill to the floor. In other words, in the Rules Committee there will be less opportunity for the kind of "wheeling and dealing" now going on.

The showdown in the Judiciary Committee is now scheduled for Tuesday. What happens then may well determine what bill will pass the House. That, in turn, may have a crucial bearing upon what law will finally emerge from the Senate. In that body we can be certain that the Southerners will use the filibuster in an attempt to cut down even further whatever measure comes over from the House.

All of these maneuvers have an aspect of unreality when placed in the perspective of the deprivations and indignities to which one-tenth of our population is subjected daily. If Congress fails to enact a civil rights bill which takes that reality fully into account, we shall, for

the second time in our history, confront a Tragic Era because we are unwilling or unable to grant freedom and equality to all men without regard to their race or color.

A Case of Importance to Civil Rights. In September 1962 Gov. Ross A. Barnett and Lt. Gov. Paul B. Johnson, Jr. of Mississippi achieved the status of Southern heroes by physically obstructing the enrollment of James H. Meredith at the University of Mississippi. Their action was in deliberate defiance of the orders of the Federal Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit. To punish them for this conduct, the Department of Justice instituted criminal contempt proceedings. The defendants countered by demanding a jury trial last April. The Court of Appeals divided 4-to-4 on that issue and the Government immediately sought review. Argument was heard by the United States Supreme Court this past Monday and Tuesday.

Before the Supreme Court Solicitor General Archibald Cox urged that the power of a Federal Court to enforce its orders by contempt proceedings without the intervention of a jury was "indispensable to upholding the rule of law." The requirement of jury trial in contempt cases would, he declared, threaten the role of the Federal courts in protecting minority rights. "Judicial protection," he pointed out, "may often prove hollow if vindication of the court's decree can be prevented by the whim of a single juryman sympathetic to the lawless mob or the lawless official."

Justice Goldberg--whose vote may well be decisive--asked in the course of the argument why civil contempt proceedings would not be amply effective in civil rights cases. Where the proceeding is for civil contempt, the person charged may be held in jail until he promises to obey a court order. The Solicitor General, in answer to the question, said that this deterrent would not be effective unless a person like Gov. Barnett had reason to fear punishment "for each violation as it occurred."

It seems to me that the answer of the Solicitor General could have been placed upon firmer ground if it had adverted to other situations where civil contempt proceedings are obviously inadequate. Thus, for example, if, as is likely, Congress enacts a civil rights bill prohibiting discrimination in places of public accommodation, it would be quite impracticable to enforce obedience to injunctions by civil contempt proceedings.

No one can predict with any certainty how the Supreme Court will rule upon the jury trial question. In Green v. United States, decided in 1958, the Court upheld, 5-to-3, the power of the Federal District Court in New York to try without a jury, on charges of criminal contempt, two defendants for failure to surrender to begin serving their sentences. They were Green and Winston, two of the eleven defendants convicted in 1949 of violation of the Smith Act.

Chief Justice Warren and Justices Black and Douglas dissented in the Green case on the ground that the Constitution prohibited summary trial before a single District Judge and required an indictment by a grand jury and trial before a jury. Justice Brennan, who also dissented, did not reach that issue because he regarded the proof in the Green case as being insufficient to show that the defendants had actual knowledge of the order requiring them to surrender. Only two of the five Justices who were in the majority in the Green case are still on the bench. They are Justices Clark and Harlan. In the meantime the other three--Justices Frankfurter, Burton and Whittaker--have retired and have been replaced by Justices Goldberg, White and Stewart. To make matters even more uncertain, Justice White, having been involved in the Meredith case, may not participate.

Sincerely, Shad Polier

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November 1, 1963

LEO PFEFFER, Director
JOSEPH B. ROBISON, Assistant Director

Dear Friend:

Considerably More Than Half a Loaf. On Tuesday, the House Judiciary Committee, by a vote of 23-to-11, approved a compromise Civil Rights Bill which goes considerably further than the measure originally proposed by the Administration but falls short of the draft approved by its Subcommittee. On the negative side were 6 Southern Democrats, 2 Southern Republicans and 3 Northern Republicans. Voting for the measure were 14 Democrats and 9 Republicans, all of whom were from the North except Congressman Jack Brooks, Democrat of Texas.

On a prior vote, a move to report the Subcommittee draft failed 19-to-15. Significantly, however, the 15 included 7 Southerners - 5 Democrats and 2 Republicans - who favored the Subcommittee Bill because they felt that it would have harder going in the Rules Committee and could more easily be defeated on the floor of the House. They were joined by 3 conservative Northern Republicans and by 3 Northern Democrats who held out for the Subcommittee draft.

The crucial vote was the one which followed on the proposal to substitute the new bi-partisan draft. It carried 20-to-14. This represented a shift of 3 votes. They were 2 Northern Democrats who had previously voted to report the Subcommittee draft and 1 conservative Northern Republican, who had originally voted in opposition to it.

The compromise Bill may reach the floor by the end of the month and be passed by the House without further changes. For it represents a formulation hammered out by the Administration and part of the liberal Democratic bloc on the one hand and the conservative Republican leadership represented by Minority Leader Charles A. Halleck of Indiana and Congressman William M. McCulloch of Ohio, ranking Republican member of the Judiciary Committee, and the liberal Republican faction led by John B. Lindsay of Manhattan on the other hand. It would appear that the vote of the Lindsay group was decisive.

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Although the compromise Bill has been sharply criticized by civil rights groups, it is my personal view that the measure voted by the Judiciary Committee now deserves their support. This does not overlook the shortcomings of the Bill or the fact that, but for the pressure of civil rights groups, a far weaker measure might well have emerged from the Judiciary Committee. Nor does it overlook the fact that tremendous pressure may well be required to see the Bill through the Senate without weakening or crippling amendments.

The danger of such a development in the Senate is considerably increased by the position so far taken by Senator Everett M. Dirksen, Minority Leader, in opposition to a measure which would effectively ban discrimination in places of public accommodation. It remains to be seen whether he will also take such a negative stance with respect to other basic provisions of the Bill.

Senator Dirksen's attitude will be of special importance. Opposition by him to any feature of the Bill would encourage Southern Senators to engage in a filibuster in the hope of wearing down the majority to acceptance of a weaker measure. If, however, the Republican leadership in the Senate follows the Halleck-McCulloch example, the Southerners probably would recognize the futility of such a tactic and the Bill might well become law no later than next January.

The space available in this letter requires me to limit my analysis to those provisions of the Bill that reflect the give-and-take represented by the action of the Judiciary Committee on Tuesday. Only brief mention can be made of other provisions despite their important contributions to what, if enacted, would be the most far-reaching civil rights legislation since the period immediately following the Civil War.

FEPC. Effective Federal legislation against discrimination in employment is, of course, fundamental to meaningful civil rights legislation. The Administration's proposal did not include such a provision although its enactment as a separate law was endorsed by the President. In his appearance before the Judiciary Committee, the Attorney General had cautioned against including such a provision in any measure because of Republican opposition. He, therefore, proposed that the provision in the Subcommittee draft be deleted.

The compromise Bill retains the provision for an FEPC but yields to the Republican opposition by taking enforcement out of the Commission established by the Bill and vesting it in the Federal District Courts. This departure from the traditional procedures of administrative law represents an important concession in one of the meaningful struggles between liberal and conservative forces in the entire area of governmental regulation. The controversy is over whether independent administration bodies shall have the responsibility for determining the facts and shaping of the remedy, with subsequent court review limited to whether there is any evidence to support the administrative findings and whether the proposed remedy is arbitrary. The compromise Bill limits the Commission to investigation and conciliation and, if these fail, to bringing suit in the District Court to secure an injunction against the continuance of the alleged illegal practices. This represents a significant watering down of the FEPC provisions. Whatever may be the case in other areas of Federal regulation, there can be no doubt that the extreme conservatism of most Federal District Judges in Southern States - many of them out-and-out segregationists - will weigh heavily against effective enforcement of these provisions. Their hostility is likely to be reflected in findings of fact adverse to the Commission's charges, the awarding of inadequate remedies and, above all, intolerable delay.

Nevertheless, the compromise provisions for FEPC represent, in my opinion, a step forward in dealing with one of the major evils of discrimination against the Negro in the South. One may hope that Federal Judges will not have the same reluctance to end employment discrimination as they have shown with respect to school desegregation. For one thing, schools involve children and employment involves adults. One cannot, however, be too optimistic on this score. The same Federal District Judges have exhibited great hostility toward the vigorous enforcement of the provisions of the Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1960 intended to end the disenfranchisement of the Negro.

Even if the hope of effective enforcement of the FEPC provisions by the District Courts proves illusory, the establishment of a Federal FEPC seems to me to represent a major breakthrough because it would establish the propriety of intervention by the Federal Government in this area. If the system of judicial enforcement proves inadequate, the inevitable next step will be the creation of a Commission with the conventional powers of administrative bodies.

Voting. The voting provisions of the compromise Bill reflect another concession to the Republicans. The reforms which they would introduce are limited to voting in Federal elections instead of applying, as the Subcommittee proposed, to State and local elections as well.

The compromise Bill deletes the Subcommittee proposal to authorize the President to appoint voting referees in any county where fewer than 15% of voting age Negroes are registered. On the other hand, this is compensated for by the addition of a new provision which goes beyond the Administration's proposal and which may considerably overcome the sabotage by District Judges hostile to any Federal intervention in this area.

Under the Civil Rights Act of 1957, District Judges were authorized to appoint voting referees to register persons in communities where State officials continue to discriminate. No District Judge has exercised this authority. Moreover, with notably few exceptions, they have dragged out the trial of such cases and have given restrictive interpretations to the Act. The compromise Bill would place the enforcement of the voting registration provisions in a 3-Judge District Court. This would mean that at least one of the members of the 3-Judge Court would be a member of the Court of Appeals. The Courts of Appeals whose jurisdiction covers the Southern States are notably more liberal than most of the District Judges. Consequently, under the compromise Bill, administration of the voting registration provisions of the law will be placed in friendlier hands.

Title III. The Subcommittee draft of the Bill authorized the Department of Justice to initiate suits in the Federal District Courts to enjoin discrimination in publicly operated facilities, such as parks, libraries and swimming pools. This provision was retained by the full committee. In addition, the Subcommittee draft would have authorized the Attorney General to seek an injunction against the deprivation of any one's constitutional rights by any person "acting under color of any statute, custom or usage." The Attorney General validly criticized this latter provision because it went beyond the area of discrimination on account of race or color. However, he clearly went too far in urging its complete elimination. His proposal would have deprived the Federal Government of any role - other than as amicus curiae - in litigation necessary to enjoin local authorities in the South from denying Negroes the rights given hem by Federal statutes and the Constitution.

The compromise Bill represents a repudiation of the Attorney General's position. While it does not authorize the Justice Department to institute suits to protect against official suppression of Negro rights,

it does authorize the Department to intervene in such cases once they have been started by private individuals. The difference between instituting suit and intervening in a suit begun by others is not great. This fact will, of course, be recognized by the Southern Senators and they will probably seek to eliminate this provision entirely.

Public Accommodations. The Administration bill would have applied only to establishments operating in interstate commerce. The Subcommittee added a sweeping provision extending coverage to any establishment operating under State "permission or license." Apparently to secure necessary Republican votes, this provision was dropped and a new provision drafted making the Bill applicable where discrimination is "supported by State action." Such discrimination is already prohibited by the Constitution but adding this provision enables the Department of Justice to initiate proceedings in appropriate cases.

School Desegregation. The compromise Bill retains the provisions of the Administration's proposal and the Subcommittee draft allowing the Justice Department to bring school desegregation suits and authorizing Federal aid to school districts that are segregated. However, it drops a proposal contained in both prior drafts which would extend aid to school districts taking action to "adjust racial imbalance." The dropping of this provision probably reflects the feeling that it would involve a commitment upon an issue on which there is still far from a clear consensus and which, consequently, might result in stirring up strong Northern opposition to the Bill as a whole.

Other Provisions. The Administration Bill would have extended the Commission's life for four years. The Subcommittee draft provided that the Commission should become a permanent body. This change was upheld by the full Judiciary Committee. Also kept in the final draft of the Bill were two other provisions added by the Subcommittee. One would authorize review by the Courts of Appeals of District Court decisions refusing to permit removal of certain civil rights controversies from State courts. This provision represents another instance of recognition of the hostility of many District Judges to the Civil Rights Movement.

The other provision would direct the Census Bureau to compile statistics on the denial of voting rights on account of race or color. This directive was modified, and in my opinion, improved in the compromise Bill, by providing that the Civil Rights Commission is to designate the areas in which such studies are to be made. They would, of course, lay the groundwork for an implementation of the never-used provision of the Fourteenth Amendment that any State abridging the right of its citizens to vote shall lose a proportionate number of seats in the House of Representatives. The ruling of the Supreme Court in the malapportionment cases gives one reason to believe that this provision of the Fourteenth Amendment may be enforceable by suit in the Federal courts. Finally, the compromise Bill includes a provision which directs all Federal agencies administering funds to establish policies requiring non-discrimination by beneficiaries. To enforce these policies, the Bill authorizes the Federal Government to cut off the aid or, in the alternative, to sue in the Federal courts to require non-discriminatory administration by the recipients of such aid. This provision is also one against which the Southern bloc in the Senate can be expected to level its heaviest guns.

Sincerely yours,

Shad Polier

Shad Polier

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LEO PFEFFER, Director
JOSEPH B. ROBISON, Assistant Director

November 8, 1963

Dear Friend:

The FCC and Pacifica. The Pacifica Foundation, a non-profit organization, operates FM Stations WBAI in New York City, KPFK in Los Angeles and KPFA in Berkeley, California. All of the stations are listener-sponsored, being supported by some 30,000 subscribers, and none of them carries commercials. As a matter of policy, the Pacifica stations seek to present controversial programs which include spokesmen from the extreme left and the extreme right.

Last January the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee of the Judiciary Committee questioned, in secret, seven persons connected with Pacifica. The witnesses included two of Pacifica's officers from the West Coast, the station manager of WBAI, and Mrs. Dorothy Healey, of Los Angeles, spokesman of the Communist Party in California and a commentator for KPFK. Only Mrs. Healey declined to answer questions at the hearing. She invoked the Fifth Amendment. Trevor Thomas, Acting President of Pacifica, objected to the secrecy of the hearing and urged that the listening public has the right to hear a full range of opinions.

In opening the inquiry, Sen. Thomas Dodd, Democrat of Connecticut, who is Vice-Chairman of the Subcommittee, said that the Subcommittee was not interested in knowing whether the programming of radio stations had actually come under Communist influence. Rather, he said, it would like to find out whether there was "infiltration" which made such influence "possible."

During the hearing there was a suggestion that under some circumstances there might be a requirement imposed by Federal law that a person speaking over the radio be identified by a by-line indicating whether he had any subversive connections. Senator Dodd later issued a statement asserting that he did not know whether such a law might be "needed or desirable" but that Congress had a right to find out whether it was.

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Prior to the Subcommittee hearing Ephraim London, Chairman of AJCongress' Commission on Law and Social Action, wired Vice-President Lyndon B. Johnson, as Presiding Officer of the Senate, urging him to use his good offices to secure cancellation of the investigation on the ground that:

> "The obvious purpose of this hearing is to intimidate a radio network that has the energy, the intelligence and the courage to present a wide variety of viewpoints, including some which the Senate subcommittee apparently does not like. We in the American Jewish Congress also oppose some of these viewpoints, but if we choose to reject them, that choice must be ours alone. The Senate Subcommittee has no right to arrogate that choice to itself by seeking to frighten the Pacifica Foundation into conformity with what the Subcommittee thinks should be heard over the air. Like the House Un-American Activities Committee investigation of the Women's Strike for Peace movement, the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee is guilty of what it most condemns in the Communist system: Suppression, by intimidation of freedom of the press, freedom of speech and freedom of political thought. We believe the investigation to be a flagrant attack on the First Amendment guarantee of free speech and a free press."

At the time of the hearing the New York Times was blacked out in its own town by the newspaper strike. However, its Western Edition of January 14 carried an editorial which concluded that:

> "Pacifica's worst sin appears to have been the dissemination of offbeat ideas that have angered some people and annoyed others. The subcommittee's inquiry looks like an attempt to make Pacifica conform to a concept of speech that is pleasing rather than free."

The pertinence and accuracy of this evaluation was underscored by the fact that the Subcommittee asked no questions concerning the broadcasts over Pacifica's stations by rightwingers.

The Subcommittee took no further action in the Pacifica case other than to turn over to the Federal Communications Commission the record of the testimony. However, that action had the effect which the Subcommittee presumably intended it to have.

The Pacifica stations have had applications for permanent licenses pending before the FCC for from one to five years. They should long ago have been acted upon and should have been granted. Instead, the Commission took no action until October 7. On that date the FCC sent a letter to Pacifica requesting that its officers, managers and directors answer under oath the question: "Are you or have you ever been a member of the Communist party or any other organization which recommends overthrow of the government of the United States by force or violence?"

The FCC letter set a 30-day deadline for compliance, which expired on Wednesday. Pacifica's Board of Directors is scheduled to meet on the West Coast this week to vote on whether to comply with the request. It is to be hoped that the Board will refuse to comply and that it will, instead, institute suit in the Federal courts to enjoin the Commission from pressing the inquiry.

The action of the FCC came to public notice in this morning's newspapers. AJCongress immediately wrote to the FCC Chairman, E. William Henry, urging the withdrawal of the letter to Pacifica and a prompt determination of its license applications. The letter said:

> "The Commission's present action can no more be justified than a similar governmental inquiry sent to all broadcasters or, for that

matter, all newspaper and book publishers. It is a palpable violation of the First Amendment guarantees of freedom of speech and association. It inevitably reenforces the widespread impression that the imaginative programming of controversial material that has characterized the Pacifica Foundation stations invites oppressive governmental investigation and crippling delay.

"This present effort to revive the discredited loyalty oath is indistinguishable from practices repeatedly condemned by the Supreme Court in the case of passport applications and tax exemption for religious institutions. It completely mistakes the theory underlying our democratic institutions. In a democracy, as Justice Douglas has pointed out, 'The strength of the "press" and the "church" is in their freedom. If they pervert or misuse their power, informed opinion will in time render the verdict against them. A paper or pulpit might conceivably become a mouthpiece for Communist ideology. This is typical of the risks a Free Society runs. The alternative is governmental oversight, governmental investigation, governmental questioning, governmental harassment, governmental exposure for exposure's sake. Once we crossed that line, we would sacrifice the values of a free society for one that has a totalitarian cast.'"

The quotation of Justice Douglas is from his concurring opinion in Russell v. United States, decided May 21, 1962. That decision involved a series of convictions for contempt, for failure to answer questions by a Congressional Committee relating to Communism. Among these were three cases in which the defendants were copy editors employed by the New York Times and by a former reporter on the New York Daily News. The Supreme Court reversed the convictions 6-to-2 on the narrow technical ground that the indictments failed to specify "the subject under inquiry" by the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security and the House Un-American Activities Committee. Justice Douglas alone expressed himself upon the constitutional issue.

Subsequently, new indictments were obtained by the Justice Department and at least one conviction followed. The Supreme Court will, therefore, ultimately be called upon to determine the extent to which the freedom of the press of the First Amendment protects the right of a witness to remain silent. The issue then presented will be whether a majority agrees with the opinion of Justice Douglas in the Russell case that the power of Congress to inform itself is "no broader than the power to legislate" and whether, as he wrote:

"Congress has no power to legislate either on 'religion' or on the 'press.' If an editor or a minister violates the law, he can be prosecuted, but the investigative power, as I read our Constitution, is barred from certain areas by the First Amendment. If we took the step urged by the prosecution, we would allow Congress to enter the forbidden domain."

Whatever uncertainty there may be as to the power of a Congressional Committee to require disclosure of Communist affiliation by persons involved in the areas of communication - press, radio and television - it is perfectly clear that the FCC is utterly without such authority.

In Kent v. Dulles, decided in 1958, the Supreme Court held, in a 5-to-4 decision, that the Secretary of State had no authority to require the filing of an affidavit as to membership in the Communist Party as a condition for the issuance of a passport. The ruling in Kent was made in the face of a long history of the exercise of such power by the State Department. Nevertheless, that history was brushed aside by the majority of the Supreme Court on the ground that, in the absence of express authorization by Congress, the State Department would be held to have no such power. To hold otherwise, the Court declared would raise seri-

ous question as to the constitutionality of the law as a violation of the freedom of travel granted by the Due Process Clause of the Fifth Amendment.

The action of the FCC in requiring Pacifica to submit loyalty oaths of its principals is, therefore, clearly doomed to be struck down as an unauthorized usurpation of power over freedom of expression. Indeed, it is not too much to say that the action of the FCC probably represents the most arrogant misuse of such power in the history of this country. It can be explained, in my judgment, only as a craven yielding to pressure by the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security. It remains to be seen whether the broadcasting industry, or for that matter the press in general, will recognize what a threat to their freedom is posed by the action of the FCC and whether they will denounce it as marking a raw attempt to license and to muzzle freedom of speech and freedom of the press.

The Hill-Burton Act and the Constitution. Since 1946 some $600 million of Federal funds, made available under the Hill-Burton Act, have gone into the construction of over 2,000 medical care facilities in the 11 "Old South" States, in practically all of which Negroes have been discriminated against in one way or another. Although the Hill-Burton Act authorizes "separate but equal" facilities, the fact is that institutions for Negroes built with Federal funds have been largely non-existent. Moreover, Negro physicians and dentists have been excluded from the use of facilities, except in the few communities where they are allowed to treat their patients in segregated wards.

A series of cases challenging the constitutionality of such discrimination was instituted under the sponsorship of the NAACP Defense Fund. On November 1, the Federal Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit struck down this provision of the Hill-Burton Act in a case involving two North Carolina hospitals.

The majority, in an opinion by Chief Judge Simon E. Sobeloff, ruled that the regulations under which the Hill-Burton grants were made available took the hospitals out of the category of purely private bodies. Consequently, the Court ruled, discrimination by those institutions constituted "State action prohibited by the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment." The Court went even further and held that the participation by the Federal Government in such a program violated the Due Process Clause of the Fifth Amendment.

In view of the importance of this decision, review by the Supreme Court is almost certain. It is to be hoped that the case will be decided before the adjournment next June. An affirmance of the decision of the Fifth Circuit would put an end to the scandalous practice of Federal subsidies for segregated hospitals. In the meantime, the ruling of the Court of Appeals should lend support for the provisions of the pending Civil Rights Bill declaring it to be against Federal policy to make Federal funds available for discriminatory programs and authorizing the Government to implement this policy by cutting off such funds or seeking an injunction against their discriminatory use.

Sincerely yours,

Shad Polier

Shad Polier

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November 15, 1963

LEO PFEFFER, Director
JOSEPH B. ROBISON, Assistant Director

Dear Colleague:

Prosecution or Persecution in Albany, Georgia? Just a year ago the Southern Regional Council published "Albany--A study in National Responsibility." The pamphlet was prepared by Dr. Howard Zinn, Professor of history and social science at Spellman College in Atlanta. It painted a picture of the situation in Albany, Georgia as one of a police state representing the interests of the white 60% of the population and determined to deny to the Negro 40% their basic constitutional rights of freedom of expression, assembly and petition, as well as their fundamental constitutional right to the use of public facilities, such as parks and libraries, on a non-segregated basis. It also pictured an "efficient" police state in which, by and large, the police department acted without brutality, although, as was pointed out, there had been some instances of shocking brutality by police as well as by the notorious county sheriff.

Dr. Zinn was highly critical of the Department of Justice for failing to institute criminal proceedings against local enforcement officials guilty of brutality. My newsletter of December 6, 1962, commenting upon Dr. Zinn's study, urged that the inaction of the Justice Department could not be excused on the ground that a grand jury would not indict. It pointed out that only misdemeanors were involved and that, therefore, prosecution could be initiated on the basis of an information (affidavit) sworn to by the United States Attorney. My letter recognized that it was doubtful that a local Federal jury would convict. On the other hand, it observed that such trials would afford an opportunity to put all the facts on record and thus focus state-wide, nation-wide and world-wide opinion upon these outrages and upon a community which tolerated them.

My newsletter took the position that Dr. Zinn was unfair in criticizing the Department of Justice for failure to institute injunction actions to enforce the constitutional rights of the Negro community. It called attention to the fact that Congress had repeatedly refused to grant such power to the Justice Department. Under these circumstances, it con-

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cluded that the Department of Justice deserved credit for championing, as amicus curiae, the position of the Negro community in the suits then pending in the Federal District Court.

There were three such suits in 1962. One involved an attempt by the city officials to enjoin Negro demonstrations. The other two were brought by the Negro community to enjoin segregation and exclusion in public and private facilities and to restrain arrests of persons protesting against such practices.

Ultimately, the suit brought by the City was defeated in the Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit which set aside a restraining order granted without a hearing by United States District Judge Robert Elliott. He showed no such speed in disposing of the suits brought to defend civil rights. Almost a year passed before he handed down a decision dismissing the suit to end segregation in public facilities, a ruling which was reversed by the Court of Appeals. The more basic suit to restrain illegal arrests still remains undecided by Judge Elliott.

Judge Elliott has recently been involved in another series of Albany, Georgia cases. They grew out of a suit for damages brought by a Negro who had been shot by the sheriff. The action was predicated upon a post-Civil War statute which authorizes the bringing of a suit for damages in the Federal courts by a person alleging an invasion of his civil rights by a State law enforcement officer.

Shortly after the jury brought in a verdict for the sheriff last April, Dr. William G. Anderson, a Negro physician who was then the leader of the Albany Movement, made a speech in which he urged Negroes not to patronize the supermarket operated by one of the jurors, Carl Smith, in the Negro neighborhood in Albany. At the time that Dr. Anderson made his speech, it was common talk that Smith had publicly declared that the sheriff's only wrongdoing was in failing to kill the Negro who had brought suit against him.

On April 20 Smith's supermarket was twice picketed by Negroes. On the first occasion the pickets were dispersed by the police. The second time they were arrested. Although the picketing was stopped, the Negro community withheld its patronage, with the result that Smith sold his business.

On August 8, Dr. Anderson and two other Negroes were indicted by the Federal grand jury on the charge of conspiring to obstruct the administration of justice by encouraging the picketing and boycotting of Smith's supermarket. On the same date perjury indictments were returned against five Negroes for obstructing the investigation of the charges against Dr. Anderson. In substance, the charge was that they had falsely denied conferring together at an attorney's office after receiving grand jury subpoenas, and prior to testifying before the grand jury.

Also indicted for perjury was Joni Rabinowitz, a 22-year old New Yorker. As part of her work program at Antioch College, she was working in the Albany area as a field representative of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) in its efforts to combat racial segregation and to encourage Negro voter registration. She was charged with falsely testifying before the grand jury that she had not witnessed the picketing on April 20.

All of the defendants challenged the indictments on the ground that Negroes had been systematically excluded from the grand jury. They also moved for a change of the place of trial on the ground that local

prejudice was such that a fair trial could not be obtained in the Federal District where Albany is located. These objections were peremptorily denied by Judge Elliott and Dr. Anderson was forced to immediate trial before Judge Elliott.

The outcome of the trial of Dr. Anderson proved to be a surprise. The jury failed to reach a verdict, three of the jurors holding out for acquittal. They were obviously unpersuaded that Dr. Anderson had done anything beyond making the speech denouncing Smith or that he had organized the picketing and boycott. Anyone familiar with the temper of the white community can only marvel that there were three jurors of such fortitude to hold out for an acquittal. Nevertheless, the Justice Department insists that Dr. Anderson be tried again. His retrial has been set for next April.

Miss Rabinowitz was convicted today despite the fact that there was overwhelming evidence that she was not present at the scene of the picketing. Her conviction rested upon the testimony of Smith, his son-in-law and a white employee. The jury chose to disregard the testimony of the pickets and of Miss Rabinowitz, that she was not there, the testimony of another white student who had been upon the scene, and the testimony of many distinguished persons who had come to Albany for the purpose of testifying to Miss Rabinowitz' reputation for veracity.

The appeal in Miss Rabinowitz' case will raise the issues presented in Dr. Anderson's as to the illegal composition of the jury and the impossibility of obtaining a fair trial in the Albany District. The prejudice which Miss Rabinowitz faced was, of course, even greater than that which confronted Dr. Anderson, for to Albany, Georgia she was an "outside agitator," was "agitating" in the most sensitive area by seeking to secure the right of the Negro to vote, and was white and a woman. Realizing the odds against securing an unprejudiced jury, her counsel asked that she be tried by District Judge William A. Bootle without a jury. The application had to be denied because the United States Attorney refused to waive a jury trial.

Although Miss Rabinowitz is white, it seems to me that she has standing to challenge the indictment on the ground that the grand jury had been selected so as to exclude Negroes. The issue involved was completely enmeshed with the struggle of Negroes for civil rights. Consequently, the exclusion of Negroes was surely no less prejudicial than if she had been a Negro.

That the challenge to the grand jury was well taken is indicated by the fact that the jury box (from which grand jurors are selected) contained 1985 names of which only 117 (5.89% of the total) were the names of Negroes. In the 18 counties which comprise the Division in which Albany is located, 78,017 of the 211,306 persons over 21 years of age (i. e., 34.55% of the total) were Negro. This disparity would seem to be accounted for by several factors. For one thing, names of prospective jurors are taken from State tax lists which are kept separate on the basis of race. Furthermore, those making the selection consulted their friends and these were almost exclusively white persons. In addition, it was shown that while inquiries were made of white fraternal church and civic organizations, no similar inquiry was directed to their Negro counterparts.

In sum, the proof as to systematic exclusion of Negroes appears to be stronger in these cases than in many instances in which State court convictions have been set aside as violating the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. It would seem likely that an even stricter standard of fairness in jury selection will be imposed by the Supreme Court in the exercise of its supervisory powers over the lower Federal courts.

The indictment in Miss Rabinowitz' case was challenged on still another ground. When she was called as a witness before the grand jury, the United States Attorney asked about her activities relating to voter registration and her social relations with Negroes and her background. These inquiries no doubt inflamed the grand jury and, it seems to me, made her indictment certain.

Obviously, there was no need to call Miss Rabinowitz as a witness before the grand jury. She was not charged with being a picket and thereby participating in the alleged retaliation against Smith for his vote as a juror. Moreover her testimony was not necessary in order to determine who had engaged in the picketing. The identity of the pickets was known to the police and indeed the pickets had been arrested by the police. It seems to me a fair conclusion, therefore, that the United States Attorney used the power of his office to subject Miss Rabinowitz to prosecution because she was engaged in activities which are deeply disapproved of by the white community. It is not strange that a United States Attorney, who owes his office to the endorsement of Georgia Senators, should use his office for such purpose. It is, however, outrageous that the Attorney General of the United States should have permitted such conduct.

In my judgment, it also appears that the indictment of Dr. Anderson was in reality an attempt to punish him for his denunciation of Smith. That denunciation was protected against prosecution because of the First Amendment's guarantee of freedom of speech. The Constitution is, of course, no bar to prosecution for conspiracy. But as the hung jury testifies, the conspiracy charge verged upon the incredible.

It is no explanation of these indictments to say that the Albany prosecutions simply represent the determination of the Government to bring to justice whoever interferes with the administration of the law, whether he be white or Negro. Of course, Negroes and whites alike must be punished if they obstruct justice. This, however, seems to me to be too glib an explanation for what has happened in the Albany cases.

The suspicion will not down that the Justice Department has become a party to injustice in an effort to persuade the South that it is acting even-handedly. In the end, I believe, all the convictions will be set aside. There will, however, remain the stain of what, in my judgment, has been a misuse of the power of the Federal Government to pander to local prejudice.

Footnotes to the Above. At the Rabinowitz trial there were only 3 Negroes among the 93 jurors summoned. None of the Negroes was drawn for her trial. In Dr. Anderson's case, one was drawn and was promptly removed by the Government's peremptory challenge.

A few days after the Anderson trial Judge Elliott again demonstrated his completely segregationist views. On November 1 he was the dissenter in a ruling by a 3-Judge District Court holding unconstitutional Georgia's insurrection statute under which four civil rights workers were held without bail on the ground that the law provided for the death penalty. Unfortunately, Judge Elliott is all too typical in his views of a number of other appointments made by the present Administration.

In seeking to waive a jury trial, Miss Rabinowitz' counsel was, of course, aware of the fact that Judge Bootle represents a different judicial tradition. This is not to say that all Eisenhower appointees are vigorous champions of civil rights, although on the average their performance has probably been more than a cut above President Kennedy's. In Judge Bootle's case, however, his attitude had been indicated by his ruling two years ago in directing the University of Georgia to admit Negroes as students.

Sincerely yours,

Lloyd Paton

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LEO PFEFFER, Director
JOSEPH B. ROBISON, Assistant Director

November 25, 1963

Dear Friend:

A Time For Mourning. This letter is begun only a few moments after the funeral of John Fitzgerald Kennedy, 35th President of the United States. In the less than three years in which he held that office President Kennedy so greatly contributed to mankind's hopes for peace and human dignity that his assassination last Friday has left not only our own nation but the whole world bereft and numbed.

In the words Hamlet spoke of his father, "He was a man, take him for all in all, I shall not look upon his like again." Indeed, more than a century and a half passed in the history of our nation before we were blessed for a second time with a man who gave to us that rare combination of culture, intellect, vision and statesmanship. Our tragedy is that, unlike Thomas Jefferson, President Kennedy was lost to us in his young manhood.

Over the weekend, I have scanned the almost 150 newsletters written by me since the start of the 1960 Presidential campaign. Their pages have reminded me over and over of his pervasive impact and influence upon the area of American life with which the newsletters have been concerned -- civil rights and civil liberties. They have recalled instance after instance in which he lifted us, and helped us to lift ourselves, to higher plateaus and fixed, and helped us to fix, our eyes more clearly upon the goal of a more complete realization of the American dream of freedom and equality.

As the death of the President warns us, there are forces in our nation which, unless checked, can transform our dream into a deadly nightmare. These are the forces of hatred and hostility, of bigotry and bitterness, of fear and fury, of cruelty and callousness. They are the ingredients of the witches' brew whose latest victim was the President of the United States, -- and whose recent victims include such other martyrs as Medgar Evers, also slain by a sniper, and

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the Negro children who perished in the bombing of a Birmingham church.

In a very short time we shall be tested in our resolve to live in the spirit in which President Kennedy died. It is for us to see that the emancipation of the Negro and the freedom of all Americans shall be advanced by enactment into law of an effective civil rights bill. Such a measure, more than any monument, would be a fitting memorial to a man who by word and deed used his high office not only to oppose discrimination against the Negro but to accord to him equal status.

In his brief term of office President Kennedy appointed many Negroes to places of high honor and responsibility, named hundreds more to positions of importance, and earnestly pressed the task of eliminating discrimination within the vast civil service, including its offices in the deep South. By these acts he did more than strike a blow for equality. He helped to shatter the image of Negro inferiority.

President Kennedy welcomed the Revolution of Our Times, the massive and determined effort of the Negro both in the South and in the North, to achieve equality now. His warm greeting to those who participated in the March on Washington was no isolated phenomenon. In person and through his representatives in the Executive branches of the Government, he strove, unceasingly, to encourage both the North and South to accept the inevitability, and to understand the righteousness, of the Negro's strides toward freedom.

Addressing the nation in June 1963, President Kennedy pointed out that segregation and discrimination exist in every city, in every State of the Union, producing in many cities a rising tide of discontent that threatens the public safety. He warned that the issue is not merely "a legal or legislative" one, although he recognized that new laws are needed at every level. He said:

> "We are confronted primarily with a moral issue. It is as old as the Scriptures and is as clear as the American Constitution. The heart of the question is whether all Americans are to be afforded equal rights and equal opportunities; whether we are going to treat our fellow Americans as we want to be treated."

This address was foreshadowed by a speech which he had delivered before the National Conference of Mayors. President Kennedy then said that we are in the midst of "a moment of moral and constitutional crisis" in American race relations and that "the time for token moves and talk is past."

Like Lincoln, President Kennedy was determined that the Union would be preserved. This he exhibited most dramatically in the mobilization of troops to assure the admission of James Meredith to the University of Mississippi and later to forestall a reign of official terror in Birmingham. He showed it in many other less dramatic ways.

These included suits brought by the Department of Justice to end discrimination against Negroes seeking to register as voters, to end segregation in public schools built in "impacted areas" with Federal funds and to bar prosecution of Freedom Riders for refusing to accept segregated travel facilities in the South. Not less significant were the many instances in which the Department of Justice joined as amicus curiae in suits brought by the NAACP to further public school desegregation, to end segregation of hospitals built with Federal funds, to defend the right of peaceful demonstration by Negroes and to restrain suppression of such demonstrations by police and State courts.

All of this is not to say that the President, in every instance, went as far, or as quickly as the Negro community or civil rights organizations wished and hoped he would go. It was a disappointment that his Executive Order regarding housing built with Federal aid was so limited in scope and that the civil rights bill introduced by him did not include a provision for a fair employment practice commission. That there were these and other disappointments in the field of civil rights does not, however, detract from the realization that they reflected no lack of concern but, rather, a difference in judgment as to what could be achieved and what should not be risked lest more be lost.

An example of the courage and integrity of President Kennedy was his statement at the press conference two days after the Supreme Court had held unconstitutional the recital of the Regents Prayer in the New York Public Schools. President Kennedy did not limit himself to saying that the decision should be supported because the Constitution, as interpreted by the Supreme Court, is the supreme law of the land. He went on to observe that:

> "I would think that it would be a welcome reminder to every American family that we can pray a good deal more at home, we can attend our churches with a good deal more fidelity, and we can make the true meaning of prayer much more important in the lives of all of our children. That power is very much open to us. And I would hope that, as a result of this decision that all American parents will intensify their efforts at home."

It is to be remembered that a week later, at the annual meeting of the Governors' Conference a resolution was adopted -- with only Governor Rockefeller abstaining -- deploring and attacking this historic decision. Also to be recalled is the bitter attack upon the Court for which Catholic Church leaders and organs were the principal spokesmen. That less than a year later an even more sweeping decision by the Court in the prayer and bible reading cases evoked so different a response must, in my judgment to a considerable measure, be attributed to the leadership displayed by President Kennedy in June 1962. It is not without irony that the man whose election as President marked a triumph over religious bigotry should have thus so forthrightly championed separation of Church and State.

President Kennedy firmly opposed, on Constitutional grounds, any use of Federal funds to aid parochial schools at the elementary and secondary school levels. In this instance, too, his position was at complete variance with that of the Catholic Church. Indeed, the opposition of the latter was to account for the votes in the Rules Committee which kept the Administration's bill from ever reaching the floor of the House.

On the other side of the ledger, his Administration must be debited with the statement issued by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, upholding Federal aid to institutions of higher education operated under religious control. True, the practice of making Federal grants to higher education began before President Kennedy's Administration, but not until the issuance of the opinion of HEW had it been formally defended upon Constitutional grounds.

President Kennedy's last contribution to the cause of civil liberties was the announcement the day before his death that he would personally

present the Enrico Fermi Award to Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer at a White House ceremony on December 2. This is the highest honor that can be bestowed by the Atomic Energy Commission. It was an atonement for the grave injustice done to Oppenheimer in 1954 when, following his suspension by President Eisenhower, the members of the AEC by a vote of 4-to-1 denied him security clearance as a consultant to the Commission. The Fermi award could not, of course, have been made without the approval of President Kennedy and his decision to present the award in person signified, once more, his determination to close the door upon the McCarthy era.

The Oppenheimer award was only the latest in a series of acts by President Kennedy in repudiation of that unhappy period in our national life. Even while still a Senator, President Kennedy had sought to remove the loyalty oath as a precondition to loans and grants to college students and scientists. A year ago he signed into law a bill which ended that disgraceful practice. At a press conference in January 1962, the President sharply rebuked a newspaper correspondent who, by her question, implied that two State Department Employees were "security risks." Two months before, speaking in Los Angeles, President Kennedy denounced the radical right-wing groups who are the inheritors of the mantle of McCarthyism. "There have always been those fringes of our society who have sought to escape their own responsibility by finding a simple solution, an appealing slogan or a convenient scapegoat," the President said. He continued:

> "Men who are unwilling to face up to the danger from without are convinced that the real danger comes from within. They look suspiciously at their neighbors and their leaders. They call for a 'man on horseback' because they do not trust the people. They find treason in our finest churches, in our highest court and even in the treatment of our water. They equate the Democratic party with the welfare state, the welfare state with socialism and socialism with communism. They object quite rightly to politics intruding on the military--but they are anxious for the military to engage in politics."

The President declared that he and most Americans "take a different view of our peril." "We know that it comes from without, not within. It must be met by quiet preparedness, not provocative speeches," he said. The President warned the nation not to "heed these counsels of fear and suspicion."

Suiting his actions to his words, the President had already ended the postal "iron curtain" under which persons receiving second-class mail from behind the Iron Curtain were required to file a declaration that they wished such documents forwarded to them. In this instance, however, the fearful ones were to have their way. The curtain was brought down again by a provision included in an omnibus measure enacted by Congress.

This brief chronicle of some of the contributions of John F. Kennedy to civil rights and civil liberties is fraught with reminders of all that remains to be done. Each of us must experience a sense of personal responsibility as we reflect how much greater the task will be now that he is not here to lead, to counsel, to cheer, to guide and to encourage us. Yet, his example will be with us, and each of us must be thankful that he lived with us even for so short a time.

Sincerely yours,

Arthur Fisher

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DEC 9 1963

December 4, 1963

Dear Friend:

"Let Us Continue." This was the theme of President Lyndon B. Johnson's address a week ago to a joint session of Congress. His speech unqualifiedly endorsed the programs launched by President Kennedy and assigned the highest priority to the "earliest possible passage" of the civil rights bill. Concerning this measure, President Johnson said: "We have talked for a hundred years or more. It is time now to write the next chapter, and to write it in the books of law." Earlier in his speech President Johnson, describing our dreams for a better future, placed "above all, the dream of equal rights for all Americans whatever their race or color."

The closing words of the Presidential address echoed another theme which President Kennedy had voiced again and again during the last year. Said President Johnson:

> "The time has come for Americans of all races and creeds and political beliefs to understand and to respect one another. So, let us put an end to the teaching and the preaching of hate and evil and violence. Let us turn away from the fanatics, from the far left and the far right, from the apostles of bitterness and bigotry, from those defiant of law, and those who pour venom into our nation's bloodstream."

On Monday, President Johnson suited his action to his words of warning against the mongers of fear. He presented the Enrico Fermi Award, the highest honor of the Atomic Energy Commission, to Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer, the physicist who exactly ten years before had been declared a security risk by a 4-to-1 vote of the Commission, then staffed by Eisenhower appointees. The day before his death President Kennedy had announced that he would present the award at the White House. President Johnson honored that commitment despite the criticism of such die-hards as Senator Bourke B. Hickenlooper of Iowa, the ranking Republican member of the Joint Congressional Atomic Energy Committee. It is interest-

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ing that not a single Republican member of the Committee attended the ceremony.

Dr. Oppenheimer, in accepting the award, beautifully expressed the feelings which must have been shared not only by the persons present at the ceremony but by millions of Americans. He said: "I think it just possible, Mr. President, that it has taken some charity and some courage for you to make this award today. That would seem to be a good augury for all our futures." He added: "These words I wrote down almost a fortnight ago. In a somber time I gratefully and gladly speak them to you."

On Thanksgiving, speaking to the nation on TV, President Johnson reiterated the appeal which he had made to Congress the day before. It is well that he did so. Unless the people are heard from it is unlikely that Congress will enact a civil rights bill which will come anywhere near what the times call for. Indeed, it is already apparent that Congress, if left to itself, is prepared to continue as if nothing had happened on November 22.

Howard W. Smith, Democrat of Virginia, Chairman of the House Rules Committee, is playing his usual game of delay. Unless his hand is forced, the compromise civil rights bill hammered out in the House Judiciary Committee on October 29 will probably not reach the floor until the end of January or even as late as February.

Yesterday, President Johnson put his prestige on the line by urging a campaign to obtain the necessary signatures of a majority of the 435 members of the House to a discharge petition. Because of parliamentary rules, it may not be possible to meet his Christmas deadline. However, as the result of his intervention - for which there are few precedents - the bill is now certain to come to a vote in January and be passed by the House.

The critical test of Presidential leadership will, however, come when the bill reaches the Senate. There the Southerners will launch a filibuster in the hope of bludgeoning the majority into agreeing to emasculate the bill as the price for allowing closing of debate. It is one of the ironies of history that President Johnson will then find himself confronted with an obstacle which is largely of his own making.

When the present session of Congress convened in January, Lyndon B. Johnson, as Vice President, avoided (some would say, evaded) ruling upon the question whether a majority of the Senate could close debate on the adoption of its rules for the next two years and then proceed, also by a majority vote, to prescribe the requirements for cloture. In my view, if the Vice President had ruled that the majority was entitled to do so, his ruling would have been upheld and Rule 22, requiring a two-thirds vote to close debate, would certainly have been modified. If that had happened, Lyndon B. Johnson, as President, and all others seeking to secure needed civil rights legislation, would today be facing a far more promising prospect. Instead, as the result of the then Vice President's temporizing, the critical vote in the Senate came in February upon a motion to close debate and was lost by a vote of 54 in favor and 42 opposed, with four Senators absent.

The six non-Southern Democrats who opposed cloture were Bible and Cannon of Nevada, both of whom have long had an affinity for voting with the South, Gruening of Alaska, Inouye of Hawaii, McGee of Wyoming and Byrd of West Virginia, who incidentally was the only Senator from a Border State to vote in the negative.

The 15 Republicans who opposed cloture included, of course, Minority Leader Dirksen of Illinois, who so far has given every indication of his intention to play ball with his Southern colleagues, as he has so often in the past. The other Republicans voting in the negative included, in addition to Tower of Texas, the traditional right-wingers of the Party, namely, Bennett of Utah, Carlson of Kansas, Cotton and Meecham of New Hampshire, Curtis and Hruska of Nebraska, Goldwater of Arizona, Hickenlooper and Miller of Iowa, Jordan of Idaho, Mundt of South Dakota, Simpson of Wyoming and Young of North Dakota.

There is a reasonable likelihood that President Johnson will have enough prestige and influence to shift some, if not all, of the six negative non-Southern Democratic votes. (I put aside as hopeless the Southerners, whose ranks have been strengthened by the death of Kefauver of Tennessee and his replacement by Walters.) The swing votes will, therefore, have to be found among the Republicans, at least half of dozen of whom will have to be moved from their traditional positions. Whether this can be accomplished will, in part, be determined by whether the religious forces of the country, who have increasingly manifested their concern for the desperate plight of the Negro in the South, will exert themselves in our New England States and in the Middle West.

Long before the civil rights bill comes to a vote in the House, President Johnson may be tested as to the depths of his commitment to civil rights. Strangely enough the test will result from an act of the Supreme Court.

On November 18, by a 5-to-4 vote, the Supreme Court invited Solicitor General Archibald Cox to submit a brief setting forth the position of the Justice Department as to whether a state may ever criminally prosecute a Negro for refusing to leave a place of public accommodation from which he is sought to be excluded because of his race. Put in legal terms, the question upon which the Justice Department is asked for its views is whether such criminal prosecution constitutes "State Action" and is, therefore, a violation of the Fourteenth Amendment guarantee that no State shall deny any person the equal protection of the laws. In other words, what the Supreme Court has asked is whether the Southern states can criminally punish Negro sit-in demonstrators without falling afoul of the decision of the Supreme Court in Shelley v. Kraemer, decided in 1948. That case held it to be a violation of the Equal Protection Clause to enforce a restrictive covenant prohibiting the ownership of real property by non-whites.

When the sit-in cases were argued in October, the Solicitor General filed a brief urging that the convictions be reversed on the narrow ground that the State trespass statutes did not give fair warning to Negroes that they would be subject to criminal prosecution for refusal to leave a place of public accommodation. If the Supreme Court had accepted this construction of the statutes, they would have been held invalid on well settled principles under the due process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.

The Justice Department took the position that it was unnecessary for the Supreme Court to address itself to the unsettled equal protection of the laws issue. Its brief stated that, "should the Court disagree and desire an expression of the views of the United States upon reargument, we would be prepared to make a full statement." If the Supreme Court had taken the Justice Department literally, it would have had to notice the sit-in cases for complete reargument in order to obtain an expression of the views of the Government upon this vital issue. Instead, the Court invited the submission of such a brief within thirty days.

As a matter of tradition, such a request is tantamount to a command. The unusual nature of the request is reflected in the fact that the Supreme Court was not only closely divided, but also by the position taken by the members of the Court. In the majority were Chief Justice Warren and Justices Douglas, Brennan, Stewart, and Goldberg. The dissenters were Justices Black, Clark, Harlan and White. No opinions were written. However, the dissenters noted their view that "the Court should not request the Department of Justice to file a brief concerning its views upon the basic constitutional issues on which the Department chose not to take a position in its original brief and in its oral argument."

Obviously, the position which the Justice Department will take in the brief to be filed with the Supreme Court involves a policy determination of the highest order. It is one which must, in this instance, represent the position of the President himself. President Johnson, therefore, inherited not merely the task of steering a civil rights bill through Congress, but of taking a position on an issue before the Supreme Court where the ruling of the Court could go far beyond the much more limited public accommodations provisions of the civil rights bill itself.

If the Supreme Court holds that the Constitutional rule of Shelley v. Kraemer is applicable to all places of public accommodation, the qualifications written into the compromise devised by the House Judiciary Committee will become entirely academic. Thus, retail stores and swimming pools would fall within the reach of the constitution. It would not really matter that politicans thought it expedient to exclude them from the public accommodations provisions of the bill.

As Senate Majority Leader, Lyndon B. Johnson was, no doubt, the principal architect of the compromises which made the enactment of the Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1960 possible. These statutes, representing the first such legislation passed since 1871 greatly strengthened the hand of the Government in dealing with the denial of the right of the Negro to register and vote in the South. But the price of the compromise paid to end the filibuster was a heavy one. It involved, for one thing, the jettisoning of "Part III" of the 1957 bill which would have authorized the Justice Department to sue to enforce the constitutional rights of Negroes including their right to desegregated public schools and to be free from interference by public officials with their peaceful demonstrations.

In the end Lyndon B. Johnson, as President of the United States, may be tempted to secure the Civil Rights Act of 1964 by further compromise of the compromise already made in the House Judiciary Committee. But there can be no compromise with the question put by the Supreme Court. It asks, in effect, for a "yes" or "no" answer, and permits none of the "wheeling and dealing" which are the stuff of politics and the breath of life of the Senate of the United States.

In Texas they talk of how long a shadow a man throws. It may well be that the answer to the question asked by the Supreme Court, as much as anything else that President Johnson will ever answer to will give us the measure of the man. It may well be one of the most fateful acts of his Administration and may well be a decisive factor in determining not only the sweep of the civil rights bill but also his chances of reelection.

Sincerely yours,

Shad Polier

Shad Polier

DEC 20 1963

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December 13, 1963

LEO PFEFFER, Director
JOSEPH B. ROBISON, Assistant Director

Dear Friend:

God, the Constitution and the Conscientious Objector. In June 1961, the Supreme Court, for the first time in history, ruled upon the power of a State to impose a religious test as a condition for holding public office. The precise issue presented in the Torcaso case was whether the First Amendment, made applicable to the States by the Fourteenth Amendment, bans any such test as violative of the prohibition against any law "respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."

After receiving an appointment as a notary public, Torcaso was denied his commission for refusing to sign the declaration: "I believe in the existence of God," as required by the Maryland Constitution. The suit to compel the issuance of the commission was jointly sponsored by AJCongress and the American Civil Liberties Union. It resulted in a unanimous holding by the Supreme Court that the Maryland religious test was unconstitutional. Two of the Justices, Frankfurter and Harlan, concurred in the ruling without subscribing to the reasoning of the opinion written for the Court by Justice Black.

In his opinion in the Torcaso case, Justice Black, after reviewing the earlier decisions of the Supreme Court, wrote:

> "We repeat and again reaffirm that neither a State nor the Federal Government can constitutionally force a person 'to profess a belief or disbelief in any religion.' Neither can constitutionally pass laws or impose requirements which aid all religions as against non-believers, and neither can aid those religions based on a belief in the existence of God as against those religions founded on different beliefs."

In a footnote Justice Black pointed out that: "Among religions in this country which do not teach what would generally be considered a belief in the existence of God are Buddhism, Taoism, Ethical Culture, Secular Humanism and others."

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In the Jakobson case decided last month the Federal Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit had occasion to apply the admonition of Torcaso that Government cannot differentiate between "religions based on belief in the existence of God against those religions founded on different beliefs." The case arose out of the conviction of Arno Jakobson for refusing to report for military duty on the ground that the Selective Service Board had wrongfully denied him the status of a conscientious objector.

The Board had found that Jakobson did not qualify under the exemption granted by the Universal Military Training and Service Act which permits exemption from the draft of persons who, by reason of religious training and belief, are conscientiously opposed to participation in war in any form. Religious training and belief is defined by the statute as "an individual's belief in relation to a Supreme Being involving duties superior to those arising from any human relation, but does not include essentially political, sociological, or philosophical views or a merely personal moral code."

The opinion of Judge Henry J. Friendly characterized the "religious views" of Jakobson as "not-altogether-easy-to-summarize." According to Judge Friendly"

> "The draftee defines religion as the sum and essence of one's basic attitude to the fundamental problems of human existence. He recognizes an ultimate cause or creator of all existence that he terms 'Godness.' For him Godness can be approached only through psychic involvement in the three-dimensional world. He accepts a 'horizontal' relationship to Godness that requires him to bind himself to the qualities of Godness that exist in every creation of mankind and throughout the world. The taking of human life is incompatible with his belief that sees in all humanity 'Godness' - the quality of having been created by the Ultimate Cause."

Obviously, Jakobson's view of religion does not posit "a Supreme Being" in the sense in which that term is usually used. On the other hand, any holding that he did not fall within the exemption provided by the Draft Act would have raised squarely the issue of discrimination between Jakobson's religion and the more traditional religions. The Court of Appeals avoided the dilemma by invoking "the time-honored principle of construing a statute not only to escape unconstitutionality but to avoid 'grave and doubtful constitutional questions.'" Applying that principle, the Court of Appeals held that the Draft Act did not intend the term, "Supreme Being," to be interpreted literally or traditionally. Accordingly, it held that Jakobson's religion met the statutory test for exemption from the draft.

Whether the Government will seek review by the Supreme Court of the ruling in the Jakobson case is not yet known. Nor can it be predicted whether the Supreme Court would agree to take jurisdiction at the present time. No doubt the Supreme Court, if not the Government, would prefer to postpone a resolution of the even more fundamental issue which would have to be faced if Jakobson's religion were held not to meet the requirements of the Draft Act. It may, however, find itself unable to postpone taking jurisdiction since the same issue is now before the Circuit Court of Appeals in the Seventh Circuit involving a person who likewise asserted a religious belief but denies a belief in a Supreme Being. Should the Seventh Circuit affirm his conviction and thus give rise to a conflict with the Second Circuit, the Supreme Court would probably find it necessary to take jurisdiction.

In any event, the basic issue is, of course, the question whether Congress has any Constitutional power to deny an exemption to conscientious

objectors whose opposition to war rests upon "a merely personally moral code," while granting an exemption to those whose objection is predicated upon "religion." Sooner or later this more fundamental issue is bound to be presented. It will raise not the question of "free exercise of religion" - upon which Jakobson was decided - but the question of "establishment of religion." The difference in the scope of these two questions is underscored by the decisions of the Supreme Court last June holding unconstitutional, as violating the Establishment Clause, conducting of prayers and reading of the Bible in public schools. In those cases, the Supreme Court held that it was of no moment that children were entitled to be excused from participating in such exercises. Excusal, the Court ruled, only went to the question of the "free exercise of religion." Because the Supreme Court placed its decisions on the Establishment Clause, it became unnecessary for the Court to resolve the subsidiary question, whether a child was truly free to avail himself of the right to be excused from the exercises in view of all of the psychological and social pressures making for conformity.

Some day the Supreme Court will take jurisdiction of a conscientious objector's challenge the Draft Law as favoring persons because of their religious views. Certainly no greater favoritism could be shown than to require one man to risk his life despite his moral scruples and to grant immunity to another because he holds religious beliefs as to the immorality of war. Such favoritism, it seems to me, cannot be reconciled with the prohibition against "establishment" of religion.

This fundamental issue cannot be avoided on "practical grounds." It is no more difficult to resolve the sincerity of conscientious opposition to participation in war when it is claimed to spring from personal morality than it is when it is claimed to be dictated by religious considerations. In both cases the sincerity of the claim is open to determination. Certainly, there is no basis in experience to conclude that sincerity is limited to, or more prevalent among, those whose beliefs have a religious derivation.

Nor will the Supreme Court be able to avoid resolving the question on the basis of the distinction suggested by the Court of Appeals in the Jakobson case. Judge Friendly sought to distinguish Torcaso on the ground that:

> "***in contrast to Maryland's notary public oath, Congress enacted this stature, in mitigation of what we assume to be the constitutionally permissible course of denying exemptions to all objectors, for the very purpose of protecting 'the free exercise' of religion by those whose religious beliefs were incompatible with the military service which Congress had the right to require."

This line of reasoning begs the question. Congress may have the power to deny exemption to all conscientious objectors. The necessity for a nation to defend itself may very well entitle it to require all citizens to bear arms. Indeed, it was not until the Draft Act of World War I that an exemption was for the first time provided. On the other hand, it is a very different thing to say that, because Congress could deny exemption to any conscientious objector, it can single out for special dispensation those who seek exemption on religious grounds.

Unlike the prayer and Bible reading in the public school cases, the resolution of the ultimate issue posed, but not disposed of, in the Jakobson case is unlikely to be fraught with social and political repercussions. Nevertheless, the answer given to the question in the case of the conscientious objector will have important implications. It will determine whether the Supreme Court meant what it said when Justice Black categorically declared in Torcaso, that "neither a State nor the

Federal Government can constitutionally *** force a person 'to profess a belief or disbelief in any religion.'"

Showdown on School Shutdowns. On December 2 the Virginia Supreme Court of Appeals, in a 6-to-1 decision, held that the State Constitution does not require the Legislature to reopen and operate public schools in Prince Edward County closed down since 1958 to avoid the desegregation order of the Federal Courts. The Virginia Court expressly considered and rejected the contention that the equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment was violated by reason of the fact that public schools in the rest of the State remained open and received 50 percent of their budgets from State Funds. It also brushed aside the claim that the Fourteenth Amendment was, in any event, violated because public funds are used to subsidize the maintenance of a private school open only to white children and established in order to provide an alternative to desegregated public education.

This subsidy takes two forms. Partial scholarships are provided by the county. In addition, a credit against taxes is granted to property owners sending their children to a private school. Both scholarship and tax credits are, of course, made available to Negro parents. However, since Negroes are less favorably economically situated, the effect of the tax credit, while separate, is certainly not equal.

In his dissenting opinion, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Appeals warned his colleagues that their decision "is a clear invitation to the Federal courts to step in." He added "I am sure that that invitation will be promptly accepted. We shall see!" In my view, the Chief Justice's prophecy will be fulfilled.

There is already pending before the Supreme Court a companion suit instituted in the Federal Courts and also brought by the NAACP. It was a proceeding to compel the County Supervisors to levy taxes and to provide the funds for the reopening of the Prince Edward County schools. Federal District Judge Oren Lewis ruled in favor of the plaintiffs but was reversed by the Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit in a 2-to-1 decision. Petition for review by the United States Supreme Court was filed in that case on October 30. Unquestionably, it will be granted, as will the application that is certain to be made shortly for review of the decision of the Virginia Supreme Court of Appeals.

It is to be hoped that the United States Supreme Court will hear argument and decide both cases before adjourning next June. Otherwise, the public schools will remain closed for 1964-65. This year, for the first time, the Negro children of Prince Edward County are receiving an adequate education. Indeed, they had received no education at all for the past five years. However, the private funds collected for the purpose of financing a private school for this year probably would not be available again. Moreover, it would be extremely difficult to hold together indefinitely the extraordinarily talented staff of teachers assembled to help these children to make up for the "lost years."

Few persons realize that the Prince Edward County schools were involved in the School Desegregation Cases decided in 1954. Thus, at best, a decade will have passed before the decision of the United States Supreme Court will become law in Prince Edward County. For four years the decision was avoided by one stalling device after another. For six years it has, in effect, been defied. At last there will be a showdown. As the Virginia Chief Justice intimated, there is no reason to doubt that the United States Supreme Court will finally rule that Prince Edward County may not secede from the Union.

Sincerely yours,

Thad Poliar

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December 20, 1963

LEO PFEFFER, Director
JOSEPH B. ROBISON, Assistant Director

Dear Friend:

Security and the Constitution. The perennial problems of reconciling considerations of national security, on the one hand, and the guarantees of the Bill of Rights, on the other, are certain to be presented to the United States Supreme Court either at the Term ending this June or at the next Term beginning in October, 1964. They arise from three cases recently decided by lower Federal Courts in the District of Columbia.

The first case involved suits brought by Elizabeth Gurley Flynn and Herbert Aptheker challenging the action of the State Department in cancelling their passports. The Secretary of State predicated his action upon an administrative determination that they were members of the Communist Party. Cancellation was, therefore, required by Section 6 of the Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950. This provides that when a "final order" of the Subversive Activities Control Board is in effect requiring an organization to register, it shall be unlawful for any member of such organization to apply for a passport or to use a passport. The directive of the Board requiring the Communist Party to register was upheld by the Supreme Court in June, 1961, in a 5-to-4 decision, which will be explained more fully below.

For the purpose of their suits, Flynn and Aptheker conceded that the Secretary of State had an adequate evidentiary basis for finding that they were members of the Communist Party. They rested their attack upon the claim that Section 6 was unconstitutional. Their principal contention was that they were deprived without due process of law of their constitutional liberty to travel abroad in violation of the Fifth Amendment. That question was left open for future determination by the Supreme Court in Kent v. Dulles, decided in 1958.

In Kent, the Supreme Court ruled, 5-to-4, that the Secretary of State had not been given any statutory authority to deny a passport on the ground that the applicant was a member of the Communist Party. The Court pointed out that the proceed-

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ings then pending against the Communist Party, to require it to register under the Subversive Activities Control Act, had not yet been concluded. The majority, therefore, narrowly construed the authority of the Secretary of State so as to avoid the necessity of resolving the question of the constitutionality, under the Fifth Amendment, of a statute barring the issuance of passports to members of the Party. The dissenters viewed this as a too restrictive interpretation of the Secretary's power but, like the majority, expressed no view on the constitutional issue.

Flynn-Aptheker now presents for decision the question reserved in Kent. Although prediction in such matters is a risky undertaking, it seems that the action of the Secretary of State in this case will probably be upheld. That such is likely to be the ruling of the Supreme Court is indicated by the fact that, in the Communist Party Registration Case, decided three years later, only one of the nine Justices - Justice Black - was of the view that the registration requirement violated the right of freedom of association guaranteed by the First Amendment. Certainly there is no reason to believe that the liberty to travel protected by the Fifth Amendment is more restrictive of Congressional power than is the liberty of association protected by the First Amendment.

Three of the dissenters in the Registration Case - Chief Justice Warren and Justices Douglas and Brennan - would have held the Subversive Activities Control Act unconstitutional under the Fifth Amendment. They would have struck down the statute because it ultimately required the officers of the Communist Party to identify themselves. Hence, they said, the Act violated the prohibition of the Fifth Amendment against self-incrimination. Presumably, Justice Black would have concurred in that view if he had not placed his dissent on the First Amendment ground. The majority of the Court, in an opinion by Justice Frankfurter, held that it was premature to consider the impact of the Fifth Amendment since the privilege against self-incrimination might not be raised.

As was to be expected, the Communist Party failed to comply with the order of the Subversive Activities Control Board to register. It was indicted and was convicted after a trial in which District Court Judge Holtzoff instructed the jury that no issue of self-incrimination was before it. Under his instructions, the only question presented was whether the Party's failure to comply was intentional rather than accidental or inadvertent. This was in effect, a direction to the jury to find the Party "Guilty." When that verdict was returned, Judge Holtzoff imposed the maximum sentence, fines totalling $120,000. If the conviction were upheld, the Government could, of course, secure a further indictment which would make the Party liable for fines of $10,000 for each additional day it had failed to register.

On December 17, the Court of Appeals unanimously overturned the conviction of the Party. The Court, did not, however, reach this result on the ground that the Party may claim the privilege against self-incrimination or that an individual may claim the privilege on behalf of the Party or its members. Instead, the Court based the reversal on the ground that the Government had the burden of proving that the Party's failure to register was "willful."

The Court of Appeals expressly ruled that the jury should have been instructed that the officers of the Party were privileged not to sign a registration statement because this would have subjected them to prosecution as members of the Party under the provisions of the Smith Act of 1940. Accordingly, the Court held, the jury should have been told

that no liability attached to the Party by reason of the refusal of its officers to file a registration statement. This, however, the Court of Appeals said, did not exhaust the Party's responsibility since the regulations of the Subversive Activities Control Board permit the forms to be signed by a "member, employee, attorney, agent or other persons." On the other hand, the Court of Appeals ruled, it would constitute "hardship or oppression" to require the Party affirmatively to establish that there was no one willing to sign on its behalf. It concluded, therefore, that "The burden of providing that a volunteer was available remains with the Government."

The technical disposition of the case was a remand to the District Court "with instructions to grant a new trial if the Government should request it; or absent such a request, to render a judgment of acquittal." As a practical matter, this was tantamount to a direction to acquit the Party and the Government may be expected to seek immediate review in the Supreme Court.

The implications of this latest round in the efforts of the Government to require the Communist Party to register and to disclose the identity of its members presents the classic problem of reconciling consideration of national security and the preservation of the Bill of Rights. At first glance, it may seem paradoxical or even absurd that the Government is entitled constitutionally to require the Communist Party to register and yet be unable to penalize the Party for its refusal to do so. Upon analysis, however, it is evident that neither a paradox nor an absurdity is involved.

As the Court of Appeals pointed out, the Government cannot achieve its objective by undermining the privilege of self-incrimination embodied in the Fifth Amendment. Its inability directly to secure compliance by the Party is no different from its inability to require convictions in other cases because of the Fifth Amendment. If that most basic of our Constitutional guarantees is jettisoned in order to secure the disclosure of the membership of the Communist Party, we shall be guilty of the supreme act of folly characterized by the man who burned down his house in order to get rid of the bedbugs.

The ruling of the Court of Appeals in the Communist Party case does not mean that the Communist Party can thumb its nose at the Government. On the contrary, it means that the Government must proceed in a different way to deal with the "Communist menace." Certainly it has an adequate arsenal for that purpose, including the provisions of the Smith Act under which mere membership in the Party, with knowledge of its purpose of overthrowing the Government by force and violence, is sufficient to establish the elements of a crime, punishable by 20 years in prison or a fine of up to $20,000, or both.

The constitutionality of this provision of the Smith Act was upheld by the Supreme Court in a 5-to-4 decision in the Scales case decided the same day as the Community Party Registration Case, and with the same four Justice dissenting. Since then the Government has chosen not to invoke this provision of the Smith Act, possibly because of the revulsion with which the decision was greeted because it required no showing that the defendant had himself done anything, other than to join the Party, toward seeking the overthrow of the Government by force or violence. Moreover, because two of the five Justices in the majority in Scales have retired, it may well be that the decision would not be reached by the Court as presently constituted, Justice Frankfurter having been replaced by Justice Goldberg and Justice Whittaker having been replaced by Justice Stewart.

Even if the Supreme Court should retreat from its decision in Scales, the Government could still invoke another provision of the Smith Act.

An almost equally heavy penalty can be imposed upon any person found guilty of advocating the overthrow of the Government by force and violence. Yates, decided in 1957, of course, requires the Government to show that the defendant actually incited such a course of conduct. But absent incitement one may well doubt that the security of the nation requires criminal prosecution because of association with and participation in the activities of the Communist Party. Besides, there are a plethora of criminal statutes dealing with espionage, sabotage, etc.

On December 3, a challenge to Section 6 of the Subversive Activities Control Act was rejected in another passport case by a differently constituted three-Judge District Court. In that case, the plaintiff, Milton S. Mayer, sought an injunction against the action of the Secretary of State requiring that he include in his application for a passport a statement that he was not a member of the Communist Party. Because Mayer had refused to answer this question, the State Department refused to process his application. Mayer claimed that this denied him due process of law, guaranteed by the Fifth Amendment, by imposing upon him the burden of proving that he was not a member of the Party. He further claimed that requiring him to state whether he was a Party member violated his rights of freedom of speech and freedom of association guaranteed by the First Amendment. The two District Judges who made up the majority of the Court did not even address themselves to this second contention, although it seems to me to be clearly the more basic one. The third member of the Court, Circuit Judge Carl McGowan, considered and rejected it in an opinion which does not do much more than beg the question.

Judge McGowan brushed aside Mayer's argument that to require him to volunteer a statement as to non-membership in the Communist Party operated generally to deter political utterance and association on his part. This, Judge McGowan characterized as "a mere general distaste for stating the fact of one's political non-affiliation." He concluded it "does not outweigh the Secretary's interest in knowing - and indeed his obligation to ascertain - whether passport applicants are Party members."

There may be, as Browning once wrote, "No accounting for taste." But it is hardly a matter of "taste" that an American is unwilling to subscribe to what is, in essence, a "test oath." Surely, in the absence of an explicit Congressional mandate, there is every reason, as a matter of policy-and in order to avoid the Constitutional issue-to hold that the responsibility of the Secretary of State not to issue a passport to one whom he has reason to believe is a member of the Communist Party, was not intended to impose upon him the duty (or vest him with the power) to require an affirmation by an applicant for a passport that he is not a member of the Communist Party. After all, if the Secretary of State has any credible evidence upon which to form a belief that an applicant is a member of the Communist Party, he has ample authority under Flynn-Aptheker, to refuse to issue the passport - until such time as the Supreme Court holds otherwise.

The decisions of the Supreme Court in these three cases - Flynn-Aptheker, Mayer and the Communist Party - are likely to be of great importance. However the cases are decided, the grounds upon which they are decided and what is said in the opinions of the Justices, may well affect the political climate and the social tensions of this country. They may well influence whether we shall haunt ourselves by looking for Reds under beds, or whether we will address ourselves to the tremendous social and economic problems which challenge us both domestically and in our relationship with the rest of the world.

Sincerely yours,

Abe Fortas

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LEO PFEFFER, Director
JOSEPH B. ROBISON, Assistant Director

December 27, 1963

Dear Friend:

The Right of Conscience and the Obligation of Jury Service. Last March the Supreme Court of Minnesota unanimously upheld the contempt conviction of Mrs. Owen Jenison who had refused to serve on a jury because of her belief that such conduct violated the Biblical admonition, "Judge not that ye be not judged." It rejected the contention that compulsory jury service constituted a denial of religious freedom guaranteed by the State and Federal Constitutions. Justice Otis said: "The likelihood of this [woman's] conscience being unduly burdened by service on a jury is slight compared to the sense of guilt which might well afflict a conscientious objector who may be required to kill another human being in time of war without any constitutional right to exemption."

My newsletter of April 4 expressed the opinion that the decision of the Minnesota Supreme Court verged upon the absurd in analogizing the obligation of jury service to the obligation to defend one's country. It also characterized as fantastic the argument that to allow exemption from jury service because of religious principles invites "erosion of every other obligation a citizen owes his community and his country."

On October 15 the United States Supreme Court, without hearing argument, summarily vacated the conviction of Mrs. Jenison and remanded the case to the Supreme Court of Minnesota "for further consideration" in the light of Sherbert v. Verner, decided last June. In that case the United States Supreme Court ruled, 7-to-2, that the First Amendment prohibition against any law "prohibiting the free exercise" of religion was violated by a South Carolina statute which denied unemployment insurance benefits to Mrs. Adell H. Sherbert, a Seventh Day Adventist, who had rejected otherwise suitable employment because of her religious beliefs which prohibited working on Saturdays. Justice Brennan, writing for the Court, held that South Carolina had failed to show a "compelling state interest" which "justified the substantial infringement" upon the right of the Sabbatarian to observe

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her religious beliefs without economic penalty.

Upon reconsideration, the Minnesota Supreme Court reached the obvious conclusion: "that there has been an inadequate showing that the state's interest in obtaining competent jurors requires us to override relator's [Mrs. Jenison's] right to the free exercise of religion." "Consequently," it held, "until and unless further experience indicates that the indiscriminate invoking of the First Amendment (guaranteeing religious freedom) poses a serious threat to the effective functioning of our jury system, any person whose religious convictions prohibit compulsory jury duty shall henceforth be exempt."

The Minnesota Supreme Court recognized that there still remained for resolution in each case the question "whether or not the assertion of a belief which is protected by the First Amendment is in fact a spurious claim" or whether it was "invoked with all sincerity." It expressed an inability "to suggest future guide lines for ascertaining [the truth] in particular cases" and said that "trial courts will have to determine in each instance [whether the claim is sincere or spurious], with whatever evidence is at hand." Moreover, the Minnesota Supreme Court made clear that it did not regard the right to claim exemption as being limited to a person who "is a member of a faith which includes as part of its dogma a prohibition against jury duty."

Applying the procedural principle laid down by it, the Minnesota Supreme Court might well have returned Mrs. Jenison's case to the lower court for a new trial upon the issue of her sincerity, particularly since she was not affiliated with any church. Indeed, in answer to an inquiry as to her religious affiliation, she had said: "I am a believer in the Bible, we listen to the Radio Church of God." Instead, the Minnesota Supreme Court directed a judgment of acquittal on the ground that Mrs. Jenison "has convincingly demonstrated her sincerity by preferring jail to the compromise of her religious faith."

In the course of its opinion the Minnesota Supreme Court observed that:

> "What constitutes 'religion' and whether the free exercise of conscience is also entitled to protection, are questions yet to be decided by the United States Supreme Court."

My newsletter two weeks ago - analyzing a recent case involving a conscientious objector to war service - expressed the view that the United States Supreme Court will ultimately hold that the "free exercise of conscience" stands upon the same constitutional footing as the "free exercise of religion." By so holding the Court would avoid the necessity of defining what constitutes "religion." Furthermore, as my newsletter pointed out, it would avoid the no less difficult problem which would arise if "religion" were preferred over "conscience." For a serious question might be raised as to whether such preference constituted "an establishment of religion" prohibited by the First Amendment.

The Right to Pray in the Public School. Last Friday United States District Judge Walter Bruchhausen, sitting in Brooklyn, granted an injunction against the prohibition of the recital of prayers by kindergarten children in a public school in Queens. One of the prayers involved was recited by the children in their morning classes prior to their partaking of milk and cookies. It was as follows:

> "God is Great, God is Good
> And we thank Him for our Food,
> Amen."

The afternoon classes recited the following prayer:

> "Thank you for the World So Sweet

Thank you for the food we eat
Thank you for the birds that sing
Thank you God for everything."

Plaintiffs in the case were children whose parents were of the Roman Catholic, Jewish, Armenian Apostolic and Episcopalian faiths. The defendants were the principal of the public school, who was charged with prohibiting the recital of the prayers, the New York City Board of Education, which administers the New York City public schools, and the New York Board of Regents, which exercises general supervision over the public schools of the State, both of whom were alleged to have upheld the principal's ruling.

The case was decided on the basis of the complaint and, it seems to me, without any close analysis by the parties or by the Court of the problem presented.

Judge Bruchhausen rested his conclusion upon two propositions. First, he held that, since "the voluntary prayer offered by these children is made without any compulsion [by school authorities] and it is not prescribed by law, [permitting the recital of the prayers] does not tend to establish a religion in violation of the First Amendment." His second proposition was that, since no establishment of religion was involved, the prohibition of voluntary recital of prayers violated the First Amendment guarantee of the free exercise of religion and "conflicted with the doctrine of neutrality [as between religion and non-religion] required of a state in its relationship with its citizens." Judge Bruchhausen recognized that "The School Board is invested with the power and obligation to conduct its affairs, including programming of classes and maintenance of discipline." Consequently, he wrote, "The rights of the plaintiffs to say voluntary prayer must be subject to such reasonable rules and regulations as may be prescribed by the school authorities."

It seems to me that Judge Bruchhausen may have been correct in ruling that the constitutional prohibition against an establishment of religion is not involved so long as the school authorities do not prescribe prayers and do not, through the acts of teachers, participate in or encourage the saying of prayers by school children. He is also, in my judgment, clearly correct in holding that the school authorities may prescribe "reasonable rules and regulations" so that the action of children who do voluntarily say their prayers will not unreasonably interfere with the conduct of the educational program of the school. However, Judge Bruchhausen failed to come to grips with the crucial question of whether or not the recital of these prayers by these children was in fact an exercise of their religious practices rather than, let me say it bluntly, an attempt to effect an evasion of the rulings of the United States Supreme Court in the Prayer and Bible Reading Cases decided last June.

What the opinion of Judge Bruchhausen appears to overlook, and apparently the parties failed to focus upon, is whether the recital of these prayers was required as a matter of religious conviction of these children and their parents. As I am not an expert in religions, it would be improper for me to express an opinion as to the "sincerity" or "good faith" of the plaintiffs in this case. In all candor, however, I must say that one is entitled to entertain considerable skepticism on that score. And, as one who has somewhat more knowledge of Judaism than of other religions, it is perhaps not unseemly for me to observe that nowhere in Jewish tradition have I come across anything resembling these prayers upon partaking of food.

As stated above, Judge Bruchhausen disposed of the case upon the basis of the complaint. Such a disposition technically requires the Court to accept as true all things pleaded in the complaint. Yet where, as here, so grave a constitutional issue is involved, it would seem to me that Judge Bruchhausen would have been sounder if he had denied summary judgment and had set the case down for trial so as to require the plaintiffs to prove that the recital of these prayers was required as a matter of their religious obligation.

Judge Bruchhausen, as well as the parties, apparently failed to understand "the doctrine of neutrality required of a state in its relationship with its citizens." That doctrine simply has no application unless the religious observance is impelled and, indeed, compelled by religious faith. Absent such motivation the voluntary recital of prayers is indistinguishable, as far as the Constitution is concerned, from the right of any child to express himself in the schoolroom upon any subject. Indeed, if the prayer is not religiously motivated, the school authorities, in my opinion, sanction the establishment of religion by permitting a religious ceremonial which is not required in order to assure the free exercise of religion.

At the foot of his opinion Judge Bruchhausen directed that an order and decree be submitted to him on 10 days' notice. No order and decree has yet been proposed. Consequently, there is still time for the Board of Education and the Board of Regents to ask for an opportunity to file an answer which would put the plaintiffs to their proof as to their good faith and sincerity in urging that these prayers are recited because of religious obligation.

Certainly it would be utterly unsound to take the case to the higher courts in its present abstract and unreal form. The wise resolution of the basic issue involved deserves more thoughtful consideration than it has so far been given or than it may be possible to give to it under the procedure so far followed. For that reason, it seems to me that the Court of Appeals or, ultimately, the United States Supreme Court will feel constrained to return the case to the District Court for a trial to ascertain the actual facts.

One may, it seems to me, doubt that these children at a kindergarten level are likely, as a matter of fact, to engage in group prayers without the help or guidance, not to say the stimulation, of their teacher. Even in classes of more mature students, as experience with purely voluntary released time would seem to demonstrate, absent actual encouragement and assistance from school authorities, most children will be preoccupied with education. There will, of course, be exceptional children to whom prayer is an essential and vital part of their day, whether spent in school, at home, in church or in synagogue, and who cannot partake of food without uttering a blessing. To them, it seems to me, the Constitution extends its protection. But beyond that, the permitting of prayers, whether or not voluntary, goes beyond the permissable use of the public school room and transgresses the First Amendment.

Sincerely yours,

Shad Polier

JAN 6 1964

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LEO PFEFFER, Director
JOSEPH B. ROBISON, Assistant Director

January 3, 1964

Dear Friend:

Fair Housing in the Nation's Capital. On Tuesday, the three Commissioners appointed by the President to administer the municipal affairs of the District of Columbia unanimously promulgated a fair housing regulation to take effect January 20. The effective date is designed to give real estate operators an opportunity to comply with its provisions requiring a public display in their offices of a summary of the prohibitions of the regulation, which are sweeping in character.

The regulations forbid anyone to refuse to sell or rent, to require different terms or conditions or provide different services, to falsely represent the unavailability of a housing unit, or to refuse to lend money or accept a mortgage on grounds of race, creed, color or national origin. They specifically forbid "block-busting" tactics by realtors or others by which adjacent property owners are frightened into panic sales by the calculated introduction of a minority-group purchaser into a previously restricted neighborhood.

Administration of the regulations is placed in the hands of the city's Council on Human Relations. It is charged with seeking to reach a settlement by conciliation. If this fails, complaints found to be justified will be referred to the Corporation Counsel for prosecution under the provisions of the regulations which impose a penalty of up to 10 days in jail and up to a $300 fine for violations. In the meantime, the Council is authorized to apply to court for an injunction to "freeze" the sale or leasing of property pending investigation of a complaint.

The new regulations do not specifically deal with the conduct of real estate agents. However, agents are licensed and their licenses are subject to revocation if they are found by the city Real Estate Board to be "unworthy." Ob-

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viously, those violating the regulations would fall into that category. Much will therefore depend upon whether the Board will vigorously police its own membership.

The effectiveness of the regulations would, of course, have been strengthened if enforcement had been placed in the hands of an administrative body with power to make findings of fact and to issue orders enforceable in the courts against sellers and landlords. This, however, was beyond the power of the Commissioners and would have required Congressional legislation. For a year the Commissioners had deferred taking any action in deference to the District Committee of the House of Representatives, headed by John L. McMillan, Democrat of South Carolina. That the Committee continued to stall came as no surprise. Ten of its 22 members are Southerners and the ranking Republican is Representative Joel T. Broyhill of Virginia. Indeed, it is common knowledge that Southerners have sought and kept membership on the Committee so as to block any enfranchisement of residents of the District, the majority of whom are Negro.

Promulgation of the fair housing regulations has long been advocated by the State Department which has been repeatedly embarrassed by discrimination against non-white foreign diplomats seeking housing in the District. Such discrimination, of course, had its greatest impact upon the homeborn. The District has, in fact, long been a highly segregated community.

Some large real estate operators have indicated a readiness to accept fair housing practices. To them the new regulations provide a way of countering the opposition of their white tenants. There are, however, certain to be recalcitrants who will challenge the regulations as being beyond the powers of the Commissioners. That issue will ultimately be resolved in the District Court of Appeals since no constitutional question appears to be involved requiring review by the Supreme Court.

Despite the hostility of the District Committee, a ruling upholding the regulations would be the last word. For an attempt to abrogate them by a rider to a District appropriation bill will surely fail to pass both the House and Senate.

One of the present Commissioners, John B. Duncan, appointed by President Kennedy in 1961, is the first Negro to hold such office. It goes without saying that the Commissioners in issuing the fair housing regulations were carrying out a policy originally approved by President Kennedy, and now endorsed by President Johnson.

The End of the Queens College Case. On November 26, 1962 Justice Vincent A. Lupiano of the New York Supreme Court granted the application of two members of the faculty of Queens College for a jury trial of their claim that they had been denied appointment as full professors because of anti-Catholic discrimination. My newsletter of November 29, 1962 observed that it would be a strange spectacle if the promotion of teachers in a public educational institution were a matter to be determined by jury trial. It went on to express the judgment that the charges of bias were plainly without any substance. It also pointed out that this conclusion had been reached after an exhaustive investigation conducted by a six-man Subcommittee of the Board of Higher Education which had been headed by a prominent Catholic attorney who has been counsel to Cardinal Spellman.

On May 14, 1963 my prediction and evaluation were borne out by a unanimous decision of the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court reversing Judge Lupiano and directing the dismissal of the proceedings. The

opinion of the Appellate Division pointed out that it was undisputed that not only were Catholic members of the Queens faculty promoted but that Catholics were represented on the Committees which had passed upon the cases of the complainants. The Appellate Division held that the complainants adduced nothing beyond their bare assertions of discrimination. Accordingly, it ruled that they were not entitled to a trial of their charges.

The Appellate Division refrained from expressing an opinion as to whether a judicial remedy would have been available to the complainants if they had been able to make a showing of religious discrimination directed at them, or at least a showing of systematic exclusion or restriction against persons of their religion. It did, however, call attention to cases in other areas which would indicate that in such a situation judicial review might well be available. Even in such a case however, in my view, it would be held an abuse of discretion to leave the resolution of the charge of bias to a jury rather than determination by the trial judge.

On Monday, the Court of Appeals in a 5-to-2 decision, affirmed the ruling of the Appellate Division. The majority wrote no opinion. It is difficult to understand the logic of the dissenting opinion by Judge John F. Scileppi, in which Chief Judge Charles S. Desmond joined. The dissenters would have granted a trial because specific charges of religious bigotry were made by the complainants against some individuals on the staff of Queens College, none of whom were involved in the consideration of the promotion of the complainants.

So ends a case which has been a minor cause celebre for several years and which now the highest court of the State has ruled to be utterly without merit.

A Communist on the Campus. Herbert Aptheker, a conceded member of the Communist Party, was invited to lecture at the University of Buffalo - which is part of the State University - by the student association as part of a series of lectures on political thought from fascism to Communism. The speakers selected for the series were chosen as being articulate spokesmen for the ideologies with which they were identified. Each appearance consisted of a forty-minute to an hour lecture followed by a twenty-minute question period by a panel composed of faculty and students.

A few days before Dr. Aptheker was scheduled to lecture, the Board of Trustees was requested by William W. Egan, Democratic candidate for Congress, to cancel Dr. Aptheker's appearance. The Chairman of the Board of Trustees, after consultation with all of the other members of the Board, denied this request.

On November 2, 1962, a bare two hours before the scheduled lecture, Egan obtained an injunction from State Supreme Court Justice Russell G. Hunt on the grounds that the use of the University's facilities for Dr. Aptheker's appearance was contrary to State policy.

On December 28, 1963 the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court unanimously reversed and directed the dismissal of the injunction proceeding. The Appellate Division took note of the fact that New York has adopted considerable legislation designed to curtail the activities of the Communist Party and its members, especially in the areas of governmental employment and public education. This, the Court ruled, fell short of a legislative ban against Dr. Aptheker's appearance on the campus of the University.

In refusing to construe the present statutes as having this effect, the Court rejected the petitioner's contention that "allowing avowed Communists to preach their ideology at a tax-supported university cloaks their activities with a mantle of academic and intellectual integrity which makes their subversive propaganda more susceptible to impressionable young people." On the contrary, the Court gave the existing legislation a restrictive scope in view of the fact that "the tradition of our great society has been to allow our universities in the name of academic freedom to explore and expose their students to controversial issues without government interference."

"Judicial Performance in the Fifth Circuit." This is the title of a 34-page Comment published in the November issue of the Yale Law Journal, analyzing the civil rights cases decided in the past decade in the Federal courts of the Fifth Circuit, which includes the States of Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisina and Texas. A more accurate title would have been "Judicial Misconduct in the Fifth Circuit."For what emerges from the sober and scholarly study is a picture of defiance and sabotage by many of the Federal District Court Judges of the rulings of the United States Supreme Court and of the Court of Appeals. This is shown to have occurred in case after case, whether dealing with public schools, voting or the use of transportation - other public facilities. Indeed, it has extended to cases where local officials have, without any legal basis whatsoever, invoked the jurisdiction of the Federal courts in order to suppress peaceful exercise of First Amendment rights of demonstration and protest.

The Comment characterizes the conduct of these Federal Judges as subversive of the very basis upon which our judicial system rests. Such subversion, it points out, has been accomplished by inexcusable delay where Negroes or the Federal Government are the plaintiffs and by the deliberate refusal to decide cases in accordance with the rulings of the higher courts. The Comment warns that the action of these Federal judges is likely to bring about the same disrespect for law as was furthered by the flouting of court orders by Governors and other Southern politicians. The Comment explores in detail and in depth the variety of ways in which performance by these Federal District Judges might be controlled. It comes to the conclusion that the only effective remedy is to guard against the appointment (and promotion) of men who are determined to place "the Southern way of life" above the Constitution and the civil rights statutes enacted pursuant thereto.

Due note is taken by the Comment of the pressures under which the President operates in making appointments because of his need to secure the votes of Southern Senators and Congressmen for his legislative programs. The price thus paid is graphically illustrated by the high proportion of known segregationists appointed by President Kennedy and by the fact that, as Judges, they have, unhappily, acted as was to be expected. In that connection, the Comment points out that the President's hand is hardly strengthened when, as was recently the case, the American Bar Association gave the strongest possible endorsement to a prospective appointee whose segregationist views were a matter of public record. In the Reconstruction Period following the Civil War, the keeping of the Negro "in his place" was entrusted in many parts of the South to the wearers of the white robe, the Ku Klux Klan. It is a tragic commentary upon our day that now so many men who wear the black robe of the Federal judiciary have taken over that role.

Sincerely yours,

Shad Polier

LWD ✓
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January 10, 1964

LEO PFEFFER, Director
JOSEPH B. ROBISON, Assistant Director

Dear Friend:

Peace At What Price? Since 1900 the Mummers Parade has been an annual New Year Day event in Philadelphia. The 12,000 to 15,000 marchers compete for cash prizes of between $65,000 and $75,000 provided by the City, which also pays the cost of erecting reviewing stands.

The use of blackface - a la minstrel show - by some of the comic clubs and some of the bands participating in the parade has been customary, although this practice has diminished since first objected to by the Negro community in 1954. There was a time when the paraders portrayed Jewish caricatures.

Last month the Philadelphia Chapter of CORE publicly demanded that blackface be barred from this year's parade. It threatened to put a string of bodies across the line of marchers, if this were not done. The directors of the parade, appointed by the City, rejected the demand.

On December 30, the Philadelphia Branch of the NAACP unsuccessfully sought an injunction before a Judge of the Court of Common Pleas banning the use of blackface. The principal argument advanced in support of the injunction was that the use of blackface constituted a gross insult to the 700,000 Negro Philadelphians and that it was against public policy to permit the use of blackface in a parade subsidized by public funds. The City Solicitor conceded that the use of blackface was against the wishes of the public authorities but pointed out that there was no violation of law involved. The attorney for the Mummers Association asserted that the use of blackface was traditional and was not intended to ridicule.

At this point the weather intervened and the parade was postponed to January 4. During the afternoon of Janaury 2, a new application was made for an injunction. It was filed by three taxpayers acting on behalf of the Greater Philadelphia Council of Churches (the coordinating body of Protestant churches), the Board of Rabbis of Greater Philadelphia and

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the Roman Catholic Archiocese. This time the suit was directed against not only the Mummers Association but also CORE and the Committee for Freedom Now, a local group which, too, threatened mass picketing.

This time the case was heard en banc by three Judges of the Court of Common Pleas. After hearing argument that Friday afternoon, the Court granted the injunctions. Since an order restraining the use of blackface would accomplish their objectives, CORE and the Committee took no exception to the ban against themselves. Indeed, they joined in urging the injunction against the Mummers. Apparently the Court rested its decision upon the theory that judicial intervention was necessary in order to prevent disorder, not only as the result of the threatened action of CORE and the Committee, but also because of the testimony of the Police Commissioner that he had heard that Negroes would be coming from other cities to stop the parade if marchers were permitted to use blackface.

The next day - last Saturday - the parade was held, sans blackface and sans serious incidents.

The decision of the Court may well have prevented a serious riot. However, it seems to me perfectly clear that such lawlessness was prevented by a completely lawless decision of the Court itself.

Although offensive and distasteful in this day and time, the use of blackface did not violate any Pennsylvania statute or any Philadelphia ordinance. Whether or not legislation could validly ban its use is certainly open to question. It cannot be doubted, however, that it is not the function of the courts in our democratic society to ban conduct because it is likely to result in violence by those who take exception to it.

If the rationale of the Court of Common Pleas were sound law, an injunction could be issued requiring the cancellation of a performance of the "Merchant of Venice" in New York's Central Park if a Jewish group threatened to interrupt the performance. Similarly, a court would be warranted in enjoining the performance of the play. "The Deputy," if Catholics in Boston, like Catholics in Paris, were to riot in the theatre because of what they regarded as defamatory charges against the late Pope Pius XII for not having openly condemned Naziism. Nor is the case of "The Deputy" distinguishable because it would be performed in a theatre, since that requires that a license be granted by public authorities.

It would seem that the Court of Common Pleas was influenced by the argument of the petitioners that the Mummers had no constitutional right to parade but had only a license to do so. In any event, that argument is completely specious, since it is by now well settled, as was recently noted by the United States Supreme Court, that its decisions establish that "the liberties of religion and expression" are impaired when regulation takes the form of "the denial or placing of conditions upon a benefit or privilege." These are the words of Justice Brennan in Sherbert v. Verner, in which the Court last June struck down a South Carolina statute denying unemployment insurance to a Seventh Day Adventist because she would not accept a job which required her to work on Saturdays. Justice Brennan cited many earlier rulings to the same effect. These included the leading decision of the Supreme Court in the Esquire case in which the Court in 1946 struck down as unauthorized by statute and as of doubtful constitutionality the attempt of the Postmaster General to withhold second class mailing privileges from that magazine upon his administrative ipse dixit that although its contents were not obscene they did not contribute to the public good. Later ci-

tations of this decision by the Court indicate that even if the Postmaster General's action had been authorized by statute it would still have been unconstitutional.

The first obligation of the Philadelphia authorities was not to halt the use of blackface but to prevent the use of violence. Only in the likely event that such measures could not have prevented riot and blo shed would there have been any justification for cancelling the parad permit.

It is to be hoped that upon calmer reflection both the Court and the religious bodies which invoked its jurisdiction will have second thoughts concerning the price which was paid for peace in Philadelphi They should reflect that when courts, out of fear of violence by thir persons, enjoin conduct which is both peaceful and lawful, they lend the force of law to the acts and threats of the mob.

Philadelphia Courts Please Take Note. The granting of an injunction b the 3-Judge Court of Common Pleas in Philadelphia against the use of blackface in the Mummers Parade may be profitably compared with the d cision of the Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit which became fin on Monday when review was refused by the United States Supreme Court.

The case decided by the Court of Appeals last May involved a suit for damages brought in the Federal District Court by a Northern white cou who had been arrested and jailed in Montgomery and charged with disorderly conduct because they had eaten lunch with a group of Negroes a "Negro" cafe. There had been no disturbance inside the cafe. The Court of Appeals assumed that the evidence supported the contention o the police that crowds had gathered outside "out of a spontaneous sen of outrage at the reported presence in the building of Negroes and whites eating together contrary to accepted social custom and usage." The arrest of the white husband and wife under these circumstances, t Court of Appeals ruled, was, as a matter of law, a violation of State law and of the Federal Civil Rights Act. It directed a new trial in which the jury would be limited to the function of determining the amount of compensatory and punitive damages.

Judge Brown, writing for the Court of Appeals, said:

> "We may credit the concern which these police officers testified th felt. We think the circumstances existing that day and their stated good faith apprehensions were admissible as bearing upon the questi of punitive, though not compensatory, damages. But liberty is at an end if a police officer may without warrant arrest, not the person threatening violence, but those who are its likely victims merely b cause the person arrested is engaging in conduct which, though peac ful and legally and constitutionally protected, is deemed offensive and provocative to settled social customs and practices. When that day comes, freedom of the press, freedom of assembly, freedom of speech, freedom of religion will all be imperiled. For the exercise of each must then conform to what the conscientious policeman regar the community's threshold of intolerance to be."

The Prince Edward County Case. Nine years is a long time to wait for compliance with the decision of the Supreme Court of the United State in a specific case. Almost that long a time has already passed since the Court, on May 31, 1955, directed the desegregation of the public schools of Prince Edward County, Virginia "with all deliberate speed." There has of course been no desegregation in Prince Edward County. Instead, the School Board first delayed compliance by one dilatory tacti after another in the lower Federal courts. Next the County Supervisors eliminated from their budget any provision for funds for public school At the same time the Supervisors established a subsidy system to assi parents to send their children to private schools.

This subsidy took two forms. Partial scholarships are provided by the county. In addition, a credit against taxes is granted to property owners sending their children to a private school. Both scholarship and tax credits are, of course, made available to Negro parents. However, since Negroes are less favorably economically situated, the effect of the tax credit, while separate, was certainly not equal.

This year, for the first time, the Negro children of Prince Edward County are receiving an adequate education. Indeed they had received no education at all for the past five years. However, the private funds collected for the purpose of financing a private school for this year probably would not be available again. Moreover, it would be extremely difficult to hold together indefinitely the extraordinarily talented staff of teachers assembled to help these children to make up for the "lost years."

In December, the Virginia Supreme Court, in a 6-to-1 decision, held that the State Constitution does not require the Legislature to reopen and operate public schools in Prince Edward County. It expressly considered and rejected the contention that the equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment was violated by reason of the fact that public schools in the rest of the State remained open and received 50 percent of their budgets from State Funds. It also brushed aside the claim that the Fourteenth Amendment was, in any event, violated because public funds are used to subsidize the maintenance of a private school open only to white children and established in order to provide an alternative to desegregated public education.

In the meantime the United States Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit, in a 2-to-1 decision, had refused relief in an earlier suit also brought by the NAACP to compel the County Supervisors to levy taxes and to provide funds for the reopening of the Prince Edward County schools. The Court of Appeals did not reach the merits but held, instead, that action by the Federal courts was premature until the highest court of Virginia had interpreted the State Constitution.

On Monday, the United States Supreme Court took the unusual step of granting review of this decision of the Court of Appeals on the merits and without sending the case back to the Court of Appeals for consideration in the light of the decision of the highest court of Virginia. Moreover, the Supreme Court set the case down for argument on March 30 with the obvious purpose of assuring that a decision would be handed down in time to assure that the issue will be decided before the Court recesses in June or July. Otherwise, the result would have been that the public schools of Prince Edward County would certainly remain closed for 1964-1965, whatever the ruling of the Supreme Court.

In my judgment the Supreme Court will reinstate the order of Federal District Judge Oren Lewis which was reversed by the Court of Appeals. This order required the Supervisors to levy the taxes and to make the appropriations necessary for the reopening of public schools in Prince Edward County on a desegregated basis and restrained the granting of any public subsidy to private education so long as the public schools remained closed.

Sincerely yours,

Shad Polier

Shad Polier

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January 17, 1964

LEO PFEFFER, Director
JOSEPH B. ROBISON, Assistant Director

Dear Friend:

Eighty years ago, in the Civil Rights Cases, the United States Supreme Court, with only Justice Harlan dissenting, invalidated a Federal statute barring inns, railroads and theatres from discriminating on the basis of race. It held that the Fourteenth Amendment guaranty that no state "shall deprive any person of the equal protection of the laws" did not apply to the action of individuals. It ruled that, consequently, the proprietors of places of public accommodations or facilities were beyond the reach of the power granted to Congress by the Fourteenth Amendment to implement its provisions.

Last May, the Supreme Court, again with only one Justice dissenting, held unconstitutional the convictions of twenty-eight Negroes and three white students for sit-in demonstrations at lunch counters in Alabama, and North and South Carolina. All of them had been convicted under city ordinances, making it a criminal offense not to leave a place of business when requested to do so by the owner. The sole dissenter was the present Justice Harlan, the grandson of the Justice who stood alone for the opposite position in 1883.

In reversing the convictions last May, the Supreme Court avoided deciding whether the Civil Rights Cases should be overruled or qualified. Instead, the reversal was placed upon the ground that in three of the cases there were city ordinances requiring segregation and in the fourth case a policy of segregation had been announced by the Mayor and Police Chief.

Under these circumstances, in a series of opinions by Chief Justice Warren, eight of the nine Justices held that the convictions were prohibited by the Fourteenth Amendment. It was immaterial, the Court ruled, whether the proprietor of the particular place of business might have sought to enforce a policy of segregation, even if there had been no

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segregation ordinance or segregation ukase by public officials. It is impermissible, the Court said, to "attempt to separate the mental urges of the discriminators."

In October, the Supreme Court heard argument in another group of sit-in cases. This time, the legal situation was quite different because the States involved had repealed their segregation laws and the police had refrained from laying down any public policy as to segregation. The Supreme Court was, therefore, confronted with the basic question of whether a State may constitutionally arrest, prosecute and convict persons who peacefully remain upon private premises even when they have been requested by the proprietor to leave because of their race and their refusal to leave had been made a criminal offense.

In response to a request by the Supreme Court, Solicitor General Archibald Cox submitted a brief setting forth the position of the Justice Department. He urged that the convictions be reversed on the narrow ground that the State trespass statutes did not give fair warning to the defendants that they would be subject to criminal prosecution for refusal to leave a place of public accommodation. If the Supreme Court had accepted this construction of the statutes, they would have been held invalid for vagueness under the Due Process Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.

The Justice Department took the position that it was unnecessary for the Supreme Court to address itself to the unsettled equal protection of the laws issue. Its brief stated that, "should the Court disagree and desire an expression of the views of the United States upon reargument, we would be prepared to make a full statement." If the Supreme Court had taken the Justice Department literally, it would have had to notice the cases for complete reargument in order to obtain an expression of the views of the Government upon this vital issue. This would probably have delayed a decision for another year.

Instead, on November 18, by a 5-to-4 vote, the Supreme Court invited the Solicitor General to submit a brief setting forth the position of the Justice Department as to whether a State may ever criminally prosecute a Negro for refusing to leave a place of public accommodation from which he is sought to be excluded because of his race. While in the form of an invitation, this was, of course, a directive.

The position to be taken by the Department of Justice on the question put to it by the Court necessarily would represent the position of the President himself. Indeed, the close division of the Supreme Court as to the issuance of the "invitation" obviously reflected an awareness of the fact that it put the Administration on the spot. It probably accounted for the dissents of Justices Black, Clark, Harlan and White, who wrote that "the Court should not request the Department of Justice to file a brief concerning its views upon the basic constitutional issues on which the Department chose not to take a position in its original brief and in its oral argument."

Originally the invitation called for the submission of a brief within 30 days. The assassination of President Kennedy on November 22 manifestly left too little time for President Johnson to address himself to the policy question and for the Department of Justice to prepare a brief reflecting his decision. Accordingly, the Department sought and was given additional time.

The Department of Justice filed its brief today. It urges that, where the practice of segregation has its origins in and has been fostered by official action, the repeal of segregation laws and the cessation of official promotion of segregation is immaterial. Given such an historic background, the Department contends that the request by a proprietor of

a place of public accommodation cannot be regarded as purely "private action" and that enforcement of such a request by criminal prosecution constitutes "State action" prohibited by the Fourteenth Amendment.

The brief filed today includes an exhaustive survey of the history of Jim Crow laws. It points out that these segregation statutes, adopted in the 1880s and 1890s, were designed to brand Negroes as "an inferior caste to be set apart." Moreover, the brief took note of the fact that places of public accommodation were particularly singled out for coverage by such statutes. It observed that:

> "There the brand of inferiority burns the deepest; there the wrong is the greatest; for there no element of private association, personal choice or business judgment enters the decision - only the willing ness to join in the imposition of the public stigma of membership in an inferior caste.
>
> "There the Negro asks most insistently whether we mean our declarations and constitutional recitals of human equality or are content to live by, although we do not profess, the theories of a master race."

The Justice Department stressed the existence of another element involved in places of public accommodation, in addition to the fact that they are open to the general public, apart from exclusion of individuals because of race. This additional circumstance is the fact that such places of business are subject to considerable public regulation as to health and safety and are required to be licensed.

The Government did not go so far as to take the position that these indicia alone were sufficient - in the absence of a history of official segregation - to render a conviction of a person refusing to leave the premises State action within the meaning of the Fourteenth Amendment. To that extent the Department refrained from going as far as Justice Douglas urged in his concurring opinion in the sit-in cases decided last May.

One consequence of the failure of the Department of Justice to rest its case upon the "public accommodations" character of the premises involved is that the argument made in its brief would not apply to Northern state However, almost all of those States have on their books laws which prohibit segregation in places of public accommodation. Consequently, the problem of the Negro in the North is to secure an effective remedy against the illegal attempt of the proprietor to exclude him from the premises. Even that problem has become less critical as more and more Northern States have established effective administrative procedures for enforcing the right to non-segregated service.

The Department of Justice brief points out that reversal of the sit-in convictions would not solve the problem of discrimination in places of public accommodation. On the contrary, the brief notes, a stalemate might still continue in which demonstrators would demand service without fear of arrest but the proprietor of the hotel, theatre or restaurant would continue to refuse service. It urges, therefore, that "Congress alone can meet the present national crisis arising from the system of se gregation by removing the fundamental injustice in places of public accommodation."

The public accommodation provisions of the pending Civil Rights Bill are not dependent, of course, upon whether "State action" is involved. The decisions of the Supreme Court upholding Federal Wage and Hour Legislation and the National Labor Relations Act leave no doubt that Congress has power under the Commerce Clause of the Constitution to legislate with respect to places of public accommodation since their operations have an impact either upon interstate travel or upon the interstate movement of goods.

It may fairly be said, in my opinion, that the Administration has, with great statesmanship, not only taken the right position in the Supreme Court but has also, at the same time, reminded Congress that the ultimate responsibility for ending segregation rests upon it. If the position taken by the Justice Department is accepted by the Supreme Court - and in my opinion it will be - Congress will be faced with the choice of inaction and chaos on the one hand or action and order on the other. Even Southern Congressmen will, it seems to me, realize, the implications of a decision by the Supreme Court upholding the position of the Justice Department. It will, indeed, be the "handwriting on the wall" for segregation in places of public accommodation. The South will have to get used to living with that fact. Moreover, Federal legislation will be essential since the enactment of State laws banning segregation is a practical impossibility in the South. Thus, by a strange turn of the wheel, the Federal Government - no matter what its politicians say - will have to bail the South out of an untenable situation.

The Candidates' Color. On June 29, 1962, a three-judge Federal District Court in Louisiana sustained, 2-to-1, a state statute requiring that the race of candidates for public office be designated on the ballot. The majority opinion written by District Judge E. Gordon West took the view that the State "treats all candidates alike" since Negro candidates were labelled as "Negro" and white candidates were labelled as "Caucasian." Judge West reasoned that any discrimination which resulted was therefore attributable not to the statute but to the voter who reacted to the label.

Judge West and District Judge Frank B.Ellis, who concurred with him, were both appointed by President Kennedy and both have, unhappily, continued to display their strong segregationist prejudices. The dissenter was Circuit Court of Appeals Judge John Minor Wisdom - an Eisenhower appointee and a staunch defender of civil rights.

On Monday, the Supreme Court unanimously reversed in an opinion by Justice Clark, who wrote:

> "In the abstract, Louisiana imposes no restriction upon anyone's candidacy nor upon an elector's choice in the casting of his ballot. But by placing a racial label on a candidate at the most crucial stage in the electoral process - the instant before the vote is cast - the State furnishes a vehicle by which racial prejudice may be so aroused as to operate against one group because of race and for another ... The vice lies not in the resulting injury but in the placing of the power of the State behind a racial classification that induces racial prejudice at the polls.
>
> "The State contends that its Act is nondiscriminatory because the labeling provision applies equally to Negro and white. Obviously, Louisiana may not bar Negro citizens from offering themselves as candidates for public office, nor can it encourage its citizens to vote for a candidate solely on account of race. And that which cannot be done by express statutory prohibition cannot be done by indirection. Therefore, we view the alleged equality as superficial. Race is the factor upon which the statute operates and its involvement promotes the ultimate discrimination which is sufficient to make it invalid."

Sincerely yours,

Shad Polier

Shad Polier

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JAN 29 1964

LEO PFEFFER, Director
JOSEPH B. ROBISON, Assistant Director

January 24, 1964

Dear Friend:

God, the Constitution and the Conscientious Objector. Under this caption my newsletter of December 13 reported a unanimous ruling of the United States Court of Appeals at New York holding Arno Jakobson had been improperly convicted for refusing, as a conscientious objector, to report for military duty. Reversal was placed on the ground that he qualified under the exemption for persons whose beliefs were "in relation to a Supreme Being involving duties superior to these arising from human relations."

In order to reach this result, the Court gave an admittedly unconventional construction to the concept of "a Supreme Being." As pointed out in my newsletter this interpretation of the law was in keeping with "the time-honored principle of construing a statute not only to escape unconstitutionality but to avoid 'grave and doubtful constitutional questions.'"

On Monday, a differently constituted bench of the same Court reversed the conviction of another conscientious objector. In that case, as in Jakobson, the Government conceded that the defendant was motivated by his religious training and beliefs. However, in the more recent case, the defendant, Daniel Seeger, expressly declared that he neither believed nor disbelieved in the existence of "a Supreme Being." In other words, he was an agnostic.

In the Seeger case there was no way of avoiding the constitutional issue since Seeger clearly failed to qualify under the statute. Consequently, the Court was required to rest its decision upon a finding that the Selective Service Act violated the prohibition of the Fifth Amendment forbidding Congress to enact any law depriving a person of liberty "without due process of law." It found that the constitutional prohibition had been transgressed because of an arbitrary preference to those persons whose religion posits the existence of God over those which include no such concept.

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Since the decision declares unconstitutional an act of Congress, the Department of Justice may feel it must appeal. I believe however that the correctness of the Court of Appeals ruling is clear and that it will be affirmed.

As noted in my letter of January 24, there is an even more fundamental issue which is bound to be presented sooner or later in one of the conscientious objector cases. This is the question whether the Selective Service Act can constitutionally exempt only those objectors who are motivated by "religious training and belief." The exemption provision expressly excludes persons whose beliefs are predicated upon "essentially political, sociological or philosophical views or a merely personal moral code." For the reasons indicated in my earlier newsletter, it seems to me that Congress has no constitutional power to deny equal standing to conscientious objectors whose opposition to war rests upon moral considerations. Any such differentiation would appear not only to violate the Fifth Amendment because of its arbitrariness but also to violate the First Amendment prohibition against Congress enacting any law "respecting an establishment of religion."

A Further Word on the Mummers Parade. My newsletter of January 10 criticized the action of three Judges of the Common Pleas Court enjoining the use of blackface make-up by marchers in the annual Mummers Parade. It pointed out that the ground upon which the Court acted - the necessity to prevent riotous conduct by Negroes in protest - was a misuse of the judicial process.

A number of my readers have asked for an expression of my views as to whether the Court was without any right to intervene in the situation. Such is not my view. On the contrary, in my opinion, it could and should have enjoined the city's expenditure of any public funds in connection with the parade so long as blackface make-up was permitted in it.

Philadelphia provides cash prizes of between $65,000-$75,000 a year for the marchers. In addition, it pays for the cost of erecting and removing reviewing stands. This underwriting by the municipality of the parade, in my judgment, is constitutionally permissible only if the conduct of the parade is such as would not promote the concept of racial superiority of white persons and racial inferiority of Negroes.

The distinction between enjoining public financing and enjoining use of blackface is of fundamental importance. In the first case, the issue is whether public funds may be used for an undemocratic racist purpose. In the second case, the issue is whether lawful conduct by private individuals shall be enjoined because of fear of unlawful reprisal.

If the case had been correctly decided, and the injunction had been limited to financing out of tax raised funds, the result would probably have been the same as that accomplished by the issuance of the injunction against use of blackface. In all likelihood the sponsors of the parade would have found it impossible to proceed without municipal financing.

Judicial intervention to prevent the improper use of public funds is, of course, not unprecedented. Indeed, it was employed a little over a year ago in a suit to enjoin Los Angeles from continuing to make a financial contribution to the annual performance of a Passion Play in the Hollywood Bowl. Such use of public funds was challenged not only on the church-state ground, but also on the ground that the funds were being used to perpetuate the myth of the responsibility of the Jewish people for the crucifixion of Jesus and that consequently the expenditure would tend to perpetuate anti-Jewish feelings.

The result of the Los Angeles suit was the withdrawal of the public subsidy. The Passion Play has since been presented without public assistance. This is entirely proper. However, it would be entirely wrong to enjoin its presentation even if there were - and, of course, there never has been - a threat by Jews to seek to block its presentation by the use of violence.

The Poll Tax Amendment. On Thursday, South Dakota became the thirty-eighth State to ratify the Twenty-Fourth Amendment to the United States Constitution prohibiting the imposition by any State of the payment of a tax as a condition to voting in a Federal election. The Amendment was submitted on September 24, 1962, after the House and Senate had approved it by the required two-thirds majorities.

Of the 11 States of the Old Confederacy, only Tennessee and Florida had approved the Amendment by the time that it was made part of the Constitution. Mississippi had formally rejected it.

Only five States still cling to the poll tax. They are Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, Texas and Virginia. Of these, Virginia has already anticipated the Amendment by changing its laws so as to preserve the poll tax as a requirement for voting in State elections. The others are likely to follow suit. In Virginia, the poll tax is made an even more formidable impediment to voting because the $1.50 annual charge is made cumulative for three years.

As originally introduced in Congress, the Amendment would have applied to both State and Federal elections. If submitted in that form, it would, no doubt, have also been ratified by three-fourths of the States and probably without much more time being required than proved to be the case for the more limited version. Unhappily, the broader ban was jettisoned to avoid a threatened Senate filibuster.

Birth Control for Welfare Recipients. On Wednesday, the New York State Board of Social Welfare issued a statement formally sanctioning the provision of birth control services to persons receiving public assistance. The recipient must initiate the request for information. The local welfare agency then refers the applicant to a physician or hospital for determination of whether there are medical reasons requiring the patient to practice birth control. These reasons, however, are limited to the situation where having a child would impair the health of the woman. Moreover, no referral will be made except in the case of a woman who is married and is living with her husband.

As was to be anticipated, the announcement of this policy provoked an immediate denunciation by the New York State Catholic Welfare Committee comprised of the Bishops throughout the State. Its spokesman said: "We fear that the welfare recipient, forced to depend on the state for the basic necessities of life, can be influenced, directly or indirectly, to go against his or her conscience." Realistically, however, the fear of the Committee is that relief recipients will be provided with contraceptive devices which, though welcomed by the patient, are condemned by the Church.

Under the new policy birth control information may be provided only where it is necessary because of the health of the woman. It is, in my opinion, utterly barbaric, therefore, to condition the giving of such assistance upon the woman being married and living with her husband. It is unhappily the fact that an extremely high proportion of persons on relief are either unmarried or are not living with their legal husbands. That however, in my judgment, provides no excuse whatsoever for condemning those persons to the hazards of illness and perhaps death to which they will certainly be subject since they do not have the economic means to secure such assistance with their own funds.

There may be room for differences of opinion as to whether the life-and-death test should be applied in determining whether public funds should be available to provide birth control information. In my own view, sound social policy would require - and but for Catholic pressure would provide - that persons on public assistance be given the means for planning their families which others, more fortunately situated economically, are able to provide for themselves. Be that as it may, once the life-and-death test is applied, it is utterly medieval to superimpose the further requirement of living in matrimony.

The policy statement also provides that the referral procedure is to be carried out "consonant with the conscience and religious convictions" of the recipient, the persons making the referral and the physician. It is disquieting that the statement fails to assure that where the case-worker or physician has religious scruples against birth control, the applicant will be referred to others who are not so inhibited.

The Pacifica Case. On Wednesday the Federal Communications Commission unanimously renewed the licenses of the three listener-supported FM stations operated by the Pacifica Foundation in New York City, in Berkeley and in Los Angeles. The ruling represents a major victory for freedom of speech.

Last October the Commission sent a letter to Pacifica requesting that its officers, managers and directors answer under oath the question: "Are you or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party or any other organization which recommends overthrow of the government of the United States by force or violence?" This action of the Commission was denounced by the American Jewish Congress in a letter which said:

> "The Commission's present action can no more be justified than a similar governmental inquiry sent to all broadcasters or, for that matter, all newspaper and book publishers. It is a palpable violation of the First Amendment guarantees of freedom of speech and association. It inevitably reenforces the wide-spread impression that the imaginative programming of controversial material that has characterized the Pacifica Foundation Stations invites oppressive governmental investigation and crippling delay."

Pacifica refused to comply with the Commission's demand that its principals submit to a "test oath." Wednesday's ruling marked, therefore, a retreat by the Commission from the indefensible position it had taken. The significance of the Pacifica license, however, goes beyond that issue.

The Commission rejected the objections to the renewals on the ground that its programs were not in the public interest. They had been criticized not only because they covered the political spectrum but also because they included such broadcasts as a discussion by eight homosexuals of their problems and the reading of plays and poetry which were "sexually disturbing." The Commission dismissed these objections on the ground that the programs clearly fell within the "very great discretion granted to broadcasters." It specifically rejected the complaint that such "provocative programming" may offend some listeners. If this were to be the guide for the renewal of licenses, the Commission observed, "only the wholly inoffensive, the bland, could gain access to the radio microphone or TV camera."

Sincerely yours,

Shad Polier

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LEO PFEFFER, Director
JOSEPH B. ROBISON, Assistant Director

January 31, 1964

Dear Friend:

Florida Defies the Supreme Court. Last June, the United States Supreme Court, in the Murray and Schempp cases, held unconstitutional Bible reading and the recital of the Lord's Prayer in public schools in Maryland and Pennsylvania. Only Justice Stewart dissented from the Court's ruling that such practices violate the provisions of the First Amendment (made applicable to the States by the Fourteenth Amendment) on "establishment of religion."

Even Justice Stewart accepted the majority view that the Bible reading and prayer recital were religious exercises. He placed his dissent on the ground that, since participation by students in such exercises was voluntary, the State, in providing for Bible reading and Prayer recital, was doing no more than obeying the correlative provision of the First Amendment against any law "prohibiting the free exercise" of religion. This argument was dismissed in the opinion of the Court, written by Justice Clark, on the ground that, "While the Free Exercise Clause clearly prohibits the use of state action to deny the rights of free exercise to anyone, it has never meant that a majority could use the machinery of the State to practice its beliefs." Moreover, the Supreme Court specifically considered and expressly rejected the contention that Bible reading and prayer recital served the "secular purpose" of "the promotion of moral values."

At the time Murray and Schempp were decided the Supreme Court had on its docket a case involving the same practices in the Miami public schools. If no other issue had been involved, the Supreme Court, in accordance with its usual procedure, would probably have reversed without receiving briefs or hearing oral argument. Instead, presumably because there were additional issues involved, it remanded the case for further consideration by the Florida Supreme Court in the light of the rulings in the Maryland and Pennsylvania cases.

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On Wednesday the Florida Supreme Court unanimously reaffirmed its earlier ruling upholding the constitutionality of Bible reading and the recital of the Lord's Prayer on the ground that the State law was "designed to require moral training and the inculcation of good citizenship." This attempt to distinguish the Maryland and Pennsylvania cases is, of course, not only disingenuous but clearly intended to be a defiance of the United States Supreme Court. Indeed, the opinion by Judge Caldwell is equally notable for its lack of legal analysis and its nonjudicial declaration that "In view of ... our conviction that the establishment clause of the Constitution was never designed to prohibit the practices complained of, we do not feel that the privilege, or duty is ours to speculate on the extent to which the Supreme Court of the United States intended to expand its philosophy."

Upon the issue of Bible reading and prayer recital there can be no doubt the ruling of the Florida Supreme Court will be reversed. It is to be hoped, however, that the United States Supreme Court will hear argument upon and determine the constitutionality of other religious practices involved in the Miami case.

One of these is the conducting of baccalaureate programs of a religious nature at the conclusion of the school year. Usually the services are combined with the graduation ceremony and the award of diplomas. In some instances they were held on public school property and other times in churches. While Protestant ministers regularly appear at these services, both rabbis and Catholic priests have declined to do so.

In its recent decision, the Florida Supreme Court ruled that the plaintiffs had no standing to raise this issue because "none were adversely affected" since, in its reading of the record, the programs are participated in only by high school graduating classes and none of the children on whose behalf the suit was brought had reached high school.

Another practice involved was asking children to state their religion at the time they enrolled and preserving such answers as part of their permanent school record. In this instance also the Court held that the plaintiffs had no standing to sue, basing that ruling upon the fact that there was no showing that the particular children had been questioned as to their religion. It went on, however, to justify the practice on the ground that it had "the purpose of determining probable attendance over religious holidays."

On the ground that the plaintiffs had no standing to sue, the Florida Supreme Court also dismissed the complaint that a religious test is imposed for teachers and other employees of the public school system and that religious criteria were used in connection with employment and promotion. All persons seeking employment are required to answer a question on the application form as to whether or not they believe in God. Moreover, under the "Career Increment Program," teachers are rated on their "cultural" attitudes on a scale of zero to four. As to religion, a rating of four is given if the teacher "takes part in his own religious organizations and respects other religious beliefs." He rates three if "he practices a religious belief and if he takes part in his own religious organizations." If he merely "conforms to his own religious belief," he rates one. He rates zero if his evaluation "is less than" any of the "standards described above."

The Florida Court rested its refusal to consider these issues on the Doremus case, decided by the United States Supreme Court in 1952. In that case the Supreme Court held that it lacked jurisdiction, in a taxpayer's suit, to review a decision of the New Jersey Supreme Court upholding Bible reading in the public school.

Even if Doremus is sound constitutional law today, it does not, in my opinion, offer any precedent for holding that parents who have children in a public school have no standing to challenge the practice of questioning students as to their religion or applying religious tests to teachers and other school personnel.

These practices affect and shape the character of the Miami public schools. No one could have a more direct interest in the consequences than parents of children who are attending such schools. Their status is nowise comparable to that of a taxpayer concerned as to the way in which his funds are spent.

It seems to me to be entirely immaterial that religious tests were applied to teachers and other school personnel and not to school children. The constitutional issue involved is not whether such practices abridge the religious freedom of the children but whether they constitute a forbidden State support of religion.

It also seems to me to be far-fetched to reason that the fact that a child is not in the graduating class of high school bars his parents from challenging the constitutionality of baccalaureate services. After all, the Miami schools are part of a unified system conducted under a single School Board. Moreover, if such a test of standing to sue were to prevail, the issue probably never would be resoved because no cause could ever reach the United States Supreme Court between the time a pupil entered the graduating class and the time the baccalaureate services were held for his class.

The attempted justification for questioning children as to their religion at the time that they enter school is obviously both specious and untenable. Whatever information the school may need "for the purpose of determining probable attendance over religious holidays" could be obtained by requiring that excusal for that reason be requested a certain number of days in advance. This is vastly different from requiring disclosure of religion by a child who may or may not, for that reason, ask to be excused at some later date. The practice followed in the Florida schools cannot be excused on the ground that this information is, according to the public school authorities "for the use of the professional personnel and was not made public." The rulings of the United States Supreme Court have made clear that, unless and until a person seeks a privilege or benefit in the exercise of his religious freedom, his religion or lack of religion is of no legitimate interest to the State.

The Miami School Case was brought in 1959 under the sponsorship of AJCongress and the American Civil Liberties Union on behalf of Jewish, Unitarian and agnostic parents. In the trial court their complaint was sustained to the extent that it sought an injunction against Christmas and Easter programs depicting the Nativity and the Crucifixion of Jesus, the showing of religious movies and the use of school facilities for afternoon religious classes by church groups. These precedent-making prohibitions were affirmed by the Florida Supreme Court in its initial consideration of the case in June, 1962.

De Facto School Segregation and the Law. Manhasset, Long Island, is a residential community divided between the "haves" and the "have nots." The majority of the residents are in the upper middle to high socio-economic class. The minority, almost all Negro, live in a small enclave for the simple reason they are not financially able to live elsewhere in Manhasset. Their children attend the "Valley" elementary school, less than one percent of whose students are white. As the result of the district lines drawn by the School Board, no Negro child attends any one of the other three elementary schools in the community.

Last Friday, Federal District Judge Joseph C. Zavatt, sitting in Brooklyn, held that, by maintaining and perpetuating such a segregated school system, the School Board transgressed the prohibitions of the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. It did not matter, Judge Zavatt ruled, that the district lines had been originally fixed at a time when few Negroes lived in Manhasset. Nor, he said, was it material that fully equal school facilities and teachers were provided for the Valley School.

Many days and hundreds of pages of testimony were devoted during the trial of the case to the question whether the under-achievement of children in the Valley School is attributable to its segregated character. Judge Zavatt, however, found it unnecessary to resolve the question. Upon that point he said:

> "The denial of the right not to be segregated cannot be assuaged or supported by evidence indicating that under-achievement in the three R's may be due in whole or in part to low socioeconomic level, home influence or measured intelligence quotient. The role of public education in our democracy is not limited to these academic subjects. It encompasses a broader preparation for participation in the mainstream of our society. Public education 'is the very foundation of good citizenship.' The extent to which this objective is being attained is not measurable by a comparison of achievement in the 3 R's to IQ, or to socioeconomic level."

Judge Zavatt directed the School Board to present a plan by April 6 for desegregation of the elementary school system, to begin not later than the opening of the 1964-65 Fall term. Two days later the Board announced that it would comply with the order and would not seek to appeal.

Although acclaimed as a broad victory, Judge Zavatt's ruling was expressly rested by him on the very narrow ground that the Valley school was completely segregated and the ending of such segregation presented no difficult or complicated problems. The case therefore, does not reach the major issue presented by a recent decision of the United States Court of Appeals for the Seventh Circuit which upheld the refusal of a District Court to impose any obligation upon the Gary, Indiana, School Board to end segregation in the schools resulting from residential segregation. The Gary case has been carried to the United States Supreme Court whose ruling will, of course, be of major importance.

Meanwhile, two New York State Supreme Court Justices have construed a State statute to prevent school authorities from taking action to remedy de facto segregation. In the earlier case, rezoning of school district lines in Brooklyn for that purpose was held invalid. In the latter case the statute was held to prevent the institution in Malverne, Long Island of the "Princeton Plan" under which children in different grades would be assigned to different schools so as to correct racial inbalance.

These State Court decisions are now before the Appellate Division. In my opinion they will be reversed, either there or in the New York Court of Appeals. They represent, in my judgment, a misreading of the New York statute which was enacted in 1900 to replace an earlier law which had expressly authorized school districts to establish and maintain separate but equal schools for Negro children. The present statute was intended to outlaw the doctrine of "separate but equal" and was never designed to prevent school authorities from taking race into consideration in order to achieve a sound educational system.

Sincerely,

Shad Polier

Shad Polier

FEB 13 1964

WB

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JOSEPH B. ROBISON, Assistant Director

February 7, 1964

Dear Friend:

The Civil Rights Bill. In all likelihood the Civil Rights Bill will be approved by the House on Tuesday substantially as reported by the Judiciary Committee on October 29. As pointed out in my newsletter of November 1, the Committee formulated a compromise which went considerably further than the measure originally proposed by the Administration but which fell short of the draft approved by its Subcommittee. Nevertheless, as my newsletter noted, the enactment of the Bill in its present form would mark a tremendous advance in Federal legislation dealing with many aspects of the civil rights problem.

During the past week, amendments offered to water down or emasculate the Bill have been overwhelmingly rejected. This. of course, has been the result of an unusual coalition between Northern Democrats and a majority of the Republican Congressmen. In the past the coalition in the House on civil rights issues has all too often been one between the Republicans and the Southern Democrats.

The critical showdown on the Bill will, of course, take place in the Senate. There again the central question will be what position will be taken by the Republicans. If they indicate an intention to follow the example of their opposite numbers in the House, the Southern Senators will realize that a filibuster cannot be effectively waged against the Bill and that its provisions must be voted up or down on their merits.

The Beckwith Trial. This afternoon Judge Leon F. Hendrick declared a mistrial after the jury trying Byron De La Beckwith in Jackson, Mississippi, for the murder of Medgar L. Evers reported it was hopelessly deadlocked. On the 20th ballot, taken after eleven hours of deliberation, the jury was reported to be 7-to-5 for acquittal. On March 23 Judge Hendrick will set the date for a second trial.

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Evers was the State NAACP Director at the time of his murder last June. He was shot in the back from ambush as he was entering his home after attending a civil rights rally. Beckwith is a notorious white supremacist. In many ways he is typical of the mentality in Greenwood, Mississippi, where Beckwith lives, and where the White Citizens Council completely dominates the community. Greenwood is 95 miles from Jackson. It is at least a generation behind Jackson in moving toward acceptance of the constitutionally equal status of Negroes.

At the trial, Beckwith produced two police officers and a businessman from Greenwood who testified that he was in his home town about the time Evers was killed. Beckwith himself took the stand, denied the murder and claimed that the rifle which had been used in the assassination had been stolen from him the day before. Under these circumstances, the vote of five members of an all-white jury to convict marks, in my judgment, a highly significant change in the South and, particularly, in Mississippi. It required integrity and great courage for these five men to vote as they did.

The change we are witnessing in Mississippi is also, in my opinion, indicated by the thoroughness and forcefulness with which the case against Beckwith was prepared and presented by State Attorney William L. Waller, the efficient work of the Jackson police, the willingness of white persons in Jackson to come forward to testify to Beckwith's presence at the scene of the crime shortly before Evers was killed and the dignity and fairness with which Judge Hendrick presided at the trial.

In Jackson, at least, there is a part of Mississippi which is unwilling to tolerate political assassination even if the victim is a Negro. Perhaps some of the five jurors were mindful that, a bare five months after Evers' murder, the President of the United States was shot down by a sniper's bullet in Dallas, Texas. Long ago - outside of the South - American society both realized and accepted the fact that no man's life is secure if murder may be committed with impunity.

There was one shocking aspect of the trial. While the jury deliberated, former Governor Ross R. Barnett put in an appearance and shook hands with the defendant. It will be recalled that Barnett personally obstructed the enrollment of James H. Meredith at the University in September 1962 in defiance of the Federal Court of Appeals and subsequently by his conduct provoked mob action at the University which had to be put down by Federal troops.

The United States Supreme Court is even now considering whether Barnett is entitled to a jury trial on the charge of criminal contempt. The Beckwith trial underscores what was already evident: the improbability of Barnett's conviction if his fate is placed in the hands of a Mississippi jury. Indeed, in Barnett's case a conviction is even less likely because, as far as a jury is concerned, the issue will not be whether he committed the acts charged but whether the Governor of Mississippi should be punished for defying the Federal Government.

A Further Comment on the Miami School Case. Last week's newsletter reported and criticized the January 29 ruling of the Florida Supreme Court holding that parents of children in the Miami public schools had no standing to challenge the practice under which a religious test is imposed for teachers and other employees and religious criteria are used in connection with employment and promotion. All persons seeking employment in the Miami schools are required to answer a question on the application form as to whether or not they believe in God. Moreover, under the "Career Increment Program," teachers are rated on their "cultural" attitudes on a scale of zero to four. As to religion, a

rating of four is given if the teacher "takes part in his own religious organizations and respects other religious beliefs." He rates three if "he practices a religious belief and if he takes part in his own religious organizations." If he merely "conforms to his own religious belief," he rates one. He rates zero if his evaluation "is less than" any of the "standards described above."

My newsletter pointed out that the constitutional issue involved is not whether such practices prohibit "the free exercise" of religion by teachers and other school personnel in violation of the First Amendment (made applicable to the States by the Fourteenth). It noted that the issue presented was whether such practices constitute a forbidden State-support of religion in violation of the Amendment's prohibition against any law "respecting an establishment of religion." It urged that these practices affect and shape the character of the Miami public schools and that no one could have a more direct interest in their consequences than parents of the children attending such schools.

It seems to me that the validity of my criticism of the ruling of the Florida Supreme Court is buttressed by the decisions of the Federal Courts of Appeals for the Fourth, Fifth and Sixth Circuits in three recent school desegregation cases. In these cases, involving Virginia, Florida and Tennessee schools, it was held that the parents of children seeking school desegregation had standing to object to the practice of assignment of teachers and other personnel on a racial basis.

In the latest of these decisions the Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit, on January 10, upheld a direction by the District Court requiring the Board of Public Instruction of Duvall County, Florida, to submit a school desegregation plan ending such assignment practices. The brief submitted by the NAACP Defense Fund contended that,

> "It is a matter of common knowledge that the assignment of Negro teachers to Negro schools is one of the major ways in which the educational system is maintained on a segregated basis. Negro schools are not evidenced solely by the fact that all the pupils are Negro, but also by the fact that in front of every class is a Negro, the principal is a Negro, all special teachers are Negro and the supervisors are Negro. Racial assignment of teachers and utilization of race in other school activities are all official reminders that students were once required by the state to be separated on the basis of race. As Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, 347 U.S. 483, 494 (1954) has found that 'the policy of separating the races is usually interpreted as denoting the inferiority of the Negro group,' any indicia which has been a symbol of denoting the separation of Negro students will continue to be an official statement of the inferiority of such students."

In answer to the claim that injury to the children had not been shown, their counsel urged that,

> "The Brown case found that separation of the races is inherently unequal and harmful, and, therefore, proof that major means of separating the races has not been ended sufficiently proves continuing injury to the appellees. This being the case, the rights appellees assert are not solely the rights of the teachers but are personal and essential to their relief."

. . . .

The right of children to attend a school taught and administered by personnel chosen without regard to race certainly stands upon no different footing than their right to attend a school taught and administered by persons chosen without regard to their religion. In both cases the child is affected by the use of unconstitutional criteria - in one instance race and in the other religion - in the selection of those who teach and administer the school system. In one case the child is inevitably impressed with State sanction of racism and in the other with State support of religion. One need not speculate as to whether one impression is more harmful than the other. Both harms are banned by the Constitution.

"Giving Reality to the Promise of Job Equality." This is the title of a paper prepared by Joe Robison, Assistant National CLSA Director, for a Lawyers' Conference held by the Congress on Racial Equality (CORE). It deals with the problems stemming from long-continued discrimination in job-discrimination - by both employers and unions. It points out that because of years of exclusion, Negroes and other non-whites find themselves at the bottom of the heap. Even if all discrimination is halted as of now, it shows, they get no immediate relief because seniority rosters, waiting lists and other exclusionary practices insure their continued exclusion from good jobs for years to come. This, of course, has resulted in widespread demands for "preferential treatment" in order to give non-whites a fair share of the jobs.

Joe Robison's paper draws on experience in other fields, such as labor, patent and anti-trust law, to show that the state agencies that administer fair employment laws have ample power to compel scrapping of seniority systems and other practices that perpetuate the effects of past discrimination. He argues that, whenever it can be shown that an employment force, apprenticeship program or union membership is structured by bias, past or present, a fresh start can be required for future selection - for jobs, training or union membership. As an example, he suggests that a union with an all-white membership can be compelled to drop practices that require an applicant to find two sponsors among the present members.

The proposals made would require an imaginative approach by both complainants and the anti-bias commissions. It seems clear that this is required by the times.

The Robison paper also reviews the formidable legal obstacles to "preferential treatment," arguing that it requires revision of the very constitutional principles that have made possible the great court and legislative civil rights victories of the past decades. Copies of the paper are available from the national CLSA office.

Sincerely yours,

Shad Polier

Shad Polier

Joe: I thought you would find this interesting

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February 14, 1964

Dear Friend:

The Right to Die. On September 17, 1963 Mrs. Jesse E. Jones ~~was brought to~~ the Georgetown Hospital in Washington, D.C. by her husband for emergency care. She had already lost two-thirds of her body's blood supply from a ruptured ulcer.

Mrs. Jones had no personal physician and relied solely on the hospital staff. It immediately became apparent to them that death was both inevitable and imminent unless the patient was given a series of blood transfusions. This she and her husband refused to permit on religious principles. As Jehovah's Witnesses they believed that a transfusion violated the scriptural injunction that "We should not drink blood."

The hospital staff was unanimous in its belief that the failure to start the transfusions almost immediately would be fatal and that there was a better than 50 percent chance of saving the life of Mrs. Jones with them. Faced with this dilemma, the hospital began a suit in the District Court for a declaratory judgment as to its right to give the transfusions over the objections of Mr. and Mrs. Jones.

Because of the urgency of the situation, the hospital asked for an immediate order permitting it to act. Relief was denied by District Judge Tam, without opinion. The hospital immediately applied to Judge Skelly Wright of the Court of Appeals. So narrow was the time margin between life and death that Judge Wright entertained the application without requiring the filing of formal appeal papers and without seeking to have any of his colleagues join him as is usual in the case of appellate review.

The application was made to Judge Wright at 4 P.M. He immediately telephoned the hospital which confirmed that the situation was as described by its counsel. Judge Wright at once went to the hospital. There he spoke to Mr. Jones who said that he would not approve the blood transfusion for his

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wife on religious grounds. Mr. Jones stated, however, that if the Court ordered the transfusion, he would not regard himself as responsible for the violation of his wife's religious principles.

Judge Wright urged Mr. Jones to obtain counsel immediately. Mr. Jones went to the telephone but returned in ten or fifteen minutes to state that he had taken the matter up with the church and he decided that he did not want counsel.

With the permission of Mr. Jones, Judge Wright then saw the patient and conferred with the physicians. The doctors confirmed the desperate urgency of the situation. Mrs. Jones' appearance confirmed this. It was almost impossible for Judge Wright to communicate with Mrs. Jones because of her condition. She did, however, manage to state that the transfusion would be "against my will."

Further efforts to secure authorization of Mr. Jones were unavailing. At 5:20 P.M. Judge Wright signed an order authorizing the transfusions. Their administration was begun at once.

Judge Wright's order by its terms expired ten days after issuance. In the meantime the transfusions continued. By the time his order expired Mrs. Jones was no longer in danger.

During this interval no effort was made by Mr. Jones to seek a rehearing by the full nine-man bench of the Court of Appeals. His application was delayed until October 14, almost a month after the first transfusion.

On February 3, the Court of Appeals refused to grant a rehearing. However, none of the other eight judges reached the merits of Judge Wright's order. One of them regarded the entire matter as having become moot because Judge Wright's order had expired. Seven of the judges took the view that the hospital's application did not involve a "case or controversy" which could be the subject of a judicial determination. Three of the seven also expressed the view that Judge Wright had no authority to entertain the application, first because no formal appeal had been taken from the decision of the District Court and secondly because Judge Wright had not convened a quorum of three judges of the Court of Appeals.

At the same time that the Court of Appeals handed down its decision, Judge Wright rendered an opinion. In addition to explaining his decision on the merits, he pointed out that he alone of the three judges who had been assigned to the hearing of applications was immediately available.

Judge Wright gave short shift to the contention that the application by the hospital involved no "case or controversy." He declared that the hospital's suit for a declaratory judgment and interim relief was not essentially different from a suit brought by Mr. Jones for an injunction to restrain the administration of the blood transfusion. If Mr. Jones had sued, Judge Wright observed, the litigation clearly would have presented a "case or controversy."

It seems to me that Judge Wright was correct in holding that it did not matter whether the hospital or Mr. Jones was the plaintiff. It also seems to me that he was sound in his view that the hospital should not have been required to decide at its peril whether it had authority to administer the transfusions or take the risk of a suit for damages on the ground that it had committed a technical assault upon the person of Mrs. Jones.

On the merits of the case Judge Wright carefully pointed out that:

"This case does not involve a person who, for religious or other reasons, has refused to seek medical attention. It does not involve a disputed medical judgment or a dangerous or crippling operation. Nor does it involve the delicate question of saving the newborn in preference to the mother. Mrs. Jones sought medical attention and placed on the hospital the legal responsibility for her proper care. In its dilemma, not of its own making, the hospital sought judicial direction."

Judge Wright referred to the many decisions which firmly establish that courts can order compulsory medical treatment of children for any serious illness or injury even though there is parental objection on religious grounds. He further noted that it is also well established that adults, sick or well, can be required to submit to compulsory treatment or prophylactics for contagious diseases over their objections on religious grounds. While recognizing that none of those decisions provide a precedent for his action, Judge Wright pointed out that Mrs. Jones, who was 25 years old, was the mother of a seven-month old child. He reasoned, therefore, that

"The state, as parens patriae, will not allow a parent to abandon a child, and so it should not allow this most ultimate of voluntary abandonments. The patient had a responsibility to the community to care for her infant. Thus the people had an interest in preserving the life of this mother."

Judge Wright then proceeded to a consideration of whether ordering the transfusion was justified on the ground that, in refusing such treatment, Mrs. Jones was in effect asking to commit suicide. In some states, suicide is made a crime by the common law or by statute. Apparently, however, there is doubt as to whether it is a crime in the District of Columbia. "The Gordian knot of this suicide question," Judge Wright declared,

"may be cut by the simple fact that Mrs. Jones did not want to die. Her voluntary presence in the hospital as a patient seeking medical help testified to this. Death, to Mrs. Jones, was not a religiously-commanded goal, but an unwanted side effect of a religious scruple. There is no question here of interfering with one whose religious convictions counsel his death, like the Buddhist monks who set themselves afire. Nor are we faced with the question of whether the state should intervene to reweigh the relative values of life and death, after the individual has weighed them for himself and found life wanting. Mrs. Jones wanted to live."

Two other reasons were adduced by Judge Wright for his decision. One of these was that Mrs. Jones, having entrusted her treatment to the hospital, had no right to expose the hospital to the risk of civil or criminal liability for failure to take such action as was necessary to save her life. He remarked that:

"Moreover, Mrs. Jones had no wish to be a martyr. And her religion merely prevented her consent to a transfusion. If the law undertook the responsibility of authorizing the transfusion without her consent, no problem would be raised with respect to her religious practice. Thus, the effect of the order was to preserve for Mrs. Jones the life she wanted without sacrifice of her religious beliefs."

Judge Wright concluded his opinion with the following statement:

"The final, and compelling, reason for granting the emergency writ was that a life hung in the balance. There was no time for research

and reflection. Death could have mooted the cause in a matter of minutes, if action were not taken to preserve the status quo. To refuse to act, only to find later that the law required action, was a risk I was unwilling to accept. I determined to act on the side of life."

The issue resolved by Judge Wright is so fundamental in character that it is unfortunate that, for procedural reasons, none of his colleagues reached the merits. If they had done so, those concerned with the basic problem of reconciling the interests of society with the preservation of life and its respect for the religious convictions of persons might have been provided with the benefit of an able statement of a view opposed to that of Judge Wright. Some day, in some forum, it seems to me, the question will arise again and a full court will pass judgment upon it.

The Civil Rights Bill. On Monday, after nine days of debate, the House by a vote of 290 to 130, passed and sent to the Senate the Civil Rights Bill. Most significant was not only the overwhelming majority by which the bill passed but also the fact that with one exception, no amendment was adopted weakening the provisions of the bill as reported by the Judiciary Committee. The one exception was an amendment limiting the life of the Civil Rights Commission to four years instead of making it a permanent body.

Voting in favor of the bill were 152 Democrats and 138 Republicans. Opposing the bill were 96 Democrats and 34 Republicans.

It is noteworthy that seven Congressmen from the 11 states of the Old Confederacy voted for the bill. They were: Bass and Fulton of Tennessee; Pepper of Florida; Gonzales, Pickle, Thomas and Brooks of Texas. As a matter of fact, only six Democrats from the Border States of Kentucky and Oklahoma and the Congressman from Nevada joined in the Southern opposition. The sole Northern Democrat to oppose the bill was Lesinski of Michigan.

On the other side of the aisle, all of the eleven Republican Congressmen from the Deep South voted against the bill. It is interesting to note, however, that the Republican delegations from such conservative States as Iowa and Nebraska split in their voting and that the entire Republican delegation from Kansas, another conservative State, voted in favor.

Aside from the votes of Congressmen from the Deep South (Democrats and Republicans), there were only 29 votes cast against the bill as compared with 290 votes in its favor. Looked at thus, it seems to me clear that the measure expresses both the mood and the judgment of the country. Hopefully, this fact will register and have its effect upon the Northern Republicans in the Senate whose vote is crucial to the defeat of efforts of Southern Senators to secure compromises watering down the bill as the price of avoiding or terminating a filibuster.

It would, however, be a mistake to assume that, without pressure from the country and leadership from the White House, the Conservative Republicans in the Senate will give the full measure of support needed to overcome the Southern intransigents. While the Republican leadership in the House was willing to jeopardize the advantages it draws from its long-standing alliance with the Southern Democrats, the Senate leaders may not be--particularly because breaking a filibuster requires far stronger tactics than merely voting for the bill.

Sincerely yours,

Shad Polier

Shad Polier

WD

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FEB 26 1964

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February 21, 1964

Dear Friend:

One Man, One Vote. Article I, §2, of the Constitution provides that "The House of Representatives shall be composed of Members chosen every second Year by the People of the several States."

On Monday, the United States Supreme Court, in Westberry v. Sanders, held 6-to-3 that "construed in its historical context" this provision of the Constitution means "that as nearly as practicable one man's vote in a congressional election is to be worth as much as another's." The Supreme Court further held that the unconstitutionality of Congressional Districts fixed by State Legislatures in violation of this principle may be remedied by suit brought in the Federal District Courts. Accordingly, the Supreme Court reversed the action of a three-judge District Court in Atlanta which had, in a 2-to-1 decision, dismissed a suit on the ground that the challenge involved only "political" questions which were not "justiciable."

Westberry v. Sanders was a suit to enjoin further Congressional elections in Georgia, except on a State-wide basis, until Districts were fixed in conformity with the Constitution. The plaintiffs are citizens entitled to vote in Georgia's Fifth Congressional District.

The Fifth is one of ten Districts created by a 1961 Georgia statute. It includes three counties, among them Fulton County, in which the City of Atlanta is located. It has a population, according to the 1960 census, of 823,680. The average population of the ten Georgia Districts is 394,312. One District, the Ninth, has only 272,154 people, less than one-third as many as the Fifth.

The plaintiffs based their suit not only on Article I, §2 of the Constitution but also on the Fourteenth Amendment

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guarantee that no State shall deprive any person of the equal protection of the laws. The majority of the Supreme Court found it unnecessary to consider the alternative ground on which the suit was based. Instead, in an opinion written for the majority by Mr. Justice Black, the Supreme Court said:

> "It would be extraordinary to suggest that in such statewide elections the votes of inhabitants of some parts of a State, for example, Georgia's thinly populated Ninth District, could be weighed at two or three times the value of the votes of people living in more populous parts of the State, for example, the Fifth District around Atlanta. We do not believe that the Framers of the Constitution intended to permit the same vote-diluting discrimination to be accomplished through the device of districts containing widely varied numbers of inhabitants.
>
> To say that a vote is worth more in one district than in another would not only run counter to our fundamental ideas of democratic government, it would cast aside the principle of a House of Representatives elected 'by the People,' a principle tenaciously fought for and established at the Constitutional Convention. The history of the Constitution, particularly that part of it relating to the adoption of Art. I, §2, reveals that those who framed the Constitution meant that, no matter what the mechanics of an election, whether statewide or by districts, it was population which was to be the basis of the House of Representatives."

Justices Clark and Stewart concurred in the majority view that the constitutionality of the malapportionment of Congressional Districts was subject to review in the Federal courts. On the other hand, both of them agreed with the dissenting opinion of Justice Harlan that the history of the Constitution was misread by the majority as laying down the requirement that, so far as practicable, Congressional districts must be fixed in such a way as to insure that Congressional districts are established on the basis of population. They disagreed, however, with the further position taken by Justice Harlan that there was no judicial remedy for malapportionment until Congress imposed the principal of "one person, one vote" by statute.

While Justice Stewart agreed that the plaintiffs were entitled to challenge the constitutionality of the Georgia Congressional Districting, he refrained from expressing any view as to the validity of the challenge on Fourteenth Amendment grounds. His silence upon that point is particularly noteworthy since Justice Clark specifically dealt with that issue. Justice Clark took the position that the case should be remanded to the District Court for a determination as to whether the Georgia Congressional Districting was so discriminatory as to violate the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.

A casual reader of the majority opinion and the partially concurring opnion of Justice Clark might conclude that the same result would be achieved whether the test applied is that of Article I, §2 of the Constitution or the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. There may, however, be a very great difference between the two standards.

In the landmark decision in Baker v. Carr, decided on March 26, 1962, the Supreme Court, for the first time held that a claim of malapportionment in the setting up of voting districts for election of members of a State Legislature presented a "justiciable" issue under the Fourteenth Amendment. Justice Frankfurter, since retired, and Justice Harlan dissented. The majority, however, declined to spell out the

standard to be applied in determining whether there was unconstitutional discrimination in the case before it involving the Tennessee legislature. Instead, the majority left that question for answer at a later date after the lower courts, State and Federal, had had an opportunity expresses their views. There are now pending in the Supreme Court six cases involving the resolution of the question reserved in Baker v. Carr.

In Baker v. Carr, two members of the majority--Justices Douglas and Clark--did express views as to what districting would not meet the Fourteenth Amendment test. Both declared, however, that the Equal Protection Clause did not require that each Legislative District have the same or approximately the same voting power on the basis of population.

It seems to me that the six Justices--including Justice Douglas--who made up the majority in Westberry v. Sanders, deliberately chose to place their decision on Article I, §2 of the Constitution, which is not applicable to the fixing of State Legislative Districts. In my judgment, the majority chose to rely upon Article I, §2, because they intended to impose a far more stringent standard in the fixing of Congressional Districts than they may require in connection with the fixing of legislative districts.

In other words, it may be that the Supreme Court is prepared to tolerate a greater degree of inequality in voting power in connection with the choice of state legislators than it is willing to permit with respect to the choice of Congressmen. This may be accounted for by a number of considerations. One is the fact that Legislatures are concerned with State affairs whereas Congressmen vote laws which apply to the entire country. Another may well be the circumstance that the remedy is simpler in the case of Congressional Districting; either the Districts are fixed as equally as practicable or all Congressmen run on a Statewide basis.

Some commentators have expressed the opinion that the Supreme Court is likely to tolerate Congressional Districting so long as any district is more than 15% above or below the average in population. In my judgment these commentators will prove to be wrong. It seems to me that their thinking reflects Fourteenth Amendment principles and is not consonant with the decision of the Supreme Court to apply the standard of "one man, one vote," "as nearly as practicable."

Obviously, there are practical obstacles to achieving exact mathematical equality on a population basis in fixing Congressional Districts. Thus, for example, some allowance may be permitted so as to avoid putting one county partly in one Congressional District and partly in another. On the other hand, my reading of Monday's decision is that the burden of proving the necessity for departure from the principle of "one man, one vote" will be placed upon the State Legislatures in the fixing of Congressional District lines.

Westberry v. Sanders is one of the most significant decisions since Marbury v. Madison. In that case, decided in 1803, the Supreme Court held that it had both the power and the duty to determine the constitutionality of Federal legislation. That decision is universally recognized as establishing the principle of judicial supremacy.

Last Monday's decision marked an extension of that principle. It establishes that the judiciary has the power and duty to assure that the will of the people is reflected in the election of members of the House of Representatives.

True, each State regardless of population will continue to be entitled to elect two Senators, and each State, no matter how small its popula-

tion will be entitled to elect one member of the House. That, however, was a deliberate decision made to secure the adoption of the Constitution, which otherwise would have been opposed by the smaller states.

Monday's decision means that the cities and the suburbs have come into their own politically. The importance of this development cannot be overestimated. This country has become dominantly urban and suburban. That trend is bound to continue. Until Baker v. Carr, however, there seemed to be no escape from rural domination in the election of State Legislatures and, concomitantly, favoritism to rural areas in the composition of Congressional Districts. Baker v. Carr gave promise that the imbalance in the choice of State legislators would be redressed. One could hope that, ultimately, this reform would bring a measure of reform in the fixing of Congressional District lines. Now, however, the Supreme Court has decreed that reform must proceed simultaneously and independently on both fronts.

To speculate, as some have done, as to which party will be favored by Monday's decision is to miss the point. The real beneficiaries will be the cities and the suburbs whose needs have been neglected or short-changed both in the State Legislatures and in the Congress.

There are bound, in the next few years, to be many new faces in the House of Representatives. They will be the faces of men and women who will be more responsive to the needs of America in the second half of the 20th century. No doubt the Senate will remain, to a large extent, the stronghold of sectional interests. That, however, is the price we agreed to pay for a Federal Government.

New York's Voting Ghetto. On Monday, the Supreme Court in Wright v. Rockefeller, by a vote of 7-to-2 upheld the 2-to-1 ruling of a Federal District Court that the 17th ("Silk Stocking") Congressional District in Manhattan had not been bounded in such a way as to exclude "non-white citizens and citizens of Puerto Rican origin." Justices Douglas and Goldberg dissented. It seems to me that they were correct in viewing the undisputed facts as establishing racial segregation.

The 17th is one of four Congressional Districts in Manhattan. It has a population of only 383,320 (5.1% non-white), as compared with 431,330 (86.3% non-white) in the 18th (which includes Harlem); 424,570 (28.5% non-white) in the 19th; and 445,175 (27.5% non-white) in the 20th. It has been kept small in order to assure that it will continue to provide a "safe" Republican Congressional seat. It includes all of Manhattan's fashionable and wealthy east side, with the result that, except for one election during the Roosevelt era, it has elected a Republican Congressman as far back as my memory goes.

In fairness to the incumbent Congressman from the 17th--John V. Lindsay--it should be pointed out that he has distinguished himself as one of the most consistent and able champions not only on civil rights but also on such civil liberties issues as post office censorship and the House Committee on Un-American Activities. He might well win reelection in a 17th which is neither artificially small nor artificially over-weighted with white voters. On the other hand, his conservative predecessor, Frederic R. Coudert, Jr., who served in Congress from 1947 to 1959, probably would never have been elected and certainly would not have been reelected if the 17th had not been a "tight little (ethnic) island" in the island of Manhattan.

Sincerely yours,

Shad Polier

Shad Polier

MAR 4 1964

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LEO PFEFFER, Director
JOSEPH B. ROBISON, Assistant Director

February 28, 1964

Dear Colleague:

There will be no newsletter next week because I will be leaving on Wednesday for a series of conferences in Brussels and will be away for approximately a week.

The Newsletter Goes On The Air. Beginning Sunday evening, March 8, I will do a series of broadcasts of the newsletter on WBAI, the New York FM station of the Pacifica Foundation. The Sunday broadcast will be at 7:15 P.M. and will be rebroadcast at 10:30 A.M. the following Tuesday.

The HUAC and AJCongress. Recently the National Committee to Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee, published an appeal to Congress for the abolition of the HUAC. The appeal correctly lists my name as one of the sponsors. It incorrectly describes me as President of AJCongress. The error is a double-headed one since my sponsorship was in my individual capacity. AJCongress has long urged the abolition of the HUAC but it is not affiliated with the National Committee.

The Worthy Case. William Worthy, Jr., a newspaperman and lecturer, was issued a passport in 1955, providing that it was not valid for traveling in certain countries therein designated, including Communist China and Hungary. Despite the restrictions in his passport, Worthy traveled extensively in those two countries.

When he applied for a renewal of his passport in 1957, Worthy was asked for but declined to give a commitment to abide by the restrictions. The State Department thereupon refused to grant the renewal. Its refusal was upheld by the Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia. The Supreme Court declined to grant review, Justice Black dissenting.

On July 24, 1961, Worthy sailed on a vessel of the Spanish Line to Havana, Cuba. On October 10 he arrived from Havana

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on a commercial airline flight at Miami, Florida. He was indicted for unlawfully entering the United States without a valid passport. After a non-jury trial, Worthy was found guilty and sentenced to three months imprisonment and nine months probation.

The statute under which Worthy was indicted provides that when the United States is at war or during the existence of any national emergency proclaimed by the President, it shall be unlawful for any citizen "to depart from or enter the United States unless he bears a valid passport." The statute is qualified by regulations exempting travel to and from countries in the Western Hemisphere, excluding Cuba, from the requirement of bearing a passport.

On February 20, the United States Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit at New Orleans, unanimously held that the statute was unconstitutional insofar as it sought to penalize the reentry into the United States by an American citizen who did not have a passport. The court indicated that it would have reached a different result if Worthy had been indicted and convicted for leaving the country without a passport for the purpose of going to Cuba.

The Court of Appeals ruled that the Fifth Amendment precludes Congress from requiring a citizen to choose between banishment or expatriation on the one hand or crossing the border on the other hand, being faced with criminal punishment and the loss of some of the rights and privileges of citizenship as a felon. In an opinion by Judge Warren L. Jones, the Court declared:

> "We think it is inherent in the concept of citizenship that the citizen, when absent from the country to which he owes allegiance, has a right to return, again to set foot on its soil.**** It is our conclusion that the Government cannot say to its citizen, standing beyond its border, that his reentry into the land of his allegiance is a criminal offense; and this we conclude is a sound principle whether or not the citizen has a passport, and however wrongful may have been his conduct in effecting his departure."

Will the Supreme Court Duck Again? When the Supreme Court, on December 7, 1959, refused to review the Worthy decision upholding the right of the State Department to impose territorial restrictions upon the use of the passport, it also declined review in two other cases decided by the Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia. One was a suit brought by Waldo Frank, well-known writer and lecturer, and the other by Charles O. Porter, a member of Congress. In those cases, as in Worthy, Justice Black alone voted to grant review.

On February 20, 1960, a three-Judge District Court in Hartford, Connecticut, dismissed, 2-to-1, a suit brought by Louis Zemel to compel Secretary of State Dean Rusk to validate his passport for travel to Cuba as a tourist. His request was denied on the ground that, under regulations promulgated by the State Department, pursuant to Executive Order of the President, travel to Cuba was barred except for newsmen and business men with previously established interests.

Appeal in the Zemel case will be taken directly to the Supreme Court. However, for technical reasons, the Supreme Court may hold that Zemel should have been decided by a single District Judge. In that event the case will be remitted to the Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit for initial review. Ultimately, however, the issue will be presented to the Supreme Court as to whether the Secretary of State has been authorized by Congress to impose such restrictions on passport use and if so, whether such a grant of discretion to the State Department violates the Fifth Amendment's protection of freedom to travel.

Judge J. Joseph Smith, dissenting in Zemel took the position that the action of the State Department should be held invalid without reaching the constitutional issue. He cited in support of his position Kent v. Dulles, decided in 1958, in which the Supreme Court held that Congress had not authorized the Secretary of State to withhold passports from citizens because of their beliefs or associations. The Supreme Court gave this narrow interpretation to the statute in order to avoid resolving the serious constitutional question whether even Congress had the power to place such limitations upon the right of travel.

It is difficult to see why the same principle should not be decisive in Zemel. As pointed out by Judge Smith:

> "We do not pass here on the desirability of area restrictions on travel. I should think Congress might well be justified in this period of international tensions produced by the Cold War in authorizing curtailment of travel to an actively unfriendly nation such as Cuba. It is entirely unrealistic to pretend that there was an end to emergency because of the Korean armistice. However, it is up to Congress to determine that conditions require a dilution of the freedom to travel through area restrictions on passports. See Korematsu v. United States, 323 U.S. 214 (1944), where the Supreme Court upheld the use of the war power to restrict the freedom of movement of citizens of Japanese origin after a Congressional determination of the greatest imminent danger to the public safety."

Judge Smith also pointed out that after the Supreme Court decision in Kent President Eisenhower made a special request to Congress for legislation authorizing the Secretary of State, subject to substantive and procedural safeguards, to deny passports to persons whose travel would be inimical to the security or foreign relations of the United States and to impose restrictions on the use of passports by Americans for travel to areas where their presence might conflict with foreign policy objectives. He noted that none of the requested legislation had been enacted.

In my view, Judge Smith was also correct in disavowing the view of the Court of Appeals in Worthy that the President in the exercise of his constitutional power to conduct foreign affairs may curtail individual freedom to travel abroad. He urged that this argument was implicitly rejected in Kent, noting that -

> "If such inherent power existed, what would be its bounds? Could travel to France be curtailed if the Executive decided that foreign policy required such curtailment to impose sanctions because of De Gaulle's recent recognition of Red China? If so, it is easy to see how such executive power could, by increasing the number of nations to which travel is excluded while expanding the excepted class of persons for whom travel to such nations is permitted, approach the absolute discretionary control over travel held without warrant in the Constitution by the Kent decision."

The Right to Die--Another View. My newsletter of February 14 reported the decision of Judge Skelly Wright of the Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia on September 17, 1963, authorizing Georgetown Hospital to administer a series of blood transfusions necessary to save the life of Mrs. Jesse E. Jones despite objections by her and her husband on the ground that transfusions would violate her religious principles as a Jehovah's Witness. As noted in my newsletter, Judge Wright overruled a contrary decision of District Judge Tam without convening a panel of three Judges because there was not time to do so. Less than two hours intervened between the time of the application to Judge Wright and the issuance of his order following a visit to the hospital where

he spoke with Mrs. Jones' husband, sought to speak with her and satisfied himself by consultation with the hospital staff that the alternative was practically certain death.

On February 3, as pointed out in my newsletter, the Court of Appeals refused on various technical grounds to consider an application made by Mrs. Jones on October 14 for a rehearing. Judge Wright was, therefore, the only member of the nine-man Court to write an opinion on the merits. It was from his opinion that the facts and legal reasoning summarized in my letter of February 14 were taken.

A few days ago my attention was called to a contrary decision by Supreme Court Justice Bernard S. Meyer at Mineola, New York, on October 1, 1962. The Mineola case involved essentially the same facts as Jones. It was an application by the Meadow Brook Hospital for authority to administer a blood transfusion to a patient, a Jehovah's Witness, despite his objection on religious grounds.

Certainly it was not a legally significant difference that the patient, Jacob Dilgard was 69 years old and Mrs. Jones was only 25, or that his son was a grown man while Mrs. Jones' child was only seven months old. The cases were alike in that both patients had voluntarily entered the hospital suffering from internal bleeding, both were willing to undergo an operation and both were unlikely to survive without blood transfusions. The basic difference was in the outcome. Mrs. Jones received the transfusion and lived; Dilgard did not receive the transfusion and died on October 8.

Justice Meyer is one of the most scholarly and respected members of the New York bench. He, like Judge Wright, was confronted with a situation where "there was no time for research and reflection."

Justice Meyer ruled from the bench that, "because there is always a question as to whether or not the medical decision is correct, it seems to me that the individual who is the subject of the medical decision has a final say, and must necessarily in a system which gives the greatest possible protection to the individual in furtherance of his own desires."

With due deference to Justice Meyer, it seems to me that he, like Judge Wright, should have decided "to act on the side of life," particularly where, as here, the patient's objection was not predicated on any doubt as to the medical necessity for the blood transfusion. Moreover, in Dilgard the New York courts probably would not regard the issue as having become "moot" with the ending of the transfusions. Consequently, if they had been administered and Dilgard had lived, there would have been an opportunity to have the question passed upon by the New York Court of Appeals.

Sincerely yours,

Shad Polier

Shad Polier

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March 20, 1964

LEO PFEFFER, Director
JOSEPH B. ROBISON, Assistant Director

Dear Friend:

The New York Times Case - A Pyrrhic Victory? According to Plutarch, the King of Epirus exclaimed, upon reckoning the cost of his triumph over the Romans at the battle of Asculum in 280 B.C., "Another such victory and we are undone." One may well wonder whether this may not also be a sound appraisal of the March 9 decision of the United States Supreme Court in the New York Times case, even though it unanimously reversed an award of $500,000 in punitive damages by the Alabama courts against the Times and four Negro ministers for an alleged libel contained in an advertisement published in that newspaper on March 29, 1960.

The case before the Supreme Court involved a suit brought by L.B. Sullivan, one of the City Commissioners of Montgomery, Alabama. Sullivan's two fellow Commissioners also brought suits for $500,000 in punitive damages based upon the same advertisement, as did former Governor Patterson of Alabama. The suit brought by Commissioner James resulted in a verdict in the full amount sought but has not yet gone through the Alabama appellate courts. It is a foregone conclusion that, but for the intervention of the decision of the Supreme Court, the result would have been five verdicts for the plaintiffs for punitive damages aggregating $2,500,000.

The Times is also the defendant in a series of libel actions based upon news stories written by its distinguished reporter Harrison Salisbury, giving an account of the reign of terror against Negroes in Birmingham, Alabama. Three City Commissioners--including the infamous "Bull Connor"--asked for $500,000 each and a Birmingham detective sought $150,000 in damages on the ground of alleged false statements in the Salisbury articles. In addition, the same Birmingham City Commissioners sued the Columbia Broadcasting System for the commentary in connection with television coverage of racial conflicts in that community. Two Alabama voting registrars sued C.B.S. claiming that its report reflected upon the way

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in which they performed their duties. These and other suits against C.B.S. add up to $1,700,000.

Under the title "Heed Their Rising Voices," taken from a Times editorial of March 19, 1960, the advertisement portrayed the activities and struggles of students and others engaged in non-violent demonstrations against lunch counter segregation. The advertisement was placed by the "Committee to Defend Martin Luther King and the Struggle for Freedom in the South." As indicated by the Committee's title, the advertisement centered mainly on the persecution of Dr. King who, as founder of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, had inspired the student demonstrators and was spearheading the right-to-vote movement.

The advertisement included charges that Southern Negro students were being met by a wave of terror, that Dr. King's home had been bombed, that he had been assaulted by the police and had been arrested for "speeding," "loitering" and "similar offenses" and had now been charged with perjury, a felony which could imprison him for 10 years, (a charge of which he was subsequently acquitted). It was asserted that the strategy was to remove Dr. King physically as a leader and to demoralize Negroes and weaken their will to struggle. It concluded with an appeal for funds for his defense, to support the students and to aid in the struggle for the right to vote.

No public official was named or identified by office in the advertisement. Commissioner Sullivan claimed, however, that since he is Commissioner in charge of the Montgomery Police, the advertisement could be reasonably interpreted as falsely charging him with misconduct in the performance of his duties since it implied that Dr. King had been improperly arrested four times during Commissioner Sullivan's tenure and that on one occasion, while Commissioner Sullivan was in office, "truck loads of police armed with shotguns and tear-gas ringed the Alabama State College Campus" when their leaders were expelled from the College after the students had conducted a protest demonstration on the State Capitol steps. The advertisement, submitted to the Times by A. Philip Randolph, included the names of some 80 prominent Americans. Among them were Mrs. Ralph Bunche, Harry Emerson Fosdick, A. Philip Randolph, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt and Norman Thomas. Assuming that all of the other 80 authorized the use of their names - as I did - it is our good fortune that none of us were served with process in the State of Alabama and had to face suits for $2,500,000.

The advertisement also carried the names of 20 Negro ministers over whose names the advertisement printed the legend: "We in the south who are struggling daily for dignity and freedom warmly endorse this appeal." Among them were four Alabama ministers who were sued, together with the Times. Two of them are nationally known: Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy, colleague and co-leader with Dr. King in the Montgomery bus boycott, and Rev. Fred L. Shuttleworth who, again and again at the risk of his life, has challenged segregation in its many manifestations. The four local ministers were held liable by the Alabama courts because they had not responded to a demand made by Commissioner Sullivan that they disavow the advertisement.

The Supreme Court was unanimous in holding that the First Amendment (made applicable to the States by the Fourteenth) limits the power of a State to award damages to a public official falsely charged with misconduct in office even in a paid advertisement. It is not enough, the Court ruled, that truth is a defense. For constitutional purposes, said Justice Brennan, in an opinion joined in by five colleagues, it must be shown that the defendant acted with "actual malice" and this, in turn, requires proof that the statement was made "with knowledge that it was false or with reckless disregard of whether it was false or not."

Since the Alabama trial court had refused to give the jury this interpretation of the constitutional requirements of proof of "actual malice," Justice Brennan could have stopped at this point and left for another day--after a new trial--determination of whether the record would support a verdict by a jury properly instructed as to the law. Instead, "out of considerations of effective administration of justice," the Supreme Court reviewed the evidence in the present record and found it constitutionally insufficient.

As to the four ministers, the Court held, there was no evidence that they had any reason to believe the statements were false. With respect to the Times, the Court ruled, there was, at most, negligence in not checking its own news files. Additionally, as to all the defendants, the Court declared, there was no rational basis for finding that Commissioner Patterson was designated as responsible for the alleged police misconduct.

The vice in the opinion of Justice Brennan is that it righted an injustice in the particular case but laid down a test which, in practice, provides no effective safeguard for freedom of speech and press. Indeed, the opinion of Justice Brennan fails to apply its own basic logic.

Thus in rejecting the contention that the constitutional guarantees are met if truth is a complete defense, Justice Brennan wrote,

> "A rule compelling the critic of official conduct to guarantee the truth of all his factual assertions--and to do so on pain of libel judgments virtually unlimited in amount--leads to a comparable 'self-censorship.' Allowance of the defense of truth, with the burden of proving it on the defendant, does not mean that only false speech will be deterred....Under such a rule, would-be critics of official conduct may be deterred from voicing their criticism, even though it is believed to be true and even though it is in fact true,because of doubt whether it can be proved in court or fear of the expense of having to do so...The rule thus dampens the vigor and limits the variety of public debate. It is inconsistent with the First and Fourteenth Amendments."

Manifestly, the very same considerations lead to the conclusion that freedom of speech and press will be equally stifled if the critic of public officials must risk the chance that a jury will find that he made an untrue accusation "with knowledge that it was false or with reckless disregard of whether it was false or not."

As Justice Black pointed out in a separate concurring opinion, in which Justice Douglas joined,

> "This record certainly does not indicate that any different verdict would have been rendered here whatever the Court had charged the jury about 'malice,' 'truth,' 'good motives,' 'justifiable ends,' or any other legal formulas which in theory would protect the press. Nor does the record indicate that any of these legalistic words would have caused the courts below to set aside or to reduce the half-million-dollar verdict in any amount."

Implicit in this observation of Justice Black is recognition of the fact that State appellate courts are slim reeds upon which to rest the enforcement of constitutional guarantees where feelings run deep. Implicit, also, is an awareness that few defendants would be undismayed at the prospect--and expense--of carrying their cases to the Supreme Court in the hope that it would review the evidence.

Justice Black noted that the Brennan opinion conceded that, "the court of history" had adjudged violative of the First Amendment the notorious Sedition Act of 1798 which punished "malicious" defamation of Federal officials. He urged that State action was equally barred by the Four-

teenth. In my opinion, the judgment of history will vindicate the view expressed by Justice Black in the New York Times case that:

> "The Federal Constitution has dealt with this deadly danger to the press in the only way possible without leaving the free press open to destruction--by granting the press an absolute immunity for criticism of the way public officials do their public duty....We would, I think, more faithfully interpret the First Amendment by holding that at the very least it leaves the people and the press free to criticize officials and discuss public affairs with impunity.
>
> "This Nation, I suspect, can live in peace without libel suits based on public discussions of public affairs and public officials. But I doubt that a country can live in freedom where its people can be made to suffer physically or financially for criticizing their government, its actions, or its officials....An unconditional right to say what one pleases about public affairs is what I consider to be the minimum guarantee of the First Amendment."

Another concurring opinion was written by Mr. Justice Goldberg, in which Justice Douglas also joined. He, too, declared that "The Constitution affords the citizen and the press an absolute privilege for criticism of official conduct." Justice Goldberg noted that this:

> "does not leave the public official without defenses against unsubstantiated opinions or deliberate misstatements. Under our system of government, counter argument and education are the weapons available to expose those matters, not abridgment of free speech. The public official certainly has equal if not greater access than most private citizens to media of communication."

Justice Goldberg pointed out that "In many jurisdictions, legislators, judges and executive officers are clothed with absolute immunity against liability for defamatory words uttered in the discharge of their public duties." He observed that

> "If the government official should be immune from libel actions so that his ardor to serve the public will not be dampened and 'fearless, vigorous, and effective administration of policies of government' not be inhibited,....then the citizen and the press should likewise be immune from libel actions for their criticism of official conduct. Their ardor as citizens will thus not be dampened and they will be free 'to applaud or to criticize the way public employees do their jobs, from the least to the most important.'
>
> "If liability can attach to political criticism because it damages the reputation of a public official as a public official, then no critical citizen can safely utter anything but faint praise about the government or its officials. The vigorous criticism by press and citizen of the conduct of the government of the day by the officials of the day will soon yield to silence if officials in control of government agencies, instead of answering criticisms, can resort to friendly juries to forestall criticism of their official conduct."

There is a precept that one should be grateful to have half a loaf rather than no bread. There is, however, an adage that the proof of the pudding is in the eating. While, therefore, one may feel some sense of gratitude for what the Supreme Court did in the New York Times case, one has reason to fear that when the bread is put into the mouth, it will found to have turned into stone.

Sincerely yours,

Shad Polier

Shad Polier

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LEO PFEFFER, Director
JOSEPH B. ROBISON, Assistant Director

March 28, 1964

Dear Friend:

A Decision Without Wisdom. On October 9, 1963, the first interracial lawyers conference in the recent history of New Orleans was held in that city. The event was marked by three arrests by police officials on warrants charging violation of the Louisiana anti-subversion laws.

One of the persons arrested was Dr. James Dombrowski, Executive Director of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc. The two others were Benjamin Smith and Bruno Waltzer, practicing attorneys in New Orleans who have represented Negroes in many desegregation cases and have represented the American Civil Liberties Union in many other cases. Smith is Treasurer of the Fund. Waltzer, his law partner, has no connection with the Fund other than professional representation.

At gun point the homes and offices of these three men were raided and ransacked by police officers and trustees from the House of Detention acting under the direct supervision of the staff director and the counsel for the State Un-American Activities Committee. A truckload of files, membership lists, subscription lists to the Fund's newspaper, correspondence and records were removed from its office destroying the Fund's capacity to function.

At the time of the arrest the Chairman of the State Un-American Activities Committee announced to the press that the raids and arrests resulted from "racial agitation." An able, experienced and independent-minded Judge of the Criminal District Court, after hearing evidence, discharged all three men from arrests on the ground that the warrants were improvidently issued and there was no reasonable cause for the arrests.

The State Un-American Activities Committee promptly announced that it would press for Grand Jury indictments of the men who had been released. They, therefore, turned to the United States District Court for an injunction to re-

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strain enforcement of the state's "anti-subversion" laws. The pendency of the proceeding in the District Court did not deter the summoning of a Grand Jury. Consequently, Dombrowski on behalf of himself and the Fund, applied for and obtained a temporary restraining order against any prosecution pending the determination of the case by the three-Judge Federal District Court which had to be convened since an injunction was sought against enforcement of a state's statutes. Smith and Waltzer intervened in the suit as additional plaintiffs.

On December 9, the three-Judge Court heard argument on the contention that the statutes were unconstitutional ontheir face. Shortly thereafter, it ordered a hearing on the further question whether evidence was admissible to show that, even if constitutional on their face, the statutes were being unconstitutionally applied to the plaintiffs. At the conclusion of a further hearing on January 9, 1964 District Judges Gorden West and Frank Ellis announced orally from the Bench that the statutes were constitutional on their face and that the plaintiffs were not entitled to prove that they were being unconstitutionally applied to the plaintiffs. Circuit Judge John Minor Wisdom dissented.

On February 13, 1964, Judges West and Ellis filed a written opinion and order modifying their prior conclusions. They withdrew their finding that the statutes were unconstitutional on their face but reaffirmed their prior determination that the plaintiffs were not entitled to injunctive relief. Again, Judge Wisdom dissented, this time with an opinion. An appeal has been filed in the Supreme Court. It is to be hoped that the Justice Department will file a brief amicus curiae urging reversal.

Since the complaint was dismissed as insufficient, the Court assumed, for the purpose of its decision, the truth of the allegations describing the purpose and activity of the Fund. The complaint alleged that it is an association whose purpose for many years has been to seek to improve economic, social and cultural standards in the South in accordance with the highest American institutions and ideals. The complaint further alleges that the principal activity of the Fund has been to promote civil rights for Negroes by education, correspondence and the publication of a newspaper.

The complaint further charged and the plaintiff sought to prove by affidavits and a written offer of proof that the threatened enforcement of the Louisiana statutes was in every respect an attempt to enforce the State's policy of racial segregation. The plaintiffs charged and offered to prove, that the arrests, the raids, the seizure of books, files, membership lists and the threatened imprisonment of the plaintiffs is a conscious effort to frighten, intimidate and deter the plaintiffs and thousands of Negroes in Louisiana, and those white citizens courageous enough to support them, from challenging the State's policy of segregation.

Following the vacating of the restraining order, the Grand Jury proceeded to hand down indictments. Because of their connection with the Fund, Dombrowski and Smith were indicted on two counts. One count charged that they were participating in the management of a "subversive organization." The other charged that they had failed to register as members of a "Communist-front organization." In addition, Smith was also indicted on a third count for being a member of the National Lawyers Guild, also alleged to be a "Communist-front" organization. Waltzer was indicted solely for membership in the Guild. Each count carries a penalty of ten years imprisonment and a $10,000 fine.

The Louisiana statute provides that if any Committee or Sub-Committee of the United States Congress had cited or identified an organization

as being a Communist-front organization, that fact "shall be considered presumptive evidence of the factual status of the organization." The National Lawyers Guild was so labeled (smeared) by the House Un-American Activities Committee in 1944, in 1950 and in 1956. The Fund had never been cited by HUAC. However, the Grand Jury got around that difficulty by alleging that the Fund was one and the same organization as the Southern Conference for Human Welfare which had been cited by HUAC in 1944 and in 1947.

The West-Ellis majority of the District Court gave no reason for withdrawing their original holding that the Louisiana statute was constitutional on its face. The reason is obvious. West-Ellis realized that they could not write an opinion upholding such a conclusion.

The West-Ellis majority did consider on the merits a challenge to the Louisiana statutes on the ground that Congress had occupied the entire field of control of Communist activity by the enactment of the Smith Act of 1940 as amended 1948, the Internal Security Act of 1950, and the Communist Control Act of 1954. In Pennsylvania v. Nelson, decided in 1956, the Supreme Court ruled that the State anti-subversion law had been superseded by the Federal statutes. The same conclusion has been reached by the highest courts of Massachusetts, Michigan and Kentucky and within the past week, by a court in Indiana.

The attempt by West-Ellis to distinguish Nelson is notable principally for its disingenuousness. Unmentioned by them is the fact that the Louisiana statute expressly declares that it has been enacted because the "Federal legislation on this subject matter is either inadequate in its scope or, not being effectively enforced."

Withdrawal of the original West-Ellis majority decision that the statute was constitutional on its face, left for consideration plaintiffs' claim that the statute was, in any event, being unconstitutionally applied to them. Plaintiffs contended that the threatened prosecution had nothing whatever to do with subversion--indeed, they denied any Communist connections whatsoever--but was designed to deter Negroes from exercising their rights guaranteed by the Constitution and to harass other persons from seeking to assist Negroes in securing those rights. In substance, the plaintiffs charged that the state was subverting its laws in order to maintain its segregation policy.

Particularly indefensible was the action of the West-Ellis majority in refusing plaintiffs the opportunity to prove these charges. West-Ellis conceded the Supreme Court has again and again in cases involving the NAACP held that evidence may be admitted to show unconstitutional application of the statutes. However, they denied the plaintiffs in the present case such a right on the ground that the result would be to "indulge in a star-chamber proceeding with all the 'folderol' and publicity attendant therewith."

Of the three reasons assigned by the West-Ellis majority only the last makes sense. Obviously, West-Ellis wanted to avoid the public disclosure of the gross misuse of the statute to enforce Louisiana's social philosophy. Reference to "Star-Chamber proceedings" is both historically unsound and highly inappropriate. Such proceedings came to be held in complete disesteem because they were conducted in secrecy. In any event, it is utterly fantastic for Federal Judges to use such a term to describe a hearing in a Federal Court.

The fundamental aspect of the West-Ellis decision was its refusal to consider the constitutionality of the statute--either on its face or as applied. Their reason for refusing to do so was that the atate has "the basic right of self-preservation, the right to protect itself." From this proposition which no one would dispute, West-Ellis proceed

to the conclusion that it "would be a massive emasculation of the last vestige of the dignity of sovereignty if a Federal Court could intervene to restrain the institution of criminal proceedings under a State statute." This, of course, is utterly contrary to the decisions not only of the Supreme Court but also decisions of the Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit and, indeed, of differently constituted three-Judge District Courts in Louisiana.

One of the most dramatic instances of such intervention of the Federal courts occurred in 1961, when a three-Judge Court enjoined State Court criminal proceedings under statutes designed by their operation, but not on their face, to deter Negroes from exercising their right to insist upon the desegregation of the public schools in New Orleans. The statutes created a new crime, "bribery of children" and a companion crime, "intimidation and interference in the operation of the schools." The Federal Court did not hesitate to enjoin a large number of state officials from the governors on down.

The West-Ellis opinion concludes that:

> "For the good of all it is to be hoped that this case will reach the Supreme Court so that the matter of State-Federal relations in the judicial field may be clarified. If the federal district judges are to act as a police force to ride herd over state and municipal courts then we had best be so instructed and the matter for once and for all laid to rest along with a vital part of the state judicial system already weakened by a constant federal encroachment in both the statutory and judicial fields."

An acceptance of the doctrines of Federal judicial impotence espoused by West-Ellis would result in the virtual closing down of the Federal courts as tribunals available for the vindication of fundamental Federal constitutional rights. If upheld, it would be tantamount to accepting the discredited notion of interposition. Heretofore that pernicious doctrine has been advanced in favor of State legislators and Governors. It is not less obnoxious when urged to be the prerogative of State Judges.

As Judge Wisdom wrote in his opening comments in his dissenting opinion:

> "***the crowning glory of American federalism is not States' Rights. It is the protection the United States Constitution gives to the private citizen against <u>all</u> wrongful governmental invasion of fundamental rights and freedoms.
>
> "When the wrongful invasion comes from the State, and especially when the unlawful state action is locally popular or when there is local disapproval of the requirements of federal law, federal courts must expect to bear the primary responsibility for protecting the individual. This responsibility is not new. It did not start with the <u>School Segregation Cases</u>. It is close to the heart of the <u>American Federal Union</u>. It is implicit in the replacement of the Articles of Confederation by the Constitution. It makes federalism workable."

Sincerely yours,

Shad Polier

Shad Polier

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APR 9 1964

LEO PFEFFER, Director
JOSEPH B. ROBISON, Assistant Director

April 3, 1964

Dear Friend:

President Johnson and the Fifth Circuit. My January 3 newsletter briefly summarized a 34-page Comment published in the November issue of the Yale Law Journal analyzing the civil rights cases decided in the past decade in the Federal District Courts of the Fifth Circuit. That Circuit covers the States of Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana and Texas. The Commment bore the title, "Judicial Performance in the Fifth Circuit." My newsletter suggested that a more accurate title would have been "Judicial Misconduct in the Fifth Circuit."

What emerged from the sober and scholarly study is a picture of defiance and sabotage by many of the District Judges of rulings of the United States Supreme Court and of the Court of Appeals. This was shown to have occurred in case after case, whether dealing with public schools, voting, or the use of transportation, or other public facilities. The defiance and sabotage even extended to cases where local officials, without any legal basis whatsoever, invoked the jurisdiction of Federal Courts in order to suppress peaceful exercise of First Amendment rights of demonstration and protest.

The Comment characterized the conduct of these Federal Judges as subversive of the very basis upon which our judicial system rests. Such subversion, it pointed out, had been accomplished by inexcusable delay where Negroes or the Federal Government were the plaintiffs and by the deliberate refusal to decide cases in accordance with the rulings of the higher courts. It warned that the action of these Federal District Judges is likely to bring about the same disrespect for law as was furthered by the flouting of court orders by Governors and other Southern politicians.

The Comment noted that the Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit had, in the past, frequently reversed the rulings of

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segregationist District Judges. It pointed out that in the meantime, of course, Federal rights had been effectively denied and that, in many instances, the implementation of the rulings of the Court of Appeals was inordinately delayed.

The Comment further pointed out that by reason of two appointments made by President Kennedy, the Court of Appeals had become anything but a secure bulwark for civil rights since only four of the other seven Judges could be counted upon consistently to uphold the rights of Negroes. Because the Court of Appeals usually sits in a three-Judge panel, it is inevitable that more and more unfavorable decisions will be handed down, necessitating resort to the expensive and time-consuming process of seeking review by the Supreme Court.

One of the Kennedy appointees was Judge Walter P. Gewin of Alabama. He has voted in recent cases to affirm refusal of a District Judge to order the desegregation of public facilities in Albany, Georgia, to affirm an injunction granted by another District Judge against Freedom Riders in Macomb, Georgia, and to affirm the refusal by a third District Judge to fix a date for the submission of a plan for the desegregation of schools in Birmingham, Alabama. He and Judge Griffin B. Bell of Georgia, the other Kennedy appointee, voted against holding Gov. Ross A. Barnett guilty of civil contempt for his flouting of the orders of the Court of Appeals in the Meredith case to cease obstructing the admission of James Meredith to the University of Mississippi. More recently, Judge Bell, joined by a visiting Judge from the Tenth Circuit, upheld the Atlanta public school desegregation plan under which desegregation would not be completely achieved until 1978. Circuit Judge Rives, dissenting in that case, characterized the decision as a step backward for the Fifth Circuit. There is, in my judgment, every likelihood that the case will be reversed by the Supreme Court which heard argument this week.

Today, death removed Judge Ben F. Cameron, of Mississippi, from the Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit. Judge Cameron was appointed by President Eisenhower in 1955. He was a bitter and ruthless opponent of desegregation and brazenly defied the Supreme Court's holdings that the Fourteenth Amendment prohibited racial discrimination by Southern states.

Four times, after the Court of Appeals had ordered Meredith's admission to the University of Mississippi, Judge Cameron, quite illegally, stayed the order of the full Bench. In the end it was necessary for the NAACP Defense Fund to obtain from Justice Black of the Supreme Court an injunction against Judge Cameron's continued interference with the execution of the mandate of the Court of Appeals. Since no appeal had yet reached the Supreme Court, the application for an injunction necessarily had to be passed upon by Justice Black, who is assigned as the Supreme Court Justice with respect to matters arising in the Fifth Circuit. Because of the gravity of the situation, Justice Black consulted his colleagues before issuing the injunction and announced that he had acted with their unanimous approval.

The Yale Law Journal Comment, published shortly before the death of President Kennedy, concluded that the only effective remedy to guard against sabotage of civil rights in the Fifth Circuit is the appointment (and promotion) by the President of men who are determined to place the Constitution and the civil rights statutes enacted pursuant thereto above "the Southern way of life." Due notice was taken of the

pressures under which the President operates in making appointments because of his need to secure the votes of Southern Senators and Congressmen for his legislative programs.

The price paid for such support by President Kennedy is graphically illustrated not only by the appointments of Judges Gewin and Bell to the Court of Appeals, but also by some of his appointments to the lower Federal Bench in the Fifth Circuit. Of the eight Judges named by President Kennedy, five have turned out as was to be expected in view of their segregationist views. They are District Judges West and Ellis in Louisiana, Elliott in Georgia, Allgood in Alabama, and Cox in Mississippi. The other three have not sat on enough civil rights matters to provide a basis for prophecy.

President Johnson's opportunity to fill the vacancy created by the death of Judge Cameron takes on special significance at this time. Elevation to the Fifth Circuit of a District Judge who has displayed courage and forthrightness in civil rights issues would be the clearest proof of President Johnson's determination to make the civil rights laws effective.

One such Judge would be William A. Bottle of Georgia, who ordered the desegregation of the State University, enjoined all officials (including the Governor) from interfering with the execution of this order, and made clear that punishment would be summarily meted out to anyone who defied the order. Another would be Judge Frank M. Johnson of Alabama, who ordered the desegregation of Auburn University and, more recently, slapped down Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama, when he sought to interfere with the desegregation of public schools in Tuskegee.

Both Judge Bootle and Judge Johnson are Republicans appointed by President Eisenhower. That circumstance, it would seem, might well provide an additional reason for the selection of one of them by President Johnson for the Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit. Such action would dramatically serve notice that President Johnson places civil rights above party politics. It would, in my opinion, strengthen the President's efforts to win the support of the extra Republican votes needed in the Senate to assure the defeat of the filibuster on the civil rights bill.

Appointment to the Court of Appeals of any Judge favorable to civil rights would, of course, require prying the nomination out of the Judiciary Committee headed by Senator Eastland of Mississippi, probably the arch foe of civil rights legislation. Nevertheless, one need not be unduly optimistic to conclude that even Senator Eastland would be unable to bottle up the promotion of either of these Judges. If Senator Eastland attempted to do so, the Senate could be expected to compel the Judiciary Committee to report the nomination in order to expose its approval of the President's appointment to the Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit of a Judge whose record stamps him as a man determined to enforce the Constitution.

What's in a Name? Mary Hamilton, 28-year old field secretary for the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), was arrested in connection with a demonstration in Gadsden, Alabama. She brought a writ of habeas corpus in the State Circuit Court to secure her release on bail pending trial. In the habeas corpus hearing, Miss Hamilton was questioned by the County Solicitor who insisted upon addressing her on a first name basis.

The following exchange occurred: "Q. Mary, I believe you were arrested. Who were you arrested by?" "A. My name is Miss Hamilton. Please address me correctly. "Q. Who were you arrested by, Mary?" "A. I will not answer a question until I am addressed properly."

At this point, the Circuit Judge, without filing formal charges or conducting a hearing, held Miss Hamilton in contempt. She was fined $50 and sentenced to five days in jail. The jail sentence was served before she could obtain bail pending an appeal. Affirmance of her conviction would mean that she would have to serve 20 more days in jail since she has made clear that she will not pay the fine imposed.

When the Alabama Supreme Court affirmed the conviction, the NAACP Legal Defense Fund sought review in the United States Supreme Court. On Monday, its application was not only granted but the Supreme Court summarily reversed the conviction without hearing argument. Five of the Supreme Court Justices joined in an unsigned order citing a decision handed down last April unanimously reversing the contempt conviction of a Negro for refusing to comply with an order of a State Judge to sit in the part of the courtroom designated for occupancy by Negroes. Citation of that ruling implies a holding that the refusal to address Miss Hamilton properly constituted racial discrimination and, therefore, violated the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.

Justice Black joined the majority in its decision to review the contempt conviction. He chose, however, to rely upon the citation of two other earlier rulings by the Court. One of these was a 1948 decision holding that fair procedure required that a person charged with contempt be told the reasons for the charge and given an opportunity to defend himself. The other was a 1960 decision holding that a State criminal conviction violates the Due Process Clause when there is no evidence to sustain it.

Justices Clark, Harlan and White dissented in Hamilton on the ground that the Supreme Court should not have granted review. Since the case was one in which review was discretionary, these dissents do not necessarily indicate the views of the dissenters on the merits. Nevertheless, the dissents are troubling because they would seem to indicate an insensitivity to the fact that Miss Hamilton was being punished for refusing to abide by the South's "racial caste system."

It is interesting to note that neither of the Southerners on the Supreme Court--Justices Black and Clark--came to grips with the basic issue presented: Whether a Negro must submit to insult in judicial proceedings. There is, of course, no doubt that the refusal to address a Negro witness as "Miss" or "Mrs." or "Mr." reflects a determination to deny him equal status with white persons. When that is done by state officials, it is a plain violation of the "mandate of equality" that the Constitution imposes on all public officers. Beyond that, however, and from the purely practical point of view, by marking Negroes, while in the courts of justice, as second class citizens, the practice inevitably impairs the Negroes' chance of receiving equal justice at the hands of judge and jury.

Sincerely yours,

Shad Polier

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April 10, 1964

LEO PFEFFER, Director
JOSEPH B. ROBISON, Assistant Director

Dear Friend:

Trial By Jury - Civil Rights, the Contempt Power and the Constitution. Monday's 5-to-4 decision by the Supreme Court cleared the way to a trial by the Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit, without a jury, of former Gov. Ross A Barnett and Lt. Gov. (now Governor) Paul B. Johnson of Mississippi, for obstructing the enrollment of James H. Meredith as a student at the University of Mississippi in September, 1962. The Supreme Court, however, expressly reserved for consideration at a later date whether there are limitations upon the punishment which can be imposed without transgressing the Constitutional guarantees of a jury trial in Federal criminal cases. Moreover, unnoted in newspaper accounts of the decision, the Supreme Court also left open, for consideration after the trial, the further question whether the Court of Appeals had any jurisdiction to try Barnett and Johnson or whether, in view of the special facts of the case, explained below, only the District Court has jurisdiction.

The Supreme Court reached the constitutional issue in Barnett-Johnson because the majority held that the provisions of the Clayton Act of 1914 applied only to District Courts. Under that statute - enacted to curb excesses by District Judges in criminal contempt cases--defendants charged with disobedience of a court order are entitled to a jury trial unless the order was made in a suit brought in the name of or on behalf of the United States. The suit in Meredith was, of course, one brought on behalf of himself and other persons "similarly situated," namely, other Negroes.

Monday's ruling on the constitutional issue was in accord with at least 50 previous decisions. The earliest of these was handed down in 1812 and the most recent was handed down in 1958. In recent years, however, the Supreme Court has been sharply divided on this power to punish in criminal contempt for past misconduct, as distinguished from civil contempt proceedings in which the defendant is penalized for

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present misconduct and in which he has the option of avoiding any penalty by complying with the Court's order. As has been said, in a civil contempt proceeding, "the defendant carries the jail key in his pocket."

The division within the Supreme Court in criminal contempt reflects basic differences as to the proper reading of constitutional history and as to constitutional philosophy. The division was most sharply stated in the Green case decided in 1958, which rejected the constitutional challenge. Although the majority opinion was written by Justice Harlan, the clash of views and values is focused in the brilliant and eloquent concurring opinion of Justice Frankfurter and in the dissenting opinion of Justice Black.

In Green, the Court divided 5-to-3 on the constitutional right to a jury trial in criminal contempt proceedings. Justice Black, dissenting, was joined by Chief Justice Warren and Justice Douglas. The fourth liberal member of the Court, as then constituted, Justice Brennan, dissented on another ground and did not reach the constitutional issue. In his view, reversal was required for insufficient proof that the defendants, Gilbert Green and Henry Winston, had actual knowledge of the court order directing them to surrender to begin to serve their sentences following affirmance by the Supreme Court of their convictions. They were two of the 11 Communists convicted of violation of the Smith Act.

For their violation of the Smith Act, Green and Winston had been sentenced to five years in prison, but only after indictment and a jury trial. For their disobedience of the surrender order, they were, after a summary hearing by a single District Judge, given an outrageous sentence of three additional years in prison. Actually, at the time, there was no Federal statute which made bail jumping a crime. If there had been such a law--as there now is--they could have been prosecuted only after indictment and would have been entitled to a jury trial.

Green is only the most extreme example of the heavy sentences which District Judges have increasingly imposed in recent years in criminal contempt proceedings. Thus, failure to obey an order in an anti-trust suit resulted in a two-year sentence, and failure to produce subpoenaed records or to answer grand jury questions brought sentences of one year to 18 months.

These fantastically heavy sentences have underscored the necessity for curbing an unbridled power of District Judges which is subject to abuse, and which has been greatly abused. On the other hand, the Barnett-Johnson case illustrates the danger of requiring indictment and jury trial in those cases where community sentiment is opposed to the enforcement of judicial decrees.

By their action in obstructing the admission of Meredith to the University of Mississippi, Barnett and Johnson achieved the status of Southern heroes. In Mississippi a Governor may not serve two successive terms. It was a foregone conclusion that Johnson's defiance of the orders directing Meredith's admission to Ole Miss would assure that Johnson would be swept into office in the 1963 election. It was equally a foregone conclusion that a jury trial would result in the acquittal of Barnett and Johnson. Even though they would be tried before a Federal jury, no one could doubt that the jurors would vote not on the issue of guilt but on the issue of States' Rights.

After Green, Justices Frankfurter and Whittaker, who joined in the majority decision, retired. Justice Whittaker was replaced by Justice White, who it could safely be predicted would side with the conservatives on the constitutional issue. Justice Frankfurter was replaced by Justice Goldberg, who was almost as certainly to be expected to side with the liberals. It was, therefore, to be anticipated that the outcome of Barnett-Johnson would be determined by the vote of Justice Brennan, who had refrained from committing himself on the constitutional issue in Green and other cases decided since his appointment to the Court in 1956.

On Monday, Brennan joined with the conservatives on the ultimate constitutional issue of the right to trial by jury. However, in my view, Justice Brennan exacted a concession for his concurrence. It took the form of a single sentence in, and a footnote paragraph to, the majority opinion of Justice Clark. Sentence and footnote mark a discreet but clear and significant retreat from the position that the constitutional guarantee of a jury trial has no application to criminal contempt proceedings.

In this sentence Justice Clark declared that the unbroken line of precedents upholding the constitutional power to punish a defendant in a criminal contempt proceeding "did not settle any constitutional questions as to the punishment imposed." In his footnote, Justice Clark called attention to the Clawans' case, decided by the Court in 1937.

Clawans involved a police court conviction, without indictment and without a jury trial, of a defendant charged with conducting a business of selling second hand property in the District of Columbia without a license. The offense was punishable by a fine of not more than $300 and by imprisonment of not more than 90 days. The Supreme Court, affirming 7-to-2, held that the Constitution did not require a jury trial for a petty offense where punishment was thus limited. The two dissenters in Clawans were the most conservative members of the Court, Justices Reynolds and Butler. The majority included four great liberal figures: Chief Justice Hughes and Justices Brandeis, Stone and Cardozo.

In his majority opinion in Clawans, Justice (later Chief Justice) Stone added the cautionary observation, by way of dictum, that

> "commonly accepted views of the severity of punishment by imprisonment may become so modified that a penalty once thought to be mild may come to be regarded as so harsh as to call for the jury trial, which the Constitution prescribes, in some cases which were triable without a jury when the Constitution was adopted."

In the footnote to his opinion in Barnett-Johnson, Justice Clark, after quoting this observation, went on to say:

> "In view of the impending contempt hearing, effective administration of justice requires that this dictum be added: Some members of the Court are of the view that, without regard to the seriousness of the offense, punishment by summary trial without a jury would be constitutionally limited to that penalty provided for petty offenses."

Some members of the Court obviously included Justice Brennan, whose vote was the "swing vote."

In Barnett-Johnson, Justice Goldberg dissented in an opinion in which Chief Justice Warren and Justice Douglas joined. He sought to distinguish Clawans on the ground that it involved a petty offense. Ob-

viously, the conduct of Barnett and Johnson could not be so characterized. He urged, therefore, that Barnett and Johnson were constitutionally entitled to insist upon indictment and to a jury trial. In his dissenting opinion, in which Justice Douglas joined, Justice Black agreed with Justice Goldberg. In addition, Justice Black reiterated his view, most fully set forth in Green, that all criminal contempt proceedings require indictment and jury trial.

The majority took a different view of the Constitution. According to them the constitutional requirement of a jury trial is not to be determined by the triviality or the enormity of the offense, but by the degree of punishment imposed. In my judgment, their formulation is the sounder one.

The constitutional history of the contempt power, going back even prior to the Colonial Period of American history, is, in my opinion, ambiguous at best. The proper resolution of the constitutional issue of jury trial involves, therefore, it seems to me, a policy decision as to the wise resolution of competing considerations.

On the one hand, the until-now unlimited power to impose sentences upon those found guilty of defiance of court orders is intolerable. On the other hand, in my view, it is equally intolerable to subject Court orders--particularly those protecting civil rights and civil liberties--to review by a jury trial where nullification may be effected by the veto of a single juror.

The Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit would, of course, invite reversal if it imposed a sentence on Barnett and Johnson of more than $300 or imprisonment for more than 90 days. Certainly a majority of the Supreme Court is not likely to uphold a heavier penalty than was involved in Clawans. The Court of Appeals would, moreover, be well advised to follow the rule embodied in the Civil Rights Act of 1957, which requires a jury trial in election cases if a fine in excess of $300 or imprisonment in excess of 45 days is imposed. A sentence of 45 days in jail meted out to a former Governor and a present Governor of Mississippi would vindicate respect for orders of the Federal Court. Moreover, it would be a strong deterrent to other officials who might otherwise be tempted to defy orders in civil rights cases in the hope that a jury would not convict.

As mentioned above, the Supreme Court left open on Monday whether Barnett and Johnson are subject to the jurisdiction of the Court of Appeals. Doubt on that issue arises from the fact that the order of the Court of Appeals directing Meredith's admission to Ole Miss may have become moot before it was defied. Such mootness may have resulted from the fact that the District Court, which had been, reversed by the Court of Appeals, had, in the meantime, entered its own order directing Meredith's admission and thus ended the effectiveness of the interim order of the Court of Appeals directing such admission.

If, therefore, the Supreme Court should ultimately hold that the Court of Appeals has no jurisdiction to try Barnett and Johnson for criminal contempt, further proceedings against them would be futile. That circumstance underlines the importance of amending the Clayton Act so as to exclude the civil rights cases. However, for the reasons indicated above, Congress should at the same time place limitations on the sentences that may be imposed for criminal contempt in such cases.

Sincerely yours,

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May 22, 1964

Dear Friend:

Expatriation and The Constitution. In 1940 Congress enacted a law providing for the automatic loss of American citizenship by a naturalized person who resided continuously for three years in the territory of a foreign state in which he was formerly a national or in which the place of his birth is situated. Exceptions were provided for those cases where residence abroad was in the employment of the United States and other special situations.

On Monday the United States Supreme Court in a 5 to 3 decision-Justice Brennan not participating--held the statute unconstitutional as violating the Fifth Amendment. The case was brought by Angelika Schneider in the District of Columbia against the Secretary of State who had refused her a passport on the ground that she had lost her American citizenship by returning to and residing continuously in Germany, the country of her birth.

In defending the constitutionality of the three-year law the Solicitor General urged that, "Special problems are engendered when naturalized citizens return for a long period to the country of their former nationalities." The nations of their origin, the Government contended, "frequently attempt to treat such persons as their own citizens, thus embroiling the United States in conflicts when it attempts to afford them protection." It was claimed, therefore, that expatriation of such citizens was justifiable as "an alternative to withdrawal of diplomatic protection."

The Solicitor General had another string to his bow. He urged that "Congress reasonably can protect against the tendency of three-years' residency in a naturalized citizen's former homeland to weaken his or her allegiance to this country." Consequently, he argued, "It is not an invidious discrimination for Congress to treat such naturalized citizens differently from the manner in which it treats

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native-born citizens."

As long ago as 1824, Chief Justice John Marshall in the celebrated case of Osborn v. Bank of United States, declared that although naturalization is pursuant to an Act of Congress, a naturalized citizen

> "...becomes a member of the society, possessing all the rights of a native citizen; and standing, in view of the Constitution, on the footing of a native. The Constitution does not authorize Congress to enlarge or abridge those rights. The simple power of the national legislature is to prescribe a uniform rule of naturalization, and the exercise of this power exhausts it, so far as respects the individual."

Writing for the majority in the Schneider case, Justice Douglas pointed out that, under this principle laid down by Marshall, "The rights of citizenship of the native-born and of naturalized persons are of the same dignity and are co-extensive", except for the difference expressly drawn by the Constitution that only the "natural-born" citizen is eligible to be President. Justice Douglas recognized, however, that the views of the members of the Court "have varied when it comes to the problem of expatriation."

He noted that one view, held by himself, Chief Justice Warren and Justice Black is "...that the power of Congress to take away citizenship for activities done by the citizen is nonexistent, absent expatriation by the voluntary renunciation of nationality and allegiance." He further noted, however, that a more restrictive view is held by other members of the Court, among them Justices Stewart and Goldberg, who joined to make the majority in the Schneider case. According to this view, the test is whether withdrawal of citizenship is "reasonably calculated to effect the end that is within the power of Congress to achieve, the avoidance of embarrassment in the conduct of our foreign relations."

The quoted language is from the Perez case decided in 1958, in which the Court, with Chief Justice Warren and Justices Black, Douglas and Whittaker dissenting, held that Congress could validly provide that any American citizen--whether natural born or naturalized--could be automatically deprived by Congress of his citizenship for voting in any foreign election. Without intimating whether Perez would be followed today, Justice Douglas declared that the principle of that case could not constitutionally be applied on the mere ground that the naturalized citizen lived in a former homeland for three years. For, wrote Justice Douglas,

> "This statute proceeds on the impermissible assumption that naturalized citizens as a class are less reliable and bear less allegiance to this country than do the native-born. This is an assumption that is impossible for us to make. Moreover, while the Fifth Amendment contains no equal protection clause, it does forbid discrimination that is 'so unjustifiable as to be violative of due process.' Bolling v. Sharpe, 347 U.S. 497, 499.
>
> "A native-born citizen is free to reside abroad indefinitely without suffering loss of citizenship. The discrimination aimed at naturalized citizens drastically limits their rights to live and work abroad in a way that other citizens may. It creates indeed a second-class citizenship. Living abroad, whether the citizen be naturalized or native-born, is no badge of lack of allegiance and in no way evidences a voluntary renunciation of nationality and allegiance. It may indeed be compelled by family, business, or other legitimate reasons."

Bolling v. Sharpe was one of the School Segregation Cases decided by the United States Supreme Court in 1954. At that time the Court struck down Delaware, Kansas, South Carolina and Virginia statutes on the ground that they violated the provision of the Fourteenth Amendment that no State shall deny any person "the equal protection of the laws." The District of Columbia statute was invalidated as violating the provision of the Fifth Amendment that Congress shall not deny any person "due process of law."

In order to reach this result in Bolling v. Sharpe it was necessary for the Supreme Court, for the first time, to interpret the Due Process Clause of the Fifth Amendment as having the same sweep as the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment as far as racial discrimination is concerned. Schneider, therefore, marked a further development of the proposition that "due process" also forbids invidious discrimination between natural-born and naturalized citizens. The dissenting opinion in Schneider was written by Justice Clark with whom Justices Harlan and White concurred.

Anthony Lewis in the New York Times has explained Justice Brennan's non-participation in Schneider on the ground that his son, an attorney, had done some legal work in the case. There is, however, no such explanation available for Justice Brennan's non-participation in another expatriation case decided by the Supreme Court last Monday. This resulted in a 4-to-4 division, with the result that the judgment of expatriation was affirmed without opinion.

This second case involved Herman Frederick Marks, a native-born American, who was held to have automatically lost his citizenship by serving in Castro's army from January 1959 to May, 1960. This consequence is decreed by a statute enacted by Congress in 1952 in all cases where such service has not been authorized in writing by the Secretaries of State and Defense. Under the statute, it is immaterial that the citizen has taken no oath of allegiance to the foreign Government.

The per curiam order of affirmance in Marks does not identify the Justices voting for affirmance and those voting for refusal. It is certain, however, that Chief Justice Warren and Justices Black, Douglas and Goldberg voted for reversal. It is equally certain that Justices Clark, Harlan, Stewart and White voted to affirm. That was how these eight Justices lined up in the Mendoza-Martinez case decided in February 1963. In that case, with Justice Brennan casting the decisive vote, the Court held unconstitutional a 1944 statute providing for automatic forfeiture of citizenship by an American leaving or remaining outside the country to evade military service. The majority ruled that deprivation of citizenship for such conduct constituted punishment and therefore required a grand jury indictment and a trial jury conviction under the Fifth and Sixth Amendments.

In Marks, as in Mendoza-Martinez, Justice Brennan would have been the "swing man"--if he had voted. It is most unfortunate that he was unable to do so. At stake was a judgment declaring an American citizen stateless. Moreover, since Marks had reentered the United States after his citizenship was "forfeited," he is now not only a man without a country but is subject to deportation if any other country would receive him as a refugee.

Race Tags and the Constitution. On April 28, a three-Judge Federal District Court enjoined as unconstitutional Virginia statutes requiring that separate records be kept of whites and Negroes in voting regis-

tries, poll tax records, and property tax rolls. Such requirements, the District Court ruled, violated the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. It noted that decisions of the Supreme Court have "made it axiomatic that no State can directly dictate or casually permit a distinction in the treatment of persons solely on the basis of their color." It pointed out that the "separate but equal" racial doctrine had been squarely condemned in the school segregation cases decided in 1954 and that subsequent decisions had made clear that "the result of a statute or policy must not tend to separate individuals by reason of difference in race or color."

The District Court, however, denied an application to enjoin a Virginia statute which requires that the race and the color of each of the parties shall be indicated on divorce decrees. It reasoned that:

> "Designation of race may in certain records serve a useful purpose. If the purpose is legitimate, the reason justifiable, then no infringement results. Vital statistics obviously are aided by denotation in the divorce decrees of the race of the parties. Thus, the provision requiring such denotation is not objectionable. Of course, the reference must be made in every case, not just in suits involving Negroes."

This reasoning is obviously specious. Insofar as there is any legitimate purpose for maintaining statistical records of the race or color of parties to a divorce action, that purpose can be entirely accomplished without the necessity for requiring that such information be set forth in the divorce decree itself.

Sincerely yours,

Shad Polier

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May 29, 1964

Dear Friend:

Prince Edward County School Case - "Too Much Deliberation and Not Enough Speed." On May 17, 1954 the United States Supreme Court, in Brown v. Board of Education unanimously held that State school segregation statutes denied the "equal protection of the laws" guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment. At the same time the Court, in Bolling v. Sharpe, again unanimously, ruled that a similar Federal statute applying to public schools in the District of Columbia denied the "due process of law" guaranteed by the Fifth Amendment.

The District of Columbia proceeded promptly to comply with the ruling. So did the Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas, one of the four defendants in the cases involving State statutes. The Delaware school districts involved in the Court's decision were desegregated even before the cases reached the Court for the first argument. However, neither of the defendants in the other two State cases has complied, even in a token fashion, in the ten years that have elapsed.

The Board of Education of Clarendon County, South Carolina, has simply done nothing. For one reason or another efforts to enforce the decision of the Supreme Court in that case have never gotten off the ground.

In the fourth State case, involving the public schools of Prince Edward County, Virginia, State authorities took a different tack. For almost five years the Board of Education fought a delaying action in the lower Federal courts. Finally, in 1959, the Board of Education was confronted with an order requiring the admission of white and Negro children in all schools of the county, "without regard to race or color." At this point the County Supervisors intervened. They refused to levy any school taxes. As a consequence there has been no public education in Prince Edward County since that day.

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This does not mean that white children in Prince Edward County have been without education since 1959. On the contrary, they have been provided with education in schools initially established with private funds but which have been subsidized with public funds since 1960.

These subsidies have taken three forms. Virginia has provided tuition grants of $125 or $150 a year to every child, regardless of race, attending a non-sectarian private school or attending a public school outside his locality. This has been supplemented by a further tuition grant made by the Prince Edward Board of Supervisors of $100 per child. As a result each child attending private schools in Prince Edward County has received a total of $225 if in elementary school, or $250 if in high school. During the 1960-1961 school year the supervisors passed another ordinance allowing property credits up to 25% for contributions to "any non-profit non-sectarian private school in the county." By far the greater part of the costs of operating private schools in Prince Edward County have thus been defrayed out of public funds.

The private schools in Prince Edward County have, of course, been operated on a completely segregated basis. Negro families, though offered tuition grants and tax credits, have rejected them, and have continued a legal battle for desegregated public schools. Negro children in Prince Edward County were, therefore, without formal education from 1959 to 1963.

During the current school year, Negroes have been attending school in buildings owned by the county which have been made available without charge. The costs of operation have been provided by two sources. One has been Federal funds made available on the theory that the crash program to make up for four years of non-education constitutes a research project. The second source has been private contributions - mostly foundation grants - made available on a one-year basis in the hope and expectation that the Supreme Court would, in the meantime, end this scandalous situation.

On Monday the Supreme Court unanimously held that the Equal Protection Clause was violated by the closing of the Prince Edward County public schools in order to avoid desegregation while public schools in the rest of the state were kept open. The Court was also unanimous that the District Court properly enjoined the subsidies to segregated private schools so long as the public schools were closed.

With Justices Clark and Harlan dissenting, the Court further ruled that the District Court had the authority to order the opening of the public schools and to order the County Supervisors to levy the taxes necessary to pay for the expense of their operation. The dissenting Justices wrote no opinion. It is to be inferred from the statement of their dissent that they concluded that a Federal Court could go no further than to ban the subsidies so long as public schools were closed in Prince Edward County and/or to order the closing of public schools in all parts of Virginia unless the public schools were operated in Prince Edward County.

The original decision in the School Segregation Cases was handed down in 1954. It was supplemented a year later by a further decision of the Supreme Court, in which ground rules for compliance were laid down. In the latter decision, the Supreme Court decreed that compliance should proceed "with all deliberate speed." What followed in fact has been largely a course of deliberate obstruction and a snail-like pace. Less than 1% of Negro children in the deep South attend desegregated public schools today.

Little wonder then that Justice Black, in his opinion on Monday, observed that "there has been entirely too much deliberation and not enough speed in enforcing the constitutional rights which we held [in 1954] had been denied Prince Edward County Negro children." These are brave words. Unfortunately, they may turn out to be no more than words if the authorities of Prince Edward County need do no more than reopen its public schools and are permitted, at the same time, to continue underwriting practically the entire cost of private segregated education. That would, of course, simply produce a dual but segregated school system maintained at public expense, one-half "public" and the other half "private" but white. Should this happen, and there is every reason to believe that it will happen, the Negroes of Prince Edward County - whose case has been conducted by the NAACP - will have to again start on the long road back to the Supreme Court. This time the mission will be to obtain a ruling that this "private" public school system is, in substance, no different from one in which two avowedly public school systems are maintained on a segregated basis. When finally faced with that issue, one may expect that the Supreme Court will make short shrift of it. One may well wonder, however, whether such a declaration should not have been included in Monday's decision.

The Atlanta School Desegregation Case. Two years ago Atlanta, Georgia, public schools were "desegregated," under a grade-a-year plan, starting with the senior class in high school. However, the plan - approved by the District Court - included restrictions upon pupil transfers which would have had the effect of postponing complete desegregation of all elementary school classes until 1974, or possibly until 1978.

This utterly shocking decision was upheld 2-to-1 by a panel of the Court of Appeals of the Fifth Circuit. In the majority were Circuit Judge Bell of Georgia and a visiting Judge from the Tenth Circuit. In his dissenting opinion, Circuit Judge Rives of Alabama caustically observed that the decision was a step backward for the Fifth Circuit.

During the argument before the Supreme Court last April, the attorney for the School Board recognized - what should have been apparent to the Fifth Circuit - that the Atlanta plan was an inexcusable example of foot-dragging. Its counsel therefore urged that the Board had, on its own initiative, subsequently improved the plan by adding provisions authorizing free transfers within the city's high schools. The adequacy of these "improvements" was challenged by the NAACP Defense Fund. It contended that there was no justification whatsoever for any delay in ordering a complete desegregation of the Atlanta public schools.

On Monday the Supreme Court reversed the Atlanta school case in a brief per curiam opinion. The Supreme Court did not reach the merits of the case but merely remanded it for further consideration by the District Court in the light of its decision in the Prince Edward County case and two other cases in which rulings had been handed down last year.

The Supreme Court called to the District Court's notice Goss v. Board of Education of the City of Knoxville, decided June 3, 1963, striking down, as promoting segregation, a plan permitting students to transfer from any school in which they were in a racial minority. Indeed, the Supreme Court quoted the following from the opinion written by Justice Clark in the Knoxville case:

> "[We] are not unmindful of the deep-rooted problems involved. Indeed, it was consideration for the multifarious local difficulties and 'variety of obstacles' which might arise in this transition that led this Court eight years ago to frame its mandate in Brown in such language as 'good faith compliance at the earliest practicable date'

and 'all deliberate speed.' Brown v. Board of Education, 349 U.S., at 300, 301. Now, however, eight years after this decree was rendered and over nine years after the first Brown decision, the context in which we must interpret and apply this language to plans for desegregation has been significantly altered. Compare Watson v. City of Memphis, supra."

The Supreme Court also specifically cited (but did not quote), the following language of Justice Goldberg's opinion, in Watson v. City of Memphis, decided on May 27, 1963:

"Since the city has completely failed to demonstrate any compelling or convincing reason requiring further delay in implementing the constitutional proscription of segregation of publicly owned or operated recreational facilities there is no cause whatsoever to depart from the generally operative and here clearly controlling principle that constitutional rights are to be promptly vindicated. The continued denial to petitioners of the use of city facilities solely because of their race is without warrant. Under the facts in this case, the District Court's undoubted discretion in the fashioning and timing of equitable relief was not called into play; rather, affirmative judicial action was required to vindicate plain and present constitutional rights."

There was, in my judgment, no justification for failure to apply the principle enunciated in the Memphis case to the Atlanta school case. Surely the constitutional right to desegregated public education is no less entitled to immediate vindication than the right to desegregated parks, playgrounds and a municipal art museum. Indeed, in view of the injury done to Negro children by segregated education, desegregation in that area deserves a far higher priority.

In my view this disposition of the Atlanta school case falls considerably short of a proper discharge by the Supreme Court of its responsibilities as the head of the Federal judicial system. It may well be that, as a practical matter, a certain amount of discretion must be left to District Judges and to Courts of Appeal to determine how far and how fast public school desegregation should proceed. The Supreme Court cannot sit in review in more than a handful of the hundreds of school desegregation cases.

On the other hand, the time has come, it seems to me, when the Supreme Court should eschew the role of the Delphic Oracle and come to grips with and pass on the merits in a case which so clearly calls out for an ending of all vestiges of school segregation. The Atlanta school case was certainly such a situation. If the time has not arrived in this most advanced Southern community 10 years after Brown v. Board of Education, we are perilously close to living under a government of men rather than a government of laws.

Both judicial statesmanship and judicial realism make it imperative that the Supreme Court jettison as obsolete and mischievous the talismanic and delusive phrase "with all deliberate speed" in school desegregation cases and to substitute in its place the test of "with all possible speed." They also require that it announce that delay will be tolerated only where there is overwhelming proof that desegregation is proceeding "with all possible speed" that can be reasonably demanded under the circumstances of each particular case.

Sincerely yours,

Shad Polier

JUN 11 1964

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June 5, 1964

Dear Friend:

The Supreme Court and Prayers in the Public Schools. On Monday, the United States Supreme Court summarily reversed refusal by the Florida Supreme Court to enjoin prayer and devotional Bible-reading in the public schools of Miami. The unconstitutionality of religious practices--as constituting "an establishment of religion" barred by the First and Fourteenth Amendments--had been settled by decisions of the United States Supreme Court last June in similar Maryland and Pennsylvania cases.

The Miami School Case was brought under the joint sponsorship of AJCongress and the American Civil Liberties Union. It sought to raise three other issues under the First and Fourteenth Amendments: holding of baccalaureate services in the schools; taking a religious census of pupils; and applying of religious tests for teachers. These tests required teacher applicants to answer the question, "Do you believe in God?", and took religious attitudes into consideration in making promotions.

The United States Supreme Court dismissed the appeal as to these additional questions on the authority of a case decided in 1945, in an entirely different field. In that case, the Court refused to pass upon a constitutional issue because the record did not disclose that the objection had been raised in or considered by the State courts.

Justices Black and Douglas would have dismissed on the merits the appeals as to baccalaureate services and religious census on the ground that they presented "no substantial Federal questions." On the other hand, they would have reserved decision on the technical objections to the appeal as to religious tests until after argument on the merits of the constitutional issue.

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Justice Stewart who was the sole dissenter in the Maryland and Pennsylvania cases, stated that he believed that the entire appeal should have been entertained on the merits.

In my opinion the state of the record does not explain the partial dismissal of the Miami School Case. On the contrary, the explanation would seem to lie in the reluctance of the Court to rule, at this time, whether baccalaureate services, religious-censuses and religious tests violate the First and Fourteenth Amendment. Certainly, it is mindful of current realities. The furor engendered by the Maryland and Pennsylvania cases has not yet subsided. The House Judiciary Committee has been conducting hearings upon proposed Constitutional amendments to overrule those decisions by sanctioning prayers and Bible-reading in the public schools.

Congress and Prayers in the Public Schools. The House Judiciary Committee has concluded seven weeks of hearings on proposals to amend the Constitution so as to sanction prayers and Bible-reading in the public schools. Among the documents submitted to the Committee in the final week was a statement signed by 223 constitutional lawyers and teachers across the country opposing all of the proposals. It was circulated by Robert F. Drinan, S.J., dean of the Boston College Law School, Prof. Paul A. Freund of Harvard Law School, Prof. Wilber G. Katz of the University of Wisconsin Law School, and Leo Pfeffer, General Counsel of AJCongress.

Members of the faculties of 83 law schools were represented among the signers. They included deans of 55 law schools. Seven of the deans are the heads of law schools which are under Catholic auspices: Father Drinan mentioned above, and the deans at the Law Schools of Catholic University, Duquesne, Georgetown, Marquette, Notre Dame and St. Louis. The signers of the statement declared:

> "If the first clause of the Bill of Rights, forbidding laws respecting an establishment of religion, should prove so easily susceptible to impairment by amendment, none of the succeeding clauses will be secure. American liberties have been secure in large measure because they have been guaranteed by a Bill of Rights which the American people have until now deemed practically unamendable. If now, for the first time, an amendment to 'narrow its operation' is adopted, a precedent will have been established which may prove too easy to follow when other controversial decisions interpreting the Bill of Rights are handed down.
>
> "A grave responsibility rests upon the Congress in taking 'this first experiment on our liberties.' Whatever disagreements some may have with the Bible-prayer decisions, we believe strongly that they do not justify this experiment. Accordingly, we urge that Congress approve no measures to amend the First Amendment in order to overrule these decisions."

Alabama NAACP and the Supreme Court. Eight years ago, a Montgomery Circuit Court Judge issued an ex parte "temporary restraining order" prohibiting the NAACP from conducting any activities in Alabama for failure to register as a foreign corporation and pay the $10 registration fee. Efforts by the NAACP to secure a hearing were rebuffed on the ground that it was in contempt for refusal to produce its membership lists, for which contempt it was fined $100,000.

The Alabama Supreme Court refused to hear the case on the ground that the wrong appellate procedure had been invoked. In June 1958, the United States Supreme Court unanimously brushed aside this procedural dodge and reversed on the ground that the demand for disclosure of the membership of the NAACP violated the First and Fourteenth Amendments' guarantees of freedom of association.

The Alabama Supreme Court, nevertheless, refused to consider the merits of the NAACP contention that the injunction against its activities was unconstitutional. Nor did the Alabama Court budge, even after the United States Supreme Court again, in June, 1959, made clear that the NAACP was entitled to a hearing.

At this point the NAACP, realizing that the Supreme Court of Alabama was determined to defy the United States Supreme Court, brought suit in the Federal District Court asserting that the very refusal of the Alabama courts to grant a hearing denied due process of law guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment. Both the District Court and the Court of Appeals for the First Circuit denied relief. This made necessary a third appeal to the Supreme Court. It directed the District Court to grant a hearing unless one was held by the Circuit Court no later than January 2, 1962.

In December 1961, more than five years after it was "temporarily" ousted from Alabama, the NAACP was given a hearing. On December 29, 1961, the injunction against it was made permanent. The Supreme Court of Alabama again denied review, this time on the clearly specious ground that the brief was not in technical compliance with its rules.

On Monday the United States Supreme Court again unanimously reversed. It found that the technical excuse of the Alabama Court was a sham and proceeded to consider the merits of Alabama's grounds for the injunction. All were rejected as violating the First and Fourteenth Amendments. In addition, the United States Supreme Court made clear that if the Alabama Supreme Court did not promptly vacate the injunction against the NAACP, it would do so by an order to that effect.

One of the grounds on which the permanent injunction had been sought and presumably granted was that the NAACP had "encouraged, aided and abetted a course of conduct within the State of Alabama, seeking to deny to the citizens of Alabama the Constitutional right to voluntary segregation." Nothing more clearly could show the determination of Alabama to use the power of its courts to suppress freedom of speech and to maintain "the Southern way of life." Nor can anything more clearly demonstrate the lengths to which the highest court of a Southern state is willing to go in order to nullify "the supreme law of the land."

Loyalty Oaths and the Constitution. On Monday, the United States Supreme Court, in a 7-to-2 decision, held unconstitutional the loyalty oaths required by the State of Washington. Justices Clark and Harlan dissented.

The teacher's oath exacted a promise that the affiant "would, by precept and example, promote respect for the flag and the Constitution of the United States and the State of Washington." Such an oath, Justice White wrote, would stifle criticism of governmental policies. He noted that it "might be deemed to proscribe advocating the abolition, for example, of the Civil Rights Commission, the House Committee on Un-American Activities, or foreign aid."

The second oath required each State employee to swear that he is "not a subversive person." The statutory definition of a "subversive person," the Court ruled, was also unconstitutionally vague.

Justice White cited numerous examples of conduct by vigorous minded persons which are entirely innocent but could conceivably be held to fall within the proscriptions of the oath. He rejected the argument that these examples were far-fetched because no one would be prosecuted for engaging in such conduct and, in any event, no court would uphold the application of the statute to such conduct. He observed that:

> "Even if it can be said that a conviction for falsely taking this oath would not be sustained, the possibility of a prosecution cannot be gainsaid. The State may not require one to choose between subscribing to an unduly vague and broad oath, thereby incurring the likelihood of prosecution, and conscientiously refusing to take the oath with the consequent loss of employment, and perhaps profession, particularly where the free dissemination of ideas may be the loser. It is not the penalty itself that is invalid, but the exaction of obedience to a rule or standard that is so vague and indefinite as to be really no rule or standard at all."

The suit was brought by 64 members of the faculty, staff and student body of the University of Washington. Since they sought an injunction against the enforcement of the State Laws, the case was heard initially by a three-Judge Federal District Court. It declined to pass upon the merits of the case on the ground that the plaintiff should first sue in the state courts to obtain an interpretation of the statutes. The Supreme Court held that this was an erroneous application of the "absention doctrine" since there was no way in which the State courts could, except by endless suits, determine what activities were or were not covered by the oaths. Indeed, Mr. Justice White noted, this was the basic vice of the oaths.

The dissenting opinion of Justice Clark, in which Justice Harlan joined, contended that the Washington loyalty oaths were no more vague than the provisions of the Smith Act of 1940 under which the Federal Governemnt had provided criminal punishment for: "Whoever knowingly or wilfully advocates, abets, advises or teaches, the duty, necessity, desirability, or propriety of overthrowing or destroying the government of the United States." The force of this argument is, of course, blunted by the fact that the Supreme Court (with Justice Clark dissenting) ultimately, in the Yates case, ruled in 1957 that "/T/he Smith Act reaches only advocacy of action for the overthrow of government by force or violence."

Loyalty oaths are an abomination in a free democratic society. They have no redeeming values. They can serve only to discourage and to stifle freedom of expression and association, both of which are essential to the political, social and economic health of the nation. Insofar as they seek to safeguard against illegal acts, loyalty oaths are unnecessary since the acts may be forbidden on pain of criminal punishment. Hopefully, some day the Supreme Court will hold that all loyalty oaths are unconstitutional.

Sincerely yours,

Shad Polier

Shad Polier

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JOSEPH B. ROBISON, Assistant Director

June 26, 1964

Dear Friend:

"The Long Hot Summer." There is every likelihood that public authorities in Mississippi and some other Southern States--policemen, prosecutors, trial judges and appellate courts alike--are determined to continue to employ the full armory of governmental power to repress and suppress all forms of demonstration and protest against segregation and discrimination, and even efforts to secure the rights of franchise. To that end, these States will ruthlessly invoke old and new laws, and apply them without the slightest regard to the fact that arrests and convictions are in flagrant violation of the rights of the defendants established by the Constitution and Federal statutes.

It is of no concern to these States that at some future time the Supreme Court will set aside the convictions. They realize full well--and it is time that the rest of the country realized -- that justice so long delayed is justice denied. Witness the fact that only now have the Freedom Rider cases begun to reach the Supreme Court. Two years have passed, hundreds of thousands of dollars have been expended in bail and court costs, countless days have been spent in jails by innocent men and women held on trumped-up charges of disorderly conduct, breach of the peace and other "crimes." Moreover, the Freedom Riders are but a token of the vastly greater number of defendants subjected to the travesty of "Southern justice."

What we are witnessing in Mississippi and some other Southern States is no less than a new form of Nullification, this time cloaked and disguised as enforcement of law and order. Allowed to continue unchecked, this form of guerilla war threatens the integrity of the Union no less than did Secession.

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The tragic events of the past few days in Mississippi have shocked the Nation. These events demand employment to the fullest extent of the Executive powers of the President, including sending of hundreds of Federal marshals to Mississippi, and, if necessary, the sending of Federal troops and calling up of the National Guard into Federal service. But these actions will not end the perversion of justice by those charged with law enforcement. This evil, I suggest, requires intervention by the Federal courts.

It is not enough that Federal courts have begun to strike down the unlawful bans proclaimed by Mayors and Governors against peaceful demonstrations. Those arrested for seeking to give reality to Federally secured rights must be allowed to resort to the Federal courts to secure release upon reasonable bail pending trial. Prosecutions must be enjoined by the Federal courts where arrests are made to frustrate Federal rights. Removal of cases to Federal courts must be permitted where necessary to assure fair trial.

The burden of securing Federal rights must not be left to be shouldered by the brave men and women who live in these Southern States and those who have come from other parts of the country to aid them. It must be shared by the Department of Justice representing these United States. Fortunately, under the Civil Rights Bill, soon to become law, the Justice Department will be given authority to intervene in many of these cases. Futhermore, in those instances where the Department may not technically become a party to the suit, it must appear as "friend of the Court" so as to make clear the determination of the Government that the Constitution and Federal statutes are truly "the supreme law of the land."

Such intervention by the Federal Courts will require some departure from legal precedents. However, we face an unprecedented crisis in civil liberty. Recent decisions of the Supreme Court provide assurance that the Federal courts have ample power to cope with this emergency.

Security of the Constitution. In 1958 the Supreme Court, in Kent v. Dulles, held that the right to travel abroad is one of the liberties protected by the Fifth Amendment against deprivation without due process of law. In Kent, however, the Court avoided resolving the question whether the Secretary of State could constitutionally deny a passport to a person whom he had reason to believe was a member of the Communist party. Instead, in order to avoid the constitutional issue, the court ruled that no statute gave such authority to the Secretary of State. It noted that Congress had included in the Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950 a provision barring the issuance of passports to members of any organization required to register as subversive, but pointed out that the proceedings to compel the Communist Party to register had not yet been reviewed by the Court.

Three years ago, the Supreme Court upheld the registration provisions of the 1950 law. The passport provision was recently challenged by Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Chairman of the Party, and Herbert Aptheker, editor of the Party's theoretical journal, Political Affairs. Both conceded that the Secretary of State, in refusing to issue passports to them, had reason to believe that they were members of the Party.

On Monday, the Supreme Court, in a 6-to-3 decision, held unconstitutional the unqualified bar against issuance of passports to members of the Communist Party on the ground that the statute made irrelevant the degree of a member's activity in, and his commitment to, the Party or the purposes for which the right to travel abroad was sought. The opinion of the Court, written by Justice Goldberg, noted that travel outside of the Western Hemisphere by an American citizen without a passport is made a crime and that, indeed, under the 1950 law it is a felony for a member of the Communist party even to apply for a passport.

The ample power of Congress to protect the national security, Justice Goldberg declared, may not be exercised so as to condemn innocent activity. Restrictions upon the issuance of passports must, therefore, be so drawn as to be reasonably calculated to restrain espionage and other criminal activity. In short, Communists may not be treated as heretics, fit only for burning.

The concurring opinion of Justice Black went further in condemning the passport provision of the statute. He repeated the view, expressed by him in 1961, that the law in its entirety, including the provision for registration of subversive organizations, violated the constitutional prohibition against bills of attainder and interference with the First Amendment guarantee of freedom of speech.

Only two of the dissenters--Justice Clark and Justice Harlan--wrote in favor of upholding the unqualified ban upon the issuance of passports to any member of the Communist Party, whether leaders or not. Justice White would have sustained the action of the Secretary of State in these particular cases on the more narrow ground that Flynn and Aptheker were clearly active leading members of the party.

We probably have not seen the end of legislation designed to limit the right of Communists to travel abroad. Efforts will certainly be made to draw a new statute complying with the majority's prescription that it be "more discriminately tailored to the constitutional liberties of individuals."

Sit-Ins and the Supreme Court. On Monday the Supreme Court avoided fundamental constitutional issues in reversing Florida, Maryland and South Carolina convictions of Negro sit-in demonstrators.

The Florida conviction was set aside on the ground that an official policy of segregation was demonstrated by the existence of a State law requiring separate washrooms for whites and Negroes in restaurants.

In one Maryland case, State action was found to exist by reason of the fact that the demonstrators were ordered to leave an amusement park by a police constable who was employed by the proprietor. In the other Maryland case, the reversal was placed upon the ground that a public accommodation law had subsequently been enacted by the State. Under these circumstances a majority held that the Maryland Supreme Court of Appeals should be given an opportunity to reconsider the case.

The Court divided 3-to-3-to-3 in the South Carolina case.

Justice Brennan, in an opinion in which Justices Clark and Stewart joined, voted to reverse on the ground that the South Carolina law at the time of the defendants' arrests only prohibited entry upon private premises contrary to the wishes of the owner and did not explicitly make it a crime to refuse to leave upon request.

Justice Black wrote a dissenting opinion, in which Justices Harlan and White concurred, holding that the Fourteenth Amendment does not in itself prohibit a State from making it a criminal offense for a person to refuse to remove himself from private premises at the request of the owner. In his view, to hold otherwise, would be to encourage self-help by owners, and violence by contending white and Negro groups.

Justice Black made clear, however, that he was not indicating that Congress was powerless to deal with discriminatory conduct by owners of private property. Indeed, implicit in his opinion is the view that Congress does have such a power. Otherwise there would have been no occasion for his pointing out that such legislation is a far more effective tool for dealing with the problem since it may be limited to types of situations in which prohibition against discrimination is appropriate or important.

Justice Goldberg wrote an opinion, in which Chief Justice Warren and Justice Douglas joined, taking the position that the Fourteenth Amendment prohibits arrests of demonstrators protesting against segregation in places of public accommodation. Justice Douglas wrote a separate opinion to the same effect.

Thus, in Monday's cases, there was no majority decision upon the question whether anti-trespass laws may be enforced where places of public accommodation are involved, -- even where segregation or exclusion of Negroes results from custom and usage tracing back to Jim Crow legislation now repealed in order to escape the Fourteenth Amendment prohibition against the denial of equal protection of the laws.

Undoubtedly, the pendency of the Civil Rights Bill accounts for abstention by three of the Justices from ruling upon the basic constitutional issue. It remains to be seen how they will vote in other sit-in cases which will be argued at the next Term of the Court and which will involve acts committed before the effective date of the Bill.

Sincerely yours,

Shad Polier

Shad Polier

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July 10, 1964

Dear Friend:

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 - The First Week. Last Friday President Johnson signed the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the most far-reaching civil rights law since Reconstruction days. As was to be expected, the statute had its most immediate impact in the area of public accommodations. Too little time has elapsed to reach any certain judgment as to the extent to which there will be compliance with, or evasion and defiance, of these provisions.

To the extent that there has been compliance, this has been due to a number of factors. One is that the prohibition of exclusion of Negroes from hotels, motels, restaurants, lunch counters, theatres and similar facilities is the product of Congressional action rather than an edict of the Supreme Court. Southerners are, therefore, unable to rationalize their opposition on the ground that the Court has merely once again unreasonably interpreted the Fourteenth Amendment.

Moreover, all thoughtful Southerners must be impressed by the overwhelming majorities by which both the House and the Senate passed the measure. True, there are those who, like Senator Barry Goldwater, raise questions as to the constitutionality of the law. But any knowledgeable Southerner must realize that this is no more than "whistling Dixie."

Another factor is the firm determination of President Johnson to enforce the law. Not less important is his -- and President Kennedy's -- endorsement of the law on moral grounds. In addition, President Johnson, like his predecessor, has vigorously sought to mobilize the power structure of the South to adapt itself to the national consensus that the time for such discrimination has passed.

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Still another factor is the determination of Negroes, en masse, to enjoy these new Federal rights. Southern business men as well as the officials in many Southern communities realize, therefore, that the alternative to compliance is chaos.

All of this is not to say that there will not be attempts to evade and to nullify the law. We may anticipate the conversion of many facilities into "private clubs." This, after all, was attempted in many Northern States in an effort to avoid public accommodation laws. In most instances, the "private" character of the facility will not withstand judicial scrutiny. Nevertheless, this device will be resorted to as a delaying tactic.

Of much more concern is the likelihood that in many communities, particularly small communities, in the Deep South the response will be one of defiance by violence and other forms of mob action. In those cases the test will be the willingness of public authorities to deal with such conduct and to allow business men to comply with the law. Those situations will involve a form of guerilla warfare. As such, it will have to be dealt with by local law enforcement or, if that fails, by Federal intervention.

Ultimately -- but this will take time -- these pockets of resistance will have to yield. Before then a heavy price may well be paid by many persons seeking to enjoy the rights now guaranteed by law.

One may, it seems to me, reasonably prophesy that, unlike public school desegregation, the desegregation of places of public accommodation in the South will not proceed "with all deliberate speed." For this there are many reasons, in addition to the fact that the South now faces a Congressional mandate rather than a judicial decision.

One of the reasons is that opposition to public school desegregation has been conducted by school boards employing public funds to secure counsel and to defray the expenses of litigation. Owners of places of public accommodation seeking to challenge or to avoid the Civil Rights Act will have to do so at their own expense.

A less tangible, but more important reason, is the difference in attitude on the part of Southerners to desegregation of public facilities as compared with desegregation of public schools. In the Southern mind, the public school occupies somewhat the same position as churches. It is a part of the intimate social life of the community. Moreover, even among Southern liberals, there is a genuine fear that the admission of Negroes to public schools will result in a lowering of scholastic standards. Behind this fear is, of course, the realization that many Negro children come to school from economically and socially deprived homes. What is all too often overlooked is the long history of an educational system which, though nominally "separate but equal", has been one in which the Negro child, and before him his parents, were provided with far poorer education than was provided for white children.

There have been those who have minimized the significance of the public accommodation provisions of the Civil Rights Act. They have argued that it is more important, for example, for the Negro to increase his earning power through equal job opportunities than it is for him to have the opportunity to spend his money in the same places as whites.

This contention ignores two realities. One is that exclusion from places of public accommodation was -- and was intended -- as a degradation of the Negro. It undergirded the Southern myth that the Negro was different from the white. All of us, whatever our race or our religion, seek to enjoy the amenities of life. It is for the purpose of being able to enjoy them that Americans work as hard as they do. By opening up to the Negro places of public accommodation, the Civil Rights Act necessarily, and happily, must strengthen the Negro in his determination to be able to live fully and equally in all areas of his life.

Compliance with, and enforcement of the public accommodations provisions of the Civil Rights Act will, in my judgment, have a profound effect upon the Southern scene. There will still remain, of course, other and fundamental forms of discrimination which must be eliminated before the Negro enjoys real equality. Among these are the right to desegregated public education, to equal access to the franchise and to employment opportunities. That the Negro will continue to press for the ending of all of his disabilities is certain. Certain, too, is the fact that the nation as a whole will support him in these efforts.

Communists and Trade Unions. In the Labor-Management Relations Act of 1947 - generally known as the Taft-Hartley Act - Congress denied access to the National Labor Relations Board to unions having any Communist officers. This provision was implemented by a requirement that all union officers must file an affidavit disclaiming membership in the Communist Party. In 1950, in American Communications Association v. Douds, the Supreme Court rejected a challenge to the statute on the ground that it violated the First Amendment guarantees of freedom of speech and association. The Court held that the law was a reasonable exercise of the power of Congress to regulate interstate commerce.

In 1959, Congress, as part of the Landrum-Griffin Act regulating the internal conduct of labor unions, added a provision to the 1947 statute, making it a crime for a member of the Communist Party to hold union office. Under the provisions of the amendment, mere membership in the Party, when combined with union officership, was made conclusive of guilt.

On June 19, the United States Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit, in Brown v. United States, sitting en banc, held the 1959 amendment unconstitutional under both the First and the Fifth Amendments. The decision was handed down two days before the Supreme Court, in the Flynn-Aptheker case, held unconstitutional the provisions of the Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950, unqualifiedly barring the issuance of passports to members of the Communist Party. In many respects the Court of Appeals decision anticipated much of the rationale of Flynn-Aptheker.

The Court of Appeals distinguished Douds because it involved only the denial of access to the facilities of the National Labor Relations Board. The imposition of a criminal sanction upon a member of the Communist Party for serving as an officer of the Union, the Court ruled, "poses new and different problems as to the reasonableness of the regulation."

That a criminal penalty based upon mere membership in the Party and the holding of union office violated the First Amendment was indicated by the Scales and Noto cases, decided by the Supreme Court in 1961. In Scales, a conviction under the Smith Act of 1940 for membership in the Communist Party was upheld; in Noto, it was reversed. The different results reached in those two cases were explained on the ground that in Scales there was proof and in Noto there was no proof that the defendant was an "active" member of the Party with the specific intent to further its unlawful purposes of seeking to accomplish the overthrow of the Government by force and violence.

As an aside, it may be mentioned that the decision in Scales was widely disapproved because it did not require any proof of incitement to overthrow by force and violence. For another, Scales had long before broken with the Party and had become strongly anti-Communist. There was indeed a wide-spread belief that Scales had been prosecuted because of his refusal, as a matter of principle, to give any information regarding his former associates. In any event, not long after the affirmance of his conviction, the Department of Justice announced that it did not intend to invoke the "membership provision" of the Smith Act in the future.

In Brown, the Court of Appeals held that it was one thing for Congress to remove the threat of politically motivated strikes by denying access to the National Labor Relations Board to unions having Communists as officers. It was quite another thing, the Court ruled, to give Congress power to punish a Communist solely by reason of the fact that he had become a member of the Party without any proof that he intended to commit an act which would interfere with commerce. Consequently, the Court held, the Landrum-Griffin Act constituted an invalid restraint upon the freedom of association protected by the First Amendment.

The Court of Appeals considered and rejected the contention that mere membership in the Party should, in and of itself, be deemed to constitute proof that the defendant either had the specific intent to use his union office to attempt to disrupt interstate commerce or that he was an active member of the Communist Party, with specific intent to permit unlawful advocacy and action directed toward overthrow of the Government. Any such inference, the Court ruled, was too far-fetched to meet the Due Process of Law requirement of the Fifth Amendment.

The Court of Appeals pointed out that Douds recognized that the Communist Party has both legal and illegal aims, and carries on both legitimate and illegitimate activities. Moreover, as the Supreme Court had also recognized in Douds, there may be members of the Party "for whom the organization is a vehicle for the advancement of legitimate aims and policies alone." Indeed, it was for this reason that in Noto, the Supreme Court declared that:

> "If there were a * * * blanket prohibition of association with a group having both legal and illegal aims, there would indeed be a real danger that legitimate political expression or association would be impaired. For one in sympathy with the legitimate aims of such an organization, but not specifically intending to accomplish them by resort to violence, might be punished for his adherence to lawful and constitutionally protected purposes, because of other and unprotected purposes which he does not necessarily share."

In my opinion, Brown will be upheld by the Supreme Court. Indeed, it would come as no surprise if the Supreme Court denied review. For, as in Flynn-Aptheker, the decision represents the present view of the Supreme Court that a Communist may not be treated as a heretic "fit only for burning," but must be judged -- when sought to be punished or denied such fundamental rights as the right to travel -- upon his own commitment to and involvement in the illegal purposes of the Party.

Sincerely yours,

Shad Polier

Shad Polier

OCT 19 1964

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LEO PFEFFER, Director
JOSEPH B. ROBISON, Assistant Director

October 16, 1964

Dear Friend:

Sit-Ins, the Supreme Court and the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 declares that all persons, without discrimination or segregation on the ground of race, color, religion, or national origin, shall be entitled to the full and equal enjoyment of certain places of public accommodation. These include any restaurant, cafeteria, lunch room, lunch counter, soda fountain or other facility principally engaged in selling food for consumption on the premises, provided that it serves interstate travellers or a substantial portion of the food which it serves has moved in interstate commerce. This proviso reflects the fact that the public accommodations provision of the Act is rested upon the constitutional power of Congress to regulate interstate commerce.

My letter last week noted that the Supreme Court heard argument on October 5 -- the first day of the Term -- in two cases brought against restaurants to enjoin them from refusing to comply with the provision of the Act prohibiting any person from denying the rights and privileges secured by the statute. On Monday, the Supreme Court heard argument in two other cases which involved a further provision of the Act which declares that no person shall "punish or attempt to punish any person for exercising or attempting to exercise any such right or privilege."

The cases argued on Monday involve convictions of Negroes in the Arkansas and South Carolina courts for violations of state anti-trespass laws. These make it a crime for a person to refuse to leave business premises when requested to do so by the proprietor. Both cases arose out of lunch counter sit-ins in 1960. The South Carolina case involved the lunch counter of a 5-and-10-cent store and the Arkansas case the lunch counter of a department store.

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The Civil Rights Act of 1964 became law on July 2. Assuming the constitutionality of the Act -- as to which there seems to me to be no reasonable doubt -- it automatically terminated any prospective effect of the state anti-trespass statutes. The NAACP Defense Fund, which represented the defendants in the cases argued on Monday, contended that the Act had the further effect of abating all cases which had previously arisen under such state laws and were still pending. It urged that to permit punishment of the defendants "would afford the immoral spectacle of penal revenge against those whose claim, substantially, has been validated by national authority."

It is not argued that the Civil Rights Act "repealed" state laws. On the contrary, the argument is made that Congress has expressed an overriding national judgment, practical and moral, removing all taint from the defendants' actions, and declaring it to be a national wrong not only to deny them service but to punish them for seeking service.

If the "abatement argument" is not accepted, the Court may well be faced with the necessity for determining whether the convictions would have to be set aside, in any event, on the ground that they represented "state action" violative of the provision of the Fourteenth Amendment that "no state shall deny any person equal protection of the laws." Such state action, it is urged, arises out of the fact that both Arkansas and South Carolina have never repealed other segregation laws and have thereby encouraged the proprietors of places of public accommodation to invoke the anti-trespass statutes. Indeed, the defense contention goes further by asserting that, even in the absence of such state-enforced "custom," a criminal prosecution is in and of itself state action when it is designed to effect racial discrimination in the operations of a commercial enterprise.

In the two cases argued on Monday, it would be technically possible for the Court to reverse the convictions on a much narrower ground tendered by the defendants. This is the contention that the convictions denied the defendants the "due process of law" guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment because the anti-trespass statutes did not give fair warning that the conduct of the defendants transgressed the statutes. The state laws make it a crime for a person to refuse to leave "the premises" when requested to do so by the proprietor. In these particular cases the defendants were not requested to leave the premises but only to leave the lunch counter area. They were welcomed as customers in other parts of the business establishment.

While the Court could dispose of these particular cases on that narrow ground, the only result would be to put off the date of judgment on the more fundamental issues. There are some 3000 other sit-in cases pending in the state courts. They include many in which the defendant was requested to leave the premises altogether; for example, cases where the defendants sought service in a restaurant. The cause of national tranquility would, in my view, be ill-served by an evasion by the Court of the basic question involved.

Ultimately, therefore, the choice which faces the Court is whether to base its decision upon the effect of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 or upon the Fourteenth Amendment. My guess is that it will choose the former ground for two reasons: First, because the constitutional issue is a narrower one if based upon the clause of the Constitution which makes Federal statutes, as well as the Constitution itself "the supreme law of the law." Second, because it is almost inconceivable that the

Court would fail to construe the Act as precluding punishment of people guilty of no more than peacefully claiming rights which Congress has now, overwhelmingly, in one of the greatest enactments of our history, declared it to be in the national interest to secure against invasion.

CLSA'S Annual Report on the Supreme Court. The United States Supreme Court and its decisions have become an issue in the 1964 Presidential election campaign to an extent rarely equalled in American history. The Republican Party Platform contains at least two planks specifically aimed at reversing decisions of the Court -- on religious practices in public schools and on legislative apportionment. The Republican standard bearers have been particularly critical of these and other decisions, such as those dealing with the rights of persons charged with crime. Senator Goldwater has promised corrective action if he is elected. The more radical elements of the right wing, such as the John Birch Society, continue to call outright for drastic repudiation of all that the Court stands for and "Impeach Earl Warren" billboards are a conspicuous feature of some parts of the American landscape.

The reasons for these attacks can be found in the decisions of the Court itself, as reviewed in CLSA's latest annual report on the civil rights and civil liberties decisions of the Court. That report, covering the 1963-64 Term, makes it plain that the present Court has steadily broadened the concepts of individual liberty embodied in the Bill of Rights. Year after year, it has given new life to the fundamental guarantees of freedom and their application in the day-to-day affairs of all Americans.

Its decisions have understandably aroused bitter opposition among those groups in the population that resist all changes in the status quo. New rights for racial minorities, new protections for religious dissenters, broader liberties for political dissidents, prohibitions against use of illegally obtained evidence against those charged with crime -- these cannot be created without stepping on sensitive toes. As a result, the Court's decisions have been under steady attack and repeated attempts have been made to curb the Court itself.

Occasionally, these have come close to success. In 1958, bills to curb the powers of the Court or to reverse the effects of some of its libertarian decisions received active consideration in Congress. One bill was passed by the House of Representatives and was defeated in the Senate only by a narrow margin. It is interesting that a CLSA report at that time noted that "A conspicuous feature of the [1958] session was the support given to the liberal bloc by the moderate group led by Senate Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson of Texas. Johnson led and managed opposition to a number of repressive measures despite the fact that they were largely supported by his Southern colleagues as part of their campaign of reprisal against the Supreme Court."

Most recently, of course, we saw the unsuccessful effort to reverse the Court's decisions on religious practices in public schools through adoption of the Becker Amendment. Although many observers were freely predicting that the Becker Amendment would be approved at least by the House of Representatives, a series of public hearings before the House Judiciary Committee, under the chairmanship of Rep. Celler of New York, revealed such well-based opposition to the proposal that it failed even to come out of Committee. The fight over the Court is now centered on the issue of legislative apportionment, discussed in my letter last week.

The CLSA report on the 1963-64 Term reviews the recent attacks on the Court and notes:

> Yet, it is a striking feature of the past decade that none of the apparently unpopular decisions of the Court upholding individual liberties has been nullified. Despite loud criticism, despite well-organized efforts to obtain corrective action, the libertarian decisions of the Court continue to stand for the protection of all Americans.

The report goes on to say:

> Americans may sometimes be annoyed when reminded that constitutional principles prevent the enforcement of their cherished prejudices. Yet any suggestion that these principles themselves be sacrificed has made little headway. When the issue is cast in those terms, Americans have recognized that the Court's libertarian decisions protect not only the Communist, the religious dissenter and the criminal but the entire body politic. There is reason to expect that a decade from now virtually all of the liberties affirmed by the Court during this period will be a universally accepted part of our democratic beliefs.

Some of the statistics revealed by the CLSA report are worth noting. In the last Term, the Court decided 40 cases affecting civil rights and civil liberties. In 33 of these cases, the decision was favorable to the person asserting a constitutional right. This is the highest proportion of favorable decisions since CLSA has started count. (In the past seven years, the Court has decided 195 out of 295 civil rights and civil liberties cases favorably.)

You will find the report useful for its discussion of the work of the Court, its brief descriptions of the Court's important decisions during the past Term and its analysis of the votes of the individual Justices. Copies of the report, which was prepared by Joseph B. Robison, Acting CLSA Director, are available at $1.00 apiece.

Sincerely yours,

Shad Polier

Shad Polier

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LEO PFEFFER, Director
JOSEPH B. ROBISON, Assistant Director

October 30, 1964

Dear Friend:

Quality and Equality in the Schools. The crisis faced by our public school system was strikingly underlined last week by the publication of a report of the New York City Board of Education, "A Five-Year Crash Program for Quality Education -An Attack on Unemployment and Poverty Through Improved Educational Opportunity." The report states bluntly that it will require more than $8 billion to provide quality education for all children in the city. It is a sharp reminder to those of us who are concerned about achieving equality in education that efforts to eliminate de facto racial segregation must be combined with efforts to get money for the desegregated schools. The first objective cannot be achieved unless the other is also won. Hence, it is plain that civil rights organizations must put their energies into the demand for quality as well as into the fight for equality.

The Board of Education report calls for $8.1 billion to be spent over a five-year period. It is predicated upon $1.5 billion from the Federal Government under a greatly expanded anti-poverty program. $4.7 billion would come from the city and $1.9 billion from the state. A large part of this sum would be spent for additional schools. The Board is asking for 214 new elementary schools, 43 junior high schools and 43 senior high schools. If the system had such facilities it could eliminate short time school programs, reduce class sizes and expand pre-kindergarten and other educational programs.

The report does not expressly deal with the problem of racial integration. In fact, its only reference to that problem is in a statement that the building program which it contemplates "can be readily adjusted to conform with integration policies developed by the Board of Education."

In the larger cities, with their dense concentrations of Negroes, it is clear that even in those areas where effective

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desegregation can be achieved by "pairing" and other procedures, we are dangerously near a political impasse that cannot be resolved within the present school budgets. For one thing, the inevitable tragic effect of de facto segregation has been that the schools attended by Negroes are inferior--in physical facilities, in staff and, all too frequently, in physical surroundings.

Boards of education are government agencies subject to pressure from all parts of the population, not just the civil rights organizations. The simple fact is that, so long as desegregation programs mean shifting children to schools that are less desirable than the ones they have been attending, the opposition will be too strong for public officials to ignore. One can argue that the white community should be prepared to accept some disadvantages in order to achieve equality for all. That argument, sound morally and logically, has limited force in the political arena.

Equality can be furthered and speeded by raising the quality of education for all to the highest level. That takes more money than we have been so far spending on our schools. Moreover, greatly increased attention has to be given to overcoming the damage done in the past by long standing practices of discrimination. That also requires substantial outlays. To give only one example, it is now widely believed that the pre-kindergarten programs mentioned in the Board's report are vital to overcoming the handicaps faced by culturally deprived children. By the first and second grades, remedial programs are already too late to overcome all the handicaps bred by poverty.

What is needed, of course, is a broad coalition strong enough to break the stalemate in Congress over Federal aid to education. All the groups concerned must stop fighting over what is not enough and join hands to provide a full educational fare for all children. Only massive aid will give all children an equal chance to qualify themselves for the automated civilization of tomorrow.

This is not a problem of big cities alone or even of the North as against the South. New York, for example, may have special problems caused by the vast influx not only of Negroes but also of Puerto Ricans. Yet the basic problem of bringing quality education to all our schools is nation-wide. Once integration really gets started in the South, as it ultimately must, the problems caused by the longstanding inequality of Negro and white schools will loom even larger than they have in the North.

The principal obstacles to Federal aid have been the conservative forces opposed to all federal welfare programs and the religious groups who oppose federal aid unless it includes parochial schools. The election next week may well weaken the forces of economic opposition. The second obstacle is likely to be far more formidable. There is, however, no justification or need for a compromise that would violate the constitutional prohibition of governmental aid to religious institutions.

A resolute and effective demand by the Negro community for Federal action now, added to the many voices that have been heard in the past, would, in my judgment, be sufficient to break the log jam. Certainly, there is no reason to believe that the Catholic Church would hold to its present position in opposition to such a coalition and in the face of a strongly presented case for the need of funds to redress the evils of segregation.

We will move forward on this issue when we act on the assumption not that there is just so much education to go around but that our society is rich enough and skilled enough to provide quality education for all children without penalizing any of them. This means that Negroes and whites must join together not only for public school integration but also for good integrated schools. And they must make their voice heard not only by the local Board of Education and City Hall but also by those Northern members of the House Rules Committee--Democrats and Republicans--who have bottled up the Federal aid to education bill.

Race Tags and the Constitution. Maintenance of voter lists on a racial basis was held by a three-Judge Federal District Court in Virginia last April to violate the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. The suit was brought by Negro and white residents who are qualified voters. They also successfully challenged, in the same case, Virginia statutes which require separate listings, according to the race of the owner, in recording the assessment of real estate and personal property for tax purposes.

The District Court, however, rejected a further claim that Virginia unconstitutionally required that the race and color of each of the parties be indicated on divorce decrees. This requirement was upheld on the ground that:

> "Designation of race may in certain records serve a useful purpose. If the purpose is legitimate, the reason justifiable, then no infringement results. Vital statistics obviously are aided by denotation in the divorce decrees of the race of the parties. Thus, the provision requiring such denotation is not objectionable. Of course, the reference must be made in every case, not just in suits involving Negroes."

Since the Virginia case involved a suit to enjoin the enforcement of the State laws, it was heard by a three-Judge District Court, subject to direct review by the Supreme Court. Both the plaintiffs and the State of Virginia appealed. On the basis of their briefs, the Supreme Court, on Monday, without hearing argument and without rendering an opinion, affirmed the rulings of the District Court. Justice Brennan noted that he thought that oral argument should be granted as to the requirement for including race in divorce decrees. Justice Harlan noted that he believed that oral argument should have been granted on all aspects of the litigation.

It comes as no surprise that the Supreme Court should have summarily affirmed the holdings that maintenance of separate voting lists and tax records on the basis of race was unconstitutional. The affirmance of the requirement for the inclusion of racial data in divorce decrees is, however, troubling. Nevertheless, it seems to me, it does not seem upon careful analysis to give any indication that the Supreme Court is likely to uphold the constitutionality of State miscegenation laws, such as the Florida statutes discussed in my letter last week.

Although no opinion was rendered by the Supreme Court, in my judgment, the affirmance of the lower court's ruling as regards racial data in divorce decrees may well have been accounted for by the fact that none of the plaintiffs claimed any interest other than as a citizen of the State and as a taxpayer. Under these circumstances the Supreme Court may well have decided that the resolution of the merits of the question should be postponed to another case and to another day.

In justification for its laws, Virginia cited various eminent authorities on the importance of maintaining reliable statistics by race. One of those quoted was Dr. G. Franklin Edwards, Professor of Sociology at Howard University. He has urged that the availability of such statistical information is of great assistance to minority groups in establishing segregation and discrimination.

Also quoted was Dr. Philip M. Hauser, Professor of Sociology at Chicago University, then President of the American Statistical Association. He stressed the importance of maintenance of records of race, religion and national origin of citizens in their various activities. According to him such information is requisite for improving or understanding society and for use in "social engineering." Essentially this position was taken in a resolution adopted at the April 1963 meeting of the Population Association of America.

One may assume the validity of the point made by these social scientists as to the need for obtaining and maintaining data of such character. It is, however, quite a different thing to say that constitutionally an individual may be labelled as a person of a particular race, religion or national origin and that, indeed, he may be required to carry that label around with him (on a driver's license, birth certificate, marriage certificate, divorce decree, etc.).

It is important to realize that recognition of traditional constitutional values and protection of an individual's right to privacy is implicit in the procedures followed by the United States Bureau of the Census. Thus, the Bureau is prohibited by statute from making public data where "any particular individual *** can be identified."

Also significant is the manner in which the gathering of data regarding racial discrimination in voter participation was recently treated by Congress in the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Under Title VIII of the Act, the Bureau of the Census is directed to compile registration and voting statistics on the basis of race, color and national origin in certain geographic areas, in order to determine the extent to which the right of franchise is exercised. A specific clause was written into this title to prevent the public disclosure of data where any individual can be identified by race and, further, to permit a person to refuse to supply the Bureau information concerning his race if he so desires.

Sincerely yours,

Shad Polier

Shad Polier

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LEO PFEFFER, Director
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November 13, 1964

Dear Friend:

Some Congressional Implications of the Election. The 1964 election outcome was a liberal as well as a Democratic victory. In the Senate, almost all the liberals running for reelection were reelected or replaced by other liberals. In the House, where the Democrats gained 47 seats and lost 9, the changes all tended toward weakening of the Republican-Dixiecrat coalition. Thus, in the South, where conservative Republicans replaced conservative Democrats in a number of districts, a number of the latter held influential positions because of their seniority. On the other hand, a number of conservative Republicans outside the South were replaced by liberal Democrats.

Among the stalwarts of the Republican Right who will not be in the House in 1965 are Robert Barry, Steven B. Derounian and Katharine St. George of New York, George Meader of Michigan, and Louis C. Wyman of New Hampshire. Frank J. Becker of Long Island, who did not run for reelection, was also replaced by a liberal Democrat, Herbert L. Tenzer.

Particularly important is the effect of the election upon the House Judiciary Committee. Of the 21 Democrats and 14 Republican members of this Committee, one conservative Democrat (E. L. Forrester of Georgia) and three conservative Republicans (William E. Miller of New York, the Vice-Presidential candidate, George Meader of Michigan, and Pat Minor Martin of California) were replaced. (The reelection of a fourth conservative Republican, Carlton J. King of New York, is still in doubt.)

On the other hand, James C. Corman of California won a close fight for reelection. He beat back a vigorous attack by Congressman Becker, who crossed the country to campaign against Corman, largely on the basis of Corman's opposition to Becker's proposed amendment to the Constitution on prayers in the public schools. Another member of the Committee, Charles McC. Mathias, Jr. of Maryland, won reelection after overcoming a similar challenge in the Republican primary earlier this year.

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The importance of the House Judiciary Committee in the total Congressional process can hardly be exaggerated. Close to half of the bills introduced in the House are assigned to this Committee. Almost all civil rights bills come before it. It was in this Committee that the fight on the Becker Amendment was waged in the last session. In 1965 it will be the initial battleground in the fight over legislative apportionment. This will be the 1965 arena for the continuing attack on the libertarian decisions of the United States Supreme Court. Hence, the liberalization of the Judiciary Committee could be of crucial importance.

The Negro Vote. One of the most striking features of the election is the jump in the significance and effectiveness of the Negro vote. This has now risen to the point where it can not only have a decisive effect in many local contests but also may tip the scale in the Presidential elections where the winner in a state receives the entire vote in the Electoral College.

The tremendous increase in the Negro vote is due to many factors. Among them are the recent Constitutional Amendment nullifying the poll tax as a barrier to voting in Federal elections; the clauses on voting in the 1957 and 1960 Federal Civil Rights Acts and the various court actions initiated by the Department of Justice under those Acts; and, most of all, the tremendous efforts by citizen groups to register Negroes in the North and South.

The NAACP estimates that six million Negroes were registered to vote this year. More than two million of these were in the South, an increase of 700,000 over the number at the beginning of the year. Some of the local figures are quite striking. For example, in Gadsden County, Florida, there were 4,447 Negroes registered this year; only 355 in 1960.

It is now clear that well over 90% of the Negro voters supported President Johnson. Moreover, they generally voted a straight Democratic ticket, thereby giving effective support to Democratic candidates for local office. In a number of contests, they provided the margin needed for victory.

A particularly important example was in the 5th Congressional District in Atlanta, Georgia. Charles L. Weltner, the Democratic incumbent, had risked his political life not only by voting for the Civil Rights Act of 1964 but by making a speech on the floor of the House announcing and defending his vote. Weltner defeated his Republican opponent by about 10,000 votes. The Negro vote in the District totalled more than 31,000, and probably went 99% for Mr. Weltner.

It seems clear that the Negro vote was similarly necessary to the victory of the Democratic candidates in another Atlanta Congressional District, as well as in the 9th Congressional District in Tennessee, which covers Memphis, and in the 3rd Congressional District in Kentucky, which covers Louisville. Negroes also voted solidly for the Democratic candidates in the two contests for Senate in Tennessee, Albert E. Gore and Ross Bass, both of whom won. In the Texas Senatorial race, Senator Yarborough's margin of 287,492 was just a little bit larger than the number of Negro voters who went to the polls, 260,000.

The defeat of Robert Taft, Jr. in Ohio by Senator Stephen M. Young can certainly be attributed to the heavy Negro vote for the Democrats.

Senator Young's plurality was about 15,000, far smaller than the number of Negro voters, 400,000, who are believed to have voted more than 20 to 1 for the Democrats. Other results outside the South included the victory of a Democratic candidate, Andrew Jacobs, Jr., in an Indianapolis constituency by 3,300 votes. Ten Negro wards in that district gave Mr. Jacobs 45,759 votes.

There is no reason to believe that 1964 saw a highwater mark of Negro influence in elections. The registration drives of this year were highly successful in some places but much less so in others. Many more Negroes will be registered each year, and their influence in elections will increase correspondingly.

Neither is there any reason to assume that the Negro vote will always be as solidly Democratic as it was in 1964. Negroes have voted Republican in the past, and there is certainly every possibility that they will at least split in the future. Hence, both parties will have an incentive to meet the demands of the Negro community for prompt and meaningful redress of their grievances.

Fair Housing and the Ballot. Although few of the important races outside the Deep South were significantly affected by the white backlash, two out of three California voters and three out of five Akron, Ohio voters supported referendum proposals designed to undo fair housing legislation.

In California, the issue was "Proposition 14," aimed primarily at a statute adopted last year in California known as the Rumford Act. That statute prohibits discrimination in the sale or rental of certain types of housing. Proposition 14 embodied an amendment to the State Constitution not only nullifying this law but also barring adoption of any other fair housing legislation by the State or any City or other local subdivision in the future. An almost complete tally shows 3,306,669 votes for and 1,775,872 against.

In Akron, the proposal was a simple move to repeal a moderate fair housing ordinance that had been passed by the City Council last July. The proposed repealer was approved by a vote of 62,392 to 46,312.

Similar anti-fair housing proposals had previously been approved in referenda in Berkeley, California, Seattle and Tacoma, Washington, and Detroit. In Detroit, where no fair housing law, either state or local, was in effect, the referendum was held on September 1 of this year on a "home owners' rights" ordinance purporting to give all owners of residential property the right to freedom from interference with their privacy and the right to choose their friends and associates. This ordinance was approved by a vote of 137,671 to 114,743.

These results were achieved despite vigorous opposition expressed by virtually all the prestige elements in the affected areas. Proposition 14 in California was opposed by the churches and synagogues, almost all the newspapers, the labor unions, the Governor of the State, the State PTA and the State Bar. It was openly supported only by the State Real Estate Association. Nevertheless, it passed. This may have been due, at least in part, to the fact that the Real Estate Association had almost unlimited funds at its disposal, while opponents were severely handicapped by lack of funds.

Civil rights organizations have already announced plans to challenge the constitutionality of Proposition 14, although the precise form

that challenge will take is not yet clear. It will undoubtedly raise novel and important questions of constitutional law. My own view is that the courts will hold Proposition 14 unconstitutional under the Due Process Clause of the United States Constitution, because it prevents the State from acting to assure its citizens equal opportunity to obtain what Justice Holmes once called "a necessary of life." (The ordinance adopted in Detroit is almost certainly unconstitutional under the broad civil rights provisions contained in the State Constitution adopted in Michigan in 1963.)

The approval of Proposition 14 is disquieting on several grounds. It will certainly be used by segregationists as a talking point against all further civil rights legislation, Federal, state or local, at least in the area of housing. The consistent results in these referenda will be cited as proof that the people have spoken. (The refusal by the voters of Maryland on Election Day to nullify the statute extending the law against discrimination in restaurants and other public places to the entire State encourages the belief that this problem is confined to housing outside of the South.)

The real estate industry has made it clear that California, Akron and Detroit are just the beginning. It intends to call for referenda in many other parts of the country. There are even plans to seek an amendment to the United States Constitution to protect so-called "property rights." Ed Mendenhall, President of the National Association of Real Estate Boards, was quoted in the New York Times of November 11 as asserting that private property rights are more basic to human liberty than the civil rights of minority groups.

One may be confident that such a proposal for amending the Constitution will never emerge from Congressional committees. The American people will not allow NAREB to lead them back into the Nineteenth Century. State and local action, however, is a different matter. Civil rights forces will have to do a far more effective job than in the past if they are to avoid the repeal of state and municipal fair housing laws and if they are to secure such legislation in those communities and states in the North where they are not already on the books.

Sincerely yours,

Shad Polier

Shad Polier

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November 27, 1964

Dear Friend:

By Way of Explanation. Cicero once concluded an epistle to a friend with the apology: "If I had more time, I would have written you a shorter letter." My court and office schedule last week was so overcrowded that there was no time to write the newsletter. On the other hand, so many important events in the field of civil rights and civil liberties have occurred during the past fortnight that it seemed to me appropriate, if not prudent, to make this week's newsletter double its usual length at the risk that its bulk may discourage some of my readers. Regrettably even a "double-header" is not long enough to include many items worth reporting.

Nazi Criminals, the Statute of Limitations and the German Constitution. This was the subject of a letter which I wrote last Friday to the New York Times which published it on November 25. Because of the civil liberties issue involved, its republication in my newsletter seems to be warranted.

Last Friday's New York Times carried a letter by Gerhart H. Seger defending the refusal of the government of the Federal Republic of Germany to extend the statute of limitations, without which no new proceedings equivalent to our Grand Jury investigation may be commenced against Nazi criminals after May 8, 1965. Mr. Seger described himself as having been a member of the German Reichstag from 1930 to 1933 and a member of its Judiciary Committee during that period. One may conclude, therefore, that he was one of the liberals who fled Hitler's Germany.

AJCongress has for more than a year urged that the statute of limitations be extended by the West German Republic. For a long time, ours was a lone voice. More recently, other organizations have joined in urging such action. So far,

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however, Chancellor Erhardt has turned a deaf ear to these pleas, giving as a reason the very argument made by Mr. Seger. In answer to his letter, I wrote to the Times:

> Mr. Seger cites as justification the provision of Article 103 of the new German Constitution that "an act can be punished only if it was a punishable offense by law before the act was committed." Mr.Seger argues that "the change of the statute of limitations would, if it were to be effective at all, have to be introduced retroactively, and that indeed would be contrary to the basic law of the Federal Republic."
>
> The position taken by Mr. Seger was urged upon the United States Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit in 1928 and was rejected in an opinion written by the late Judge Learned Hand in Falter v. United States. In that case, the defendant was found guilty of conspiring to defraud the United States. The crime was committed in 1919 and 1920 when the period of the statute of limitations was three years. In November 1921 the period was extended to six years. The defendant contended that the constitutional prohibition against ex post facto laws barred indictment more than three years after the offense.
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> Writing for a unanimous court, Judge Hand said:
>
> "Certainly it is one thing to revive a prosecution already dead, and another to give it a longer lease of life. The question turns upon how much violence is done to our instinctive feelings of justice and fair paly. For the state to assure a man that he has become safe from its pursuit, and thereafter to withdraw its assurance, seems to most of us unfair and dishonest. But, while the chase is on, it does not shock us to have it extended beyond the time first set, or, if it does, the stake forgives it."
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> The Supreme Court denied review in Falter v. United State. Certainly, if the Supreme Court had regarded the constitutional issue as having any substance whatsoever, it would have entertained jurisdiction.
>
> In 1957 in Clements v. United States the Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit unanimously affirmed a conviction under the Mann Act where a prosecution was commenced within the five years set by an amended statute of limitations but not within the three-year statute of limitations that obtained at the time of the crime. Again the United States Supreme Court denied review.
>
> It is therefore quite misleading to urge that any constitutional issue is involved in prolonging the statute of limitations covering crimes by Nazis. What is involved is a question of policy.
>
> I would submit that it would be entirely shocking if the West German Government were to fail to act before May 8, 1965, when the present statute of limitations expires. Men charged with infamous crimes against humanity should remain subject to prosecution so long as they live and whenever and wherever they can be found. For the German Government to do less will be to display a wish to pull down the curtain of history upon unforgivable and unfortettable deeds.

Criminal Libel and the Constitution. Last March the United States Supreme Court in the New York Times Case reversed a judgment of the Alabama courts awarding to a public official $500,000 damages because of allegedly libelous statements contained in an advertisement published in that newspaper charging them with oppressive conduct against Negroes.

The defendants were the New York Times and two Alabama Negro ministers whose names appeared as sponsors of the advertisement. The verdict was reversed on the ground that it violated the First and Fourteenth Amendments because the evidence did not establish that the defendants were guilty of publishing false statements knowingly or recklessly. Indeed, the Supreme Court held that the evidence even fell short of showing that the charges were false.

On Monday the Supreme Court extended the rule of the New York Times Case to the conviction of Jim Garrison, the New Orleans District Attorney, on the charge of criminal defamation. The cahrge against Garrison was based upon a statement made by him in a press conference in which he asserted that the backlog of pending criminal cases was due to the inefficiency, laziness and excessive vacations of the eight judges of the Criminal Court, and their refusal to authorize disbursements to cover the expenses of undercover investigation of vice in that city. Under the Louisiana laws the case was tried before a judge (from another county), sitting without a jury.

The Louisiana statute provides that truth shall not be a defense in a prosecution for criminal defamation. This provision traces back to the notion that there is a public interest in punishing libelous or slanderous statements, even if they be true, because such conduct is likely to lead to physical retaliation if there is no public remedy. In short, the notion that truth should not be a defense in such cases goes back to an era when duels or assassinations to protect ones honor were commonplace.

The judge who convicted Garrison specifically found, although not required to do so, that the charges made by him against the judges were false in fact. In addition, the trial court found that the charge was not made "in the reasonable belief of its truth."

When the case reached the Supreme Court of Louisiana, the conviction was affirmed without any consideration of the issue of truth. It was held to be punishable because it was motivated by "actual malice," which was defined to mean "hatred, illwill or enmity or wanton desire to injure."

Reversal by the United States Supreme Court was unanimous. Six of the Justices held that this was required by the rule of the New York Times Case. Three Justices, Black, Douglas and Goldberg, took the position--which they had taken in the New York Times Case--that the constitution prohibits a civil suit or a criminal prosecution for libel or slander for anything said or written about a public official regarding his conduct in office.

Writing for the majority, Justice Brennan (who also wrote for the majority in the New York Times Case) made short shrift of the notion that barring the defense of truth can be constitutionally defensible where the criticism is of public officials and their conduct of business. In such a case, he wrote, "the interest in private reputation is overborne by the largely public interest, secured by the constitution, in the dissemination of truth." This was hardly a novel doctrine. It was laid down, as noted by Justice Brennan, in a decision of the Supreme Court of New Hampshire to the same effect--decided in 1837.

Justice Brennan held that the conviction could not stand even though the trial court had found that the charge was false. He pointed out that the trial court had rested the conviction on the ground that the charge was not only false but that it was "not made in the reasonable

belief of its truth." This, Justice Brennan said, fell short of the standard required by the New York Times Case--that it must be shown that the statement was made with "reckless disregard to whether the charge was true or false." This in turn, he said, requires proof of actual malice.

Under Monday's decision in Garrison, the case will go back for a new trial because the majority of the Supreme Court held that the "use of calculated falsehood" is not absolutely protected, even where the charge is leveled against public officials for their official conduct. Upon this point Mr. Justice Brennan wrote:

> Although honest utterance, even if inaccurate, may further the fruitful exercise of the right of free speech, it does not follow that the lie, knowingly and deliberately published about a public official, should enjoy a like immunity. At the time the First Amendment was adopted, as today, there were those unscrupulous enough and skillful enough to use the deliberate or reckless falsehood as an effective political tool to unseat the public servant or even topple an administration. That speech is used as a tool for political ends does not automatically bring it under the protective mantle of the Constitution. For the use of the known lie as a tool is at once at odds with the premises of democratic government and with the orderly manner in which economic, social, or political change is to be effected. Calculated falsehood falls into that class of utterances which "are no essential part of any exposition of ideas, and are of such slight social value as a step to truth that any benefit that may be derived from them is clearly outweighed by the social interest in order and morality...." Chaplinsky v. New Hampshire, 315 U.S. 568, 572. Hence the knowingly false statement and the false statement made with reckless disregard of the truth, do not enjoy constitutional protection.

Reliance by Justice Brennan upon Chaplinsky is farfetched. Chaplinsky involved a conviction of the defendant who, when being taken to a police station, told the police officer "You're a god-damned racketeer and a fascist." The United States Supreme Court unanimously upheld the conviction on the ground that these were "fighting words...plainly tending to excite the addressee to a breach of peace."

In his concurring opinion in Garrison, Justice Goldberg reiterated the view expressed by him in the New York Times Case that, "if the rule that libel on government has no place in our Constitution is to have real meaning, then libel [criminal or civil] on the official conduct of the governors likewise can have no place in our Constitution."

Justice Black, who also referred to his concurring opinion in the New York Times Case added:

> I believe that the First Amendment, made applicable to the States by the Fourteenth, protects every person from having a state or the federal government fine, imprison, or assess damages against him when he has been guilty of no conduct other than expressing an opinion, even though others may believe that his views are unwholesome, unpatriotic, stupid or dangerous. I believe that the Court is mistaken if it thinks that requiring proof that statements were "malicious" or "defamatory" will really create any substantial hurdle to block public officials from punishing those who criticize the way they conduct their office. Indeed, "malicious," "seditious," and other such evil-sounding words often have been invoked to punish people for expressing their views on public affairs. Fining men or

sending them to jail for criticizing public officials not only jeopardizes the free, open public discussion which our Constitution guarantees, but can wholly stifle it.

Justice Black added, sardonically, "I would hold now and not wait to hold later, compare Betts v. Brady, 316 U.S. 455, overruled in Gideon v. Wainwright, 372 U.S. 335, that there is absolutely no place in this country for the old, discredited English Star Chamber law of seditious criminal libel."

In Betts, decided in 1942, the Supreme Court held that, under the particular circumstances of the case, it was a denial of the due process of law to deny a defendant's request for counsel to represent him in a felony prosecution in the State Court. It declined to rule that the Constitution requires that the defendant be provided with counsel in every felony case where the defendant was unable to pay for his own attorney. Twenty-one years later, after a long series of cases in which the Supreme Court found special circumstances required a new trial because the defendant was not given counsel, the court finally, in Gideon v. Wainwright laid down the rule that counsel must be provided in all felony cases.

What Justice Black predicts--a prediction in which I join--is that the Supreme Court will finally have to face the fact that the law of libel, whether civil or criminal, will remain an instrument of oppression so long as persons may be sued or prosecuted for charges made against public officials for their conduct in office. As Justice Douglas, concurring in Garrison, observed:

> If malice is all that is needed, inferences from facts as found by the jury will easily oblige. How can we sit in review on a cold record and find no evidence of malice when it is the commonplace of life that heat and passion subtly turn to malice in actual fact? If "reckless disregard of the truth" is the basis of seditious libel, that nebulous standard could be easily met. The presence of "actual malice" is made critical in seditious libel, as well as in civil actions involving charges against public officials, when in truth there is nothing in the Constitution about it, any more than there is about "clear and present danger."

In commenting on the New York Times decision, my newsletter characterized it as "A Pyrrhic Victory." It reminded that "according to Plutarch, the King of Epirus exclaimed, upon reckoning the cost of his triumph over the Romans at the battle of Asculum in 280 B.C., 'Another such victory and we are undone.'" It concluded with the observation that:

> There is a precept that one should be grateful to have half a loaf rather than no bread. There is, however, an adage that the proof of the pudding is in the eating. While, therefore, one may feel some sense of gratitude for what the Supreme Court did in the New York Times Case, one has reason to fear that when the bread is put in the mouth, it will found to have turned into stone.

"Under God." Back in 1954, President Eisenhower, attending services at the New York Avenue Presbyterian Church in Washington, D.C. heard a sermon preached by Rev. George Daugherty. In the course of his sermon, Rev. Daugherty made reference to the Pledge of Allegiance formulated by the Courts. It then read: "I pledge allegiance to the flag of the United States of America and to the Republic for which it stands, one nation, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all."

Rev. Daugherty in his sermon scathingly remarked that the Pledge of Allegiance was one which a Russian school child could, without difficulty, utter, merely substituting reference to the U.S.S.R. for the U.S.A. The good Dominie observed that something was wrong when the same Pledge of Allegiance could be used with equal appropriateness in a "godless" nation and in our country. He urged that after the words "one nation" there should be inserted the phrase "under God."

The sermon had a powerful and immediate effect. President Eisenhower urged that Congress amend the pledge of allegiance. Congress responded immediately. The change was made without a single dissent. In those days, to have opposed such an amendment would have been to risk denunciation by McCarthy if not annihilation by the electorate.

In due course, as was to be expected, Joseph K. Lewis, President of the Free Thinkers (an organization of avowed atheists) began a suit to enjoin the use of the pledge of allegiance in the public schools of New York. Mr. Lewis, who has an unbroken record of failures in the score of cases he has instituted since 1927, sued James E. Allen, New York State Commissioner of Education, to enjoin the use of the Pledge of Allegiance with the words "under God" on the ground that it violated the First Amendment prohibition against an establishment of religion and the prevention of its free exercise. The New York Courts rejected Mr. Lewis' suit and, on Monday, the United States Supreme Court refused to review the case.

Following its practice, the Court issued no opinion in declining to undertake review of the New York court's decision. Consequently, there is no assurance that the Court reached the Constitutional question itself. The State of New York had urged the Court to deny review on a large number of grounds, several of them having nothing to do with the merits of the case. For example, Mr. Lewis was suing only as a taxpayer. While his co-petitioner, Alfred L. Klein had had a child in public school when the suit was begun eight years ago, the state pointed out that there was no assurance that the child was still in public school. Thus, review could have been denied under the principle that taxpayers do not have standing to raise constitutional issues.

Thus, last Monday's ruling gives no indication of how the Court will rule if and when it is called upon in a proper case to decide whether inclusion of the words "under God" in the Pledge of Allegiance is compatible with the Constitution. My own view is that the compulsory recital of the Pledge of Allegiance with the words "under God" is clearly a violation of the religious freedom of any child who objects to reciting it on grounds of conscience. Moreover, I would not be surprised that, in a case brought by a parent of a public school child, the pledge would also be held to violate the constitutional prohibition of establishment of religion.

My view, of course, is not shared by the New York courts which ruled to the contrary. Nor is it shared by the Attorneys General of 30 states who filed a brief amicus curiae urging the Supreme Court not to review the decision in the Lewis case on the ground that the pledge of allegiance was not a religious exercise, but was designed for patriotic services. To this argument, there seems to me to be a short and complete answer. Religious freedom cannot be denied nor can religion be established in the name of patriotism.

The Cardinal and the Constitution. On November 17, Cardinal Francis Joseph Spellman, Archbishop of New York, asked the Ecumenical Council meeting in Rome to amend the Catholic Church's draft on Christian education so as to call for the use of public funds for parochial

schools. Cardinal Spellman's proposed amendment read as follows:

> Parents should be free to choose the schools they wish for their children. They should not in consequence of their choice be subject to unjust economic burdens which would infringe upon this freedom of choice. Since it is the function of the state to facilitate civil freedoms, justice and equity demand that a due measure of public aid be available to parents in support of the schools they select for their children.
>
> Moreover, if these schools serve the public purpose of popular education, the fact that they may be religious in their orientation should not exclude them from a rightful measure of public support.

The amendment proposed by Cardinal Spellman reflects the view of the American Bishops. However, not all of them--for example, Cardinal Richard Cushing, of Boston--share the view of the majority that all federal aid should be denied to public schools so long as it is not given to parochial schools.

One may respect the right of the Catholic hierachy in the United States to differ with those who hold that the First Amendment prohibition against an establishment of religion precludes the grant of funds by the federal government to parochial schools. One may also respect their view that this prohibition of the First Amendment is not made applicable to the states by the Fourteenth Amendment.

The Bishops well know, of course, that every state court in which the issue has been raised has held that its state constitution prohibits such use of public funds. They have every reason to believe that the Supreme Court of the United States will hold that the federal Constitution requires that result with respect to both federal and state funds.

Actually, their only hope is that Congress will grant funds for parochial schools and that no one will be in a position to question the constitutionality of the grant in the courts. Indeed, it is for this reason that spokesmen for the Catholic Church have urged that Congress should not include in any grant of federal funds a provision allowing a taxpayer to question the constitutionality of the measure.

The American Bishops are entitled to maintain their position and to seek to make it effective. It is, however in my judgment, a cardinal error for them to urge that a Schema be adopted in Rome in which Bishops from countries which have no counterpart of our First Amendment should urge such a position with respect to the use of public funds, without taking note of the special constitutional problems of the United States of America. In short, in my opinion, Cardinal Spellman has done his cause no good by his proposal.

Sincerely yours

Shad Polier

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LEO PFEFFER, Director
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December 4, 1964

Dear Friend:

Chief Judge Sobeloff Retires. Yesterday Simon E. Sobeloff, Chief Judge of the Federal Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit reached the age of 70. Under law he was automatically required to relinquish the Chief Judgeship, though not his seat on the Court. Happily, his retirement only closes another chapter in, but does not mark the end of, the distinguished career of a man who truly deserves the appellation of "a great public servant." Every person concerned with civil rights and civil liberties in the United States must feel a sense of gratification that Judge Sobeloff will continue to be an active member of this Court whose jurisdiction covers Maryland, Virginia, West Virginia and North and South Carolina.

History will recall that during the past six years, as Chief Judge, he has done much to assure the acceptance and implementation by the Court of Appeals not only of the direct holding but also of the implications of the Supreme Court's 1954 decision in the School Desegregation Cases striking down as unconstitutional the pernicious doctrine of "separate but equal facilities." He has sat in all but one case in which the Court of Appeals has passed upon civil rights issues. In every case in which he sat, civil rights has been sustained by a majority of the Court. Where the Court sat in a panel of three Judges, he was able to persuade at least one of his colleagues to vote with him. Since 1962, he has directed that all civil rights cases be heard by the five Judges of the Court sitting en banc.

Until last Wednesday, the high point in Chief Judge Sobeloff's tenure on the Court of Appeals was marked by the 3-to-2 decision on November 1, 1963, holding unconstitutional the Hill-Burton Act under which Congress provided Federal funds for private hospitals so long as they afforded "separate but equal facilities." Since 1946 some $600 million of Federal funds, made available under the Hill-Burton Act, had

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gone into the construction of over 2,000 medical care facilities in the 11 "Old South" States, in practically all of which Negroes have been discriminated against in one way or another. Although the Hill-Burton Act authorizes "separate but equal" facilities, the fact is that institutions for Negroes built with Federal funds have been largely non-existent. Moreover, Negro physicians and dentists have been excluded from the use of facilities, except in the few communities where they are allowed to treat their patients in segregated wards.

The majority, in an opinion by Chief Judge Simon E. Sobeloff, ruled that the regulations under which the Hill-Burton grants were made available took the hospitals out of the category of purely private bodies. Consequently, the Court of Appeals held, discrimination by those institutions constituted "State action prohibited by the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment." The Court went even further and held that participation by the Federal Government in such a program violated the Due Process Clause of the Fifth Amendment.

Refusal by the United States Supreme Court to review the decision was accepted as marking an end to the scandalous practice of providing Federal subsidies for segregated hospitals. The decision greatly strengthened the hands of those seeking, and eventually succeeding in securing, inclusion in the Civil Rights Act of 1964 of provisions declaring it to be against Federal policy to make Federal funds available for discriminatory programs and authorizing the Government to implement this policy by cutting off such funds or seeking an injunction against their discriminatory use.

In no small measure it was certainly due to the gentle firmness and persuasive intellect of Judge Sobeloff that the Court of Appeals was unanimous in ruling on Wednesday that Virginia could not constitutionally subsidize by tuition grants "private" schools for white children established in Prince Edward and Surry counties, to evade desegregation orders of the Federal courts. Only one of the five members of the Court of Appeals did not join in the opinion written by Judge Sobeloff. He was Judge Clement F. Haynesworth, Jr. of Greenville, South Carolina, who limited himself to concurring in the result. As the senior member of the Court, he has succeeded Judge Sobeloff as Chief Judge.

The proposal for tuition grants grew out of the program of massive resistance to the school desegregation cases fostered by Senator Harry F. Byrd, senior Senator from and political boss of Virginia. Originally the plan called for the withholding of public funds from any school ordered to desegregate, the closing of such schools and the payment of tuition grants to parents who chose to send their children to private schools. The school-closing provision of the Byrd law enacted in 1956 was struck down simultaneously on January 19, 1959 by the Virginia Supreme Court of Appeals and by a three-Judge Federal District Court headed by Judge Sobeloff. Their decisions sent back to their classes some 13,000 Virginia children whose schools had been closed for five months because of orders that they admit a handful of Negro children.

Prince Edward County which has previously bussed all Negro children to a public school in another county, however, chose to keep its "white" school closed and to discontinue the bus service for Negro children. Surry County which had maintained two schools, shut down its "white" school but continued to operate the all-Negro school. Private "academies" were established to provide educational facilities for white children, the major part of the cost being borne by tuition grants provided by the State and the counties.

The result was that all Negro children in Surry County continued to attend segregated schools. For five years Negro children in Prince Edward County attended no school. Parents of the Negro children were finally successful in securing an order from Federal District Judge Oren Lewis requiring the levying of taxes and the appropriation of funds for the resumption of the public school in Prince Edward County. This ruling was, however, set aside in July 1963 by a 2-to-1 vote of the Court of Appeals.

Originally, the Court of Appeals was scheduled to sit en banc. However, Judge Sobeloff and Judge Albert W. Bryan--both of whom would certainly have voted to uphold Judge Lewis--stepped aside when asked by the Board of Supervisors to disqualify themselves. Judge Sobeloff was asked to step aside because of his participation in the Prince Edward County case ten years before. Then, appearing before the Supreme Court as Solicitor General of the United States, he had urged the United States Supreme Court to hold "separate but equal facilities in public schools" of the States violated the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment and that similar facilities in the District of Columbia violated the Due Process Clause of the Fifth Amendment. Judge Bryan was asked to step aside because, during one of the other stages of a decade of effort to secure the implementation of the Supreme Court decision in the Prince Edward County case, he had, as a District Judge, held that the closing of the public schools did not moot the desegregation order.

Pending appeal from the adverse ruling of the Court of Appeals, Negro children in Prince Edward County attended school in 1963-1964 in buildings owned by the county which had been made available without charge. The costs of operation were provided by two sources. One was Federal funds made available on the theory that the crash program to make up for four years of non-education constituted a research project. The second source was private contributions--mostly foundation grants--made available on a one-year basis in the hope and expectation that the Supreme Court would, in the meantime, end this scandalous situation.

On May 25, 1964, the Supreme Court unanimously reversed the holding that the Federal District Court should have withheld deciding the Prince Edward County case until the highest court of Virginia had passed upon the obligation under the State Constitution to reopen the public school of the County. The Supreme Court was also unanimous in holding that the closing of the Prince Edward Schools, while contributing to the support of private segregated white schools, denied the Negro children the equal protection of the laws. Two members of the Court--Justices Clark and Harlan--dissented from the further holding that Judge Lewis was acting within his power in directly ordering the Prince Edward County Court of Supervisors to levy the necessary taxes to provide for the maintenance without racial discrimination of a public school system in Prince Edward County.

The Supreme Court remitted the Prince Edward County case to the Court of Appeals to pass upon the holding of Judge Lewis that the providing of tuition grants to "private" schools constituted discriminatory State action in violation of the Equal Protection Clause. When the Prince Edward County case was returned to the Court of Appeals, it had before it the same question presented with respect to the subsidized segregated private schools in Surry County. As noted above, the Court of Appeals was unanimous in holding that such tuition grants were unconstitutional. This time, since the question of reopening of public

schools was not involved, there was no ground upon which Judge Sobeloff's or Judge Bryan's right to participate in the decision could be challenged, and both sat.

The opinion of Judge Sobeloff in Wednesday's decision, in which three other Judges fully concurred--Judge Haynesworth only concurring in the result--was written with a pen which eloquently and with delicate irony observed that: "If such strategic maneuvers resorted to in response to the law pass muster, Prince Edward and Surry have indeed accomplished a remarkable feat, stultifying a decade of judicial effort to bring about compliance with the School Desegregation Cases."

Judge Sobeloff's opinion also disposed of an argument which has been so often advanced--and not only in the South--that the tuition grants were defensible because they protected the white pupils' rights to choose their associates. This contention Judge Sobeloff tersely rejected, saying: "There is a right of association which the Constitution respects and protects. However to invoke the right in the manner of Prince Edward and Surry is merely to assert euphemistically a right to enforce involuntary segregation of the races in public facilities."

One may well doubt that Virginia will seek review in the Supreme Court of Wednesday's decision banning tuition grants in these two cases. Should Virginia choose to ask for review on that issue, the certain result would be affirmance. Moreover, the Supreme Court would probably act summarily and without hearing argument.

It is possible, however, that Virginia may seek review on another aspect of Wednesday's decision. The Court of Appeals did not limit itself to tuition grants for pupils attending the private school established in Prince Edward County. In addition, it upheld the injunction granted by Judge Lewis restraining the County from discriminatory hiring and promotion practices with respect to its public school faculty. One might hope that Virginia would ask review of that part of the Court's ruling. It raises an issue of fundamental importance. As public schools in the South are increasingly compelled to desegregate, there is certain to be massive resistance to employing Negroes as public school teachers in "mixed" schools and, of course, to promoting them to administrative and supervisory roles in such schools.

It is to be expected that Virginia will concentrate upon another suit brought by the NAACP--which also represented the parents in the Prince Edward and Surry County cases. That suit is for an injunction to restrain the entire system of tuition grants. It involves the use of such grants in the other school districts of the State where public schools have never been closed. It will be heard before a three-Judge District Court because an injunction is sought against the enforcement of a State law. The panel will include two district judges and will be headed by Judge Bryan of the Court of Appeals who participated in Wednesday's decision and who, as noted, concurred in the opinion of Judge Sobeloff.

Those familiar with the career of Judge Sobeloff may call to mind the observation of Thomas Tusser, four hundred years ago,

"Except wind stands as it never stood
It is an ill wind turns none to good."

But for the opposition of reactionaries, most notably Senator James O. Eastland of Mississippi, Chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Judge Sobeloff would have been appointed by President Eisenhower a

Judge of the Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia. His appointment to that position was vetoed by Senator Eastland because he and his fellow conservatives regarded Judge Sobeloff, then United States Solicitor General, as "too liberal" to sit on a Court before which comes most of the cases involving challenges to the constitutionality of Federal legislation. Instead, as a compromise, Judge Sobeloff was appointed to, and confirmed as a Judge of the Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit. A bare two years later, the senior Judge retired because Congress enacted the 70-year limit, and Judge Sobeloff became Chief Judge.

It is worthwhile to note the case in which Judge Sobeloff demonstrated that he was "too liberal" for Senator Eastland's taste. It was Peters v. Hobby, argued in the Supreme Court on April 19, 1955 and decided on June 6, 1955. The plaintiff was Dr. John P. Peters of the Ill. Medical School. The defendant was Oveta Culp Hobby, Secretary of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare which includes the United States Public Health Service

Dr. Peters sued for a declaratory judgment that his removal and disbarment as a Special consultant to the Public Health Service on loyalty grounds was invalid. He had been cleared by the agency loyalty board but the Loyalty Review Board, considering the case on "post-audit," had determined that there was "reasonable doubt as to Dr. Peters' loyalty to the Government." Dr. Peters challenged the constitutionality of the loyalty program, questioned the authority of the Loyalty Review Board under Executive Order 9835 which established it, and particularly emphasized the refusal of the Board to disclose to him the evidence upon which its decision was based.

Judge Sobeloff not only declined to argue the case on behalf of the Government, he refused to have his name placed on the brief. The failure of the Solicitor General to sign the Government's brief was--as noted in the New York Times of April 5, 1955--construed as indicating disagreement with the Government's position. It was an act of integrity characteristic of Judge Sobeloff. It was also an act of courage in a day when Senator Joseph McCarthy of Wisconsin was at the height of his reign of political terror.

The Supreme Court held 7-to-2 that the Loyalty Review Board was not authorized by the Executive Order to review on its own motion cases decided favorably to the employee by the agency loyalty board, and that its order was, therefore, invalid. It further ordered the Civil Service Commission "to expunge from its records" the Board's finding and the order of disbarment.

Mr. Justice Douglas concurred in a vigorous opinion stating that the procedure of withholding evidence violated due process. He addressed himself to those who urged, "that the Government's source of information must be protected, if the campaign against subversives is to be successful." Justice Douglas wrote:

> The answer is plain. If the sources of information need protection, they should be kept secret. But once they are used to destroy a man's reputation and deprive him of his 'liberty,' they must be put to the test of due process of law. The use of faceless informers is wholly at war with that concept. When we relax our standards to accommodate the faceless informer, we violate our basic constitutional guarantees and ape the tactics of those whom we despise."

Justice Black wrote that he would have preferred to decide the case on constitutional grounds but felt constrained to follow the rule that

cases should be disposed of upon statutory grounds wherever possible.

There were only two dissents in Peters, Justices Reed and Burton. They limited themselves to holding that the Review Board was authorized by Executive Order to consider the case, and did not reach the constitutional issues since the majority had disposed of the case on other grounds.

Judge Sobeloff's record as Solicitor General and as Judge of the Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit are milestones in a long career of public service. From 1919 to 1923 Judge Sobeloff was Assistant City Solicitor of Baltimore. For the next four years he was Deputy City Solicitor and from 1943 to 1947 he was City Solicitor. In between he was the United States Attorney for Maryland from 1931 to 1934, to which position he was appointed by President Hoover.

In 1947 Judge Sobeloff resumed private law practice. He did not remain long out of public service. In 1951 and 1952 he was Chairman of the Commission on Administrative Organization of Maryland. In 1952 he was named as Chief Judge of the Maryland Court of Appeals in which position he served until his appointment as Solicitor General of the United States.

AJCongress is proud that Judge Sobeloff was one of its founders and was for many years one of its national officers. Together with his fellow members of AJCongress and many more thousands of men and women throughout the nation, I join in hailing him upon his 70th birthday. It gives me particular pleasure to have this opportunity to present a vignette of a great man and a great jurist.

The Postal Iron Curtain and the Constitution. One of the evil fruits of McCarthyism during the 1950's was the action of the Post Office Department in intercepting mail, other than first class mail, entering the United States from behind the Iron Curtain. The seizure program resulted in numerous protests, including objections by scholarly institutions whose mail was intercepted.

Until 1958 the Post Office Department did not even tell the addressees that their mail had been withheld. After that date, postmasters sent out notices that they had seized "foreign mail addressed to you consisting of certain publications which contain foreign political propaganda." The addressee was advised that if he signed a card saying that he had ordered or wanted the mail, it would be delivered to him. This system obviously was calculated to intimidate the addressees, who were, in effect, asked to declare that they wanted Communist publications.

One of President Kennedy's first acts in office was the issuance of an executive order in March 1961 which ended this censorship practice. At that time the President pointed out that he was acting upon the unanimous recommendations of the State, Justice, Post Office and Treasury Departments, all of which had advised him that such seizure of Iron Country mail performed no useful intelligence function. The President also pointed out that such censorship provisions invited retaliation against mail from the United States.

Obviously for the purpose of making political capital, the Republican Policy Committee decided to press for an amendment to the pending Postal Rate Increase Bill so as to renew the ban on "Communist political propaganda." Since it is always dangerous to vote in favor of "sin" the amendment was adopted by the House of Representatives which would have left it to the Attorney General to determine what mail falls with-

in the prohibited category. In all probability the amendment might have cleared the Senate but for the fact that President Kennedy, at his press conference, made plain his doubts as to the wisdom of such a provision. He said:

> I think the American People are used to hearing all sides. I don't think that they're particularly impressed by a good deal of what I have seen of propaganda. We send a good deal of mail out. I want to be sure that our right to send our mail and our views and our correspondence to all parts of the world are not interfered with.

Ultimately, however, the House had its way. The Senate went along and President Kennedy signed the Post Office Bill, despite the inclusion of the censorship provision because the measure contained important provisions for raising postal rates and the pay for post office employees.

The bill as finally enacted provides that mail, other than first class mail, shall be detained by the Post Office if it is determined by the Secretary of the Treasury to be "Communist political propaganda." In its original form the bill proposed to vest this review in the Department of Justice which, however, vigorously opposed it on the ground that the standard was unreasonably vague.

The law exempts from its coverage mail received pursuant to subscription or addressed to Government agencies, public libraries, colleges, universities, graduate schools and scientific and professional institutions for advanced study. It also requires the Secretary of the Treasury to notify all addressees that mail is being held and to forward the same if requested to do so.

Commenting upon the new law, my letter of October 18, 1962, characterized it as reflecting political opportunism on the part of Congress and an amazing lack of confidence in the intelligence of the American people. My letter singled out for special mention the requirement that addressees must notify the Secretary of the Treasury of their wish to have such mail forwarded to them. "This provision," I observed, "of course, subjects any one making such a request to a suspicion and invites FBI surveillance."

Last month, on November 18, in Heilberg v. Fixa, a three-Judge Federal District Court at San Francisco, unanimously held the 1962 statute unconstitutional as a violation of the First Amendment. The opinion disclosed that to implement the statute the Post Office Department and the Customs Bureau maintain 11 screening points in the United States for the interception of Communist political propaganda. It also revealed that a file of cards is maintained of the individuals requesting delivery of such mail.

The Government tried to avoid a ruling on the merits onthe ground that the plaintiff in the case had never submitted a request that such mail be sent on to him. The Government argued that it would consider the filing of the suit as an expression of a desire to receive the mail in the future and that it would not place his name on file. This contention was obviously specious. It was brushed aside by the Court on the ground that "voluntary cessation of allegedly illegal conduct does not deprive the tribunal of power to hear and determine the case, i.e., does not make the case moot."

Addressing itself to the merits of the case, the Court observed that, "While First Amendment rights are not absolute, it is too late in the day to doubt the preferred status these rights enjoy in our constitutional scheme." For this proposition it cited Sherbert v. Verner, de-

cided by the Supreme Court in June, 1963, holding that South Carolina could not deny unemployment insurance to a Seventh Day Adventist who refused to accept a job involving work on Saturday, contrary to religious beliefs. The court noted that in Sherbert v. Verner, the Supreme Court indicated that only a compelling state interest could tip the scale in favor of a statute that burdens the exercise of First Amendment rights.

The Court declined to place its decision on the ground urged by the plaintiff that the postal procedure subjected his mail to unnecessary delay because of the screening program. It said:

> Whether this delay alone constitutes an unconstitutional abridgement of /his/ First Amendment rights, we need not decide. A more serious obstacle to the exercise of these rights arises out of the statute's requirement that the addressee of 'Communist political propaganda' indicate a 'desire' to receive it.***The right to distribute and receive controversial literature may require constitutional protection where disclosure may subject the distributor or receipient to social disapprobation or economic injury.
>
> In Talley v. California, 326 U.S. 60, 28 LW 4186 (1960), the Supreme Court had before it an ordinance requiring that handbills show the name of the distributor. The Court said: "There can be no doubt that such an identification requirement would tend to restrict freedom to distribute information and thereby freedom of expression." Talley v. California, supra, at 64. If identification of a distributor is constitutionally impermissible, a fortiori, identification of a recipient, whose rights are similarly protected, would no less 'tend to restrict***freedom of expression.'***
>
> Moreover, the practices made necessary by /the statute/ we are convinced, cannot help but deter the free expression of ideas. It is a fact that people who associate themselves in whatever fashion with anything 'communist' are very likely to suffer social disapprobation.

The Court then went on to observe that to overcome this infirmity in the statute the government must assert and prove both that there is a compelling state interest and that no alternative remedy would achieve the end desired without infringement of First Amendment rights. This, the Court held, the government had failed to do.

The Government will, of course, appeal the decision in Heilberg v. Fixa. It will be interesting to see whether whoever is then the Solicitor General of the United States will sign the brief and argue the Government's case or whether, like Judge Sobeloff, he will stand aside.

A special word may be in order with respect to Sherbert v. Verner and Talley v. California, relied upon by the Court in Heilberg. In both cases, briefs amicus curiae, prepared by the AJCongress Commission on Law and Social Action, were filed in support of the position taken by the Supreme Court in reversing the rulings of the highest courts of South Carolina and California.

Sincerely yours,

Shad Polier

Shad Polier

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JDL

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JOSEPH B. ROBISON, Assistant Director

December 11, 1964

Dear Friend:

America's Nuremberg Laws, The Constitution, the Supreme Court and Arthur Krock. On Monday, the United States Supreme Court unanimously reversed the conviction of Dewey McLaughlin, a Negro, and Connie Hoffman, a white woman, for violation of a Florida statute which provides that:

> Any negro man and white woman, or any white man and negro woman, who are not married to each other, who shall habitually live in and occupy in the nighttime the same room shall each be punished by imprisonment not exceeding twelve months, or by fine not exceeding five hundred dollars.

They were sentenced to thirty days at hard labor, fined $150., plus costs, and in default of payment, to an additional thirty-day term.

There is no Florida statute punishing similar conduct by persons of the same race. Other Florida laws provide criminal punishment for adultery and lewd cohabitation and authorize imprisonment up to two years. They, however, require proof of intercourse to sustain a conviction.

The opinion of the Supreme Court, written by Justice White, held that the statute under which McLaughlin and Hoffman were convicted denied the equal protection of the law as guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment because similar conduct is not punishable where engaged in by persons, both of whom are white or both of whom are Negro. In reaching this result the Court overruled Pace v. Alabama, decided in 1883.

In Pace, the Supreme Court unanimously upheld a law which provided a penalty of not less than two years or more than seven years in the penitentiary or "hard labor for the county" for adultery or fornication where one of the persons was white and the other was "any Negro or the descendant of any Negro to the third generation, inclusive, although one ancestor of each generation was a white person."

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Punishment for the offense, when committed by persons of the same race, was limited to a fine of $100 or imprisonment for six months. The opinion of Justice Field in Pace summarily dismissed the contention that the discrimination exercised in the punishment violated the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. Such discrimination, he wrote, was "directed against the offense designated and not against the person of any particular color or race. The punishment of each offending person, whether white or black, is the same."

Justice White stated that the "Narrow view of the Equal Protection Clause" stated in Pace had been long eroded by a series of subsequent decisions. These, he wrote, show that "Judicial inquiry under the Equal Protection Clause, therefore, does not end with a showing of equal application among the members of the class defined by the legislation."

Accordingly, Justice White said, "The courts must reach and determine the question whether the classifications drawn in a statute are reasonable in light of its purpose--in this case, whether there is an arbitrary or invidious discrimination between those classes covered by Florida's cohabitation law and those excluded." He continued:

> We deal here with a racial classification embodied in a criminal statute. In this context, where the power of the State weighs most heavily upon the individual or the group, we must be especially sensitive to the policies of the Equal Protection Clause which, as reflected in congressional enactments dating from 1870, were intended to secure 'the full and equal benefit of all laws and proceedings for the security of persons and property' and to subject all persons 'to like punishment, pains, penalties, taxes, licenses, and exactions of every kind, and to no other.' Our inquiry, therefore, is whether there clearly appears in the relevant materials some overriding statutory purpose requiring the proscription of the specified conduct when engaged in by the white person and a Negro, but not otherwise. Without such justification and racial classification contained in [the Florida statute] is reduced to an invidious discrimination forbidden by the Equal Protection Clause.

Florida sought to justify the statute as necessary "to prevent breaches of basic concepts of sexual decency." To this Justice White answered:

> We find nothing in this suggested legislative purpose, however, which makes it essential to punish promiscuity by one racial group and not that of another. There is no suggestion that a white person and a Negro are any more likely habitually to occupy the same room together than the white or the Negro couple or to engage in illicit intercoursse if they do.

He noted, of course, that there were other Florida statutes dealing with and punishing illicit intercourse and that actual intercourse was not even a necessary element of the crime for which the defendants had been convicted.

As a second justification for the statute under which the defendants were convicted, Florida argued that its interracial habitation law is ancillary to and serves the same purpose as its miscegenation law. Interracial marriages are declared void both by Florida statute and by the State Constitution. Florida urged that the legislative history of the Fourteenth Amendment makes such a prohibition immune from attack under the Equal Protection Clause.

The opinion of Mr. Justice White rejected this argument without reaching the question of the validity of the Florida prohibition of interracial marriage or the soundness of its arguments rooted in the history of the amendment. Justice White said that even if it were assumed, for the purpose of argument only, that interracial marriage could be declared unlawful it would not follow that the statute under which the defendants were convicted could "pass muster under the Fourteenth Amendment."

Justice White pointed out that other criminal prohibitions,

> which are neutral as to race express a general and strong state policy against promiscuous conduct, whether engaged in by those who are married, those who may marry or those who may not. These provisions, if enforced, would reach illicit relations of any kind and in this way protect the integrity of the marriage laws of the State, including what is claimed to be a valid ban on interracial marriage. These same provisions, moreover, punish premarital sexual relations as severely or more severely in some instances than do those provisions which focus on the interracial couple.
>
> Florida has offered no argument that the State's policy against interracial marriage cannot be as adequately served by the general, neutral, and existing ban on illicit behavior as by a provision which singles out the promiscuous interracial couple for special statutory treatment. In short, it has not been shown that [the cohabitation statute] is a necessary adjunct to the State's ban on interracial marriage.

Justice Harlan wrote a concurring opinion, which was little more than a gloss upon the opinion of Justice White. Another concurring opinion was written by Justice Stewart with whom Justice Douglas joined.

While Justices Stewart and Douglas also did not reach the question of the constitutionality of Florida's ban on interracial marriages, they found no necessity for the labored argument of the majority opinion in holding unconstitutional under the Fourteenth Amendment a criminal law which prohibits cohabitation with persons of different races. The concurring opinion of Justice Stewart was as follows:

> I concur in the judgment and agree with most of what is said in the Court's opinion. But the Court implies that a criminal law of the kind here involved might be constitutionally valid if a State could show "some overriding statutory purpose." This is an implication in which I cannot join, because I cannot conceive of a valid legislative purpose under our Constitution for a state law which makes the color of a person's skin the test of whether his conduct is a criminal offense.
>
> These appellants were convicted, fined, and imprisoned under a statute which made their conduct criminal only because they were of different races. So far as this statute goes, their conduct would not have been illegal had they both been white, or both Negroes. There might be limited room under the Equal Protection Clause for a civil law requiring the keeping of racially segregated public records for statistical or other valid public purposes. But we deal here with a criminal law which imposes criminal punishment. And I think it is simply not possible for a state law to be valid under our Constitution which makes the criminality of an act depend upon the race of the actor. Discrimination of that kind is invidious <u>per se</u>.

The decision in McLaughlin v. Florida, has been hailed as undermining American Nuremberg laws which exist in nineteen states--11 of them, States of the old Confederacy and six of them, Border States--which prohibit marriage between whites and Negroes. It seems to me, however, that the entire Court--without a single exception--deliberately chose to avoid deciding this question, although it was clearly presented as one of the issues raised by the appeal.

In the trial court the defendants sought to prove that they were husband and wife as the result of a common law marriage, i.e., a marriage created by living together as husband and wife. Such marriages are recognized in Florida. However, the trial judge instructed the jury that a common law marriage between persons of different races is a nullity.

In their appeal the defendants contended that this application of the marriage law was a denial both of due process and the equal protection secured by the Fourteenth Amendment. Marriage would have been a complete defense to the criminal charge on which the defendants were convicted. Consequently the validity of the Florida ban on interracial marriages was squarely before the Supreme Court.

The Supreme Court, of course, is entitled to choose, as it did in this case, to place its decision upon the narrowest constitutional ground available. In my judgment, however, the Court by flinching did a great disservice to this country. It should have faced and finally disposed of the basic issue.

Although one would not know this from any of the opinions of the Court, Florida predicated its principal argument upon the contention that there is such a thing as "racial purity;" asserted that there are biographical disadvantages of race mixture; and argued that cultural levels depended upon racial factors. We know today that these pseudo-scientific props for racism are the products of a system of slavery and were based on race prejudices and notions of Negro inferiority used to justify slavery, and later, segregation. In Hitler's case, they were used to "dehumanize" Jews in the minds and hearts of others so as to make possible the "Final Solution" in the gas ovens and crematoria.

Counsel for the defendants urged "The time has come to remove the stigma of miscegenation statutes from the fabric of American law." In reporting the argument of the case before the Supreme Court, I said, "One may confidently expect that the Supreme Court will agree." I was mistaken. Indeed, all three opinions, by their repeated stress upon the fact that McLaughlin involved a criminal prosecution, can only give comfort to racists and create doubt and confusion as to what the Constitution commands with respect to the civil consequences of interracial marriage. Monday, in my judgment, was, therefore, a sad day in the history of the Supreme Court.

No surprise to me was the editorial column of Arthur Krock, published in the New York Times on Tuesday. Readers of his column have long since concluded that Krock has completely accepted and become the principal exponent of the philosophy of the senior Senator from Virginia, Harry F. Byrd. This is not the place to question whether Krock is a qualified commentator on constitutional law. Be that as it may, he was clearly in error, as a reporter of facts, when he wrote in his column that,

> Neither in the briefs and oral arguments before the Supreme Court, nor in the Court's opinion, however, was there a confrontation

with the real motivation of the Florida law.

The real motivation of the Florida law was extensively presented both in the briefs and oral arguments. It was, as already noted, ignored in all three opinions, not only in the opinion of the Court by Justice White. The Krock column went on at this point to say,

> Like all its kindred, which include the state statutes that make racial intermarriage (generally, Negro-white) a crime, the law reflects widespread American disapproval of cross-breeding between whites and non-whites in the United States. This feeling is conceived partly in racial prejudices, particularly against Negroes--and not only in the South. It is partly conceived in the theory, which has considerable support among anthropologists, that Negro-white fusion in particular has a deteriorating effect on both races.

The use of the term "cross-breeding" is offensive and inexcusable. The phrase underlined by me, is not only tendentious but untrue.

Any one with a reasonable familiarity with the writings of anthropologists would not write that there is "considerable support among anthropologists" for any such proposition. Indeed, there is practically no respected anthropologist who has ever ventured to assert such a position.

The Times seeks to include in its columns "All the News That's Fit to Print." It would be entirely appropriate for it to include in a news report a statement by an anthropologist espousing the view set forth by Arthur Krock. Not too long ago it properly carried reports of the speeches and writings of Hitler and Goebbels. In an earlier day, it probably reported the pseudo-scientific rantings of Austin Chamberlain. On the other hand, it seems to me to be a very different thing for the Times to give house room to such vicious racism in an editorial column.

Krock has every right to hold these views. I wonder, however, whether the New York Times believes that it must or should provide him with a platform for expressing them. That wonder is, I believe, shared by a great many people who, like myself, hold the Times in high esteem.

Washington, 1964? George Orwell's "1984" - Aldous Huxley's "Brave New World?" This tri-partite question seems to me to be an appropriate caption for a news story appearing in the New York Times on Wednesday under the by-line of its Washington correspondent, C.P. Trussell.

> Washington, Dec. 8--A Senate investigators' report questioned today the scope and fairness of some of the Government's test program for incumbent and prospective employes. It indicated that in numerous instances privacy was unduly invaded and that constitutional rights might have been denied in others.
>
> The report was made by the staff of the Senate subcommittee on Constitutional Rights. The chairman, Senator Sam J. Ervin Jr., Democrat of North Carolina, has asked for departmental justifications.
>
> The Questions Asked. The report cited cases of psychiatric and psychological tests, including one of a woman who had been directed to answer 570 personal questions "quickly and without any thinking or deliberation." It also noted sharp inconsistencies in agency policies and variations within the armed services on the question of permitting the presence of counsel, relatives or friends at employment examinations.

In the psychiatric-psychological tests, the report stated, the questioning ran largely to matters relating to the subject's family, sex life, religion and personal habits. Questions, it was stated, inquired into whether sex entered dreams, the number of times a week the subject prayed, belief or disbelief in a life hereafter and whether some thoughts entering the mind were "too bad to talk about." Other questions concerned whether the subject was "troubled" and, if so, if the trouble was "deciding whether I'm really in love," confused in religious belief or differing with the family on religious matters.

At another point, the report stated, the subject was to choose the most applicable to her or which she preferred from pairs of questions. They included, frustrations, preference for sex emphasis in books, plays and jokes, inferiority anxiety, desire to shift blame to others, and seeking revenge for insults.

Senator Ervin asked the State Department for a report on the type of information gained from such tests to "justify such an invasion of privacy." He was told, he said, that such testing was necessary to provide suitable help to the individual and to protect the interests of the Government.

Questioning of this order, the department held, was justified in instances such as these:

Foreign Service employes who have been overseas and have begun to have an emotional breakdown due to the stresses of the post to which they have been assigned.

Security matters, where psychiatric consultation and psychological testing may be necessary to fulfill responsibilities under the Internal Security Directive.

An employe or a dependent who has an emotional problem that requires treatment.

The tests, conducted by a private consulting psychiatrist, are all "professionally recognized," the State Department reported. The detailed answers are made a part of the subject's records. The medical department receives only the conclusions of the testing.

The report on the right by employes or prospective workers to counsel was drawn from results obtained from a Government-wide survey not yet completed. The study was made, the report stated, in response to complaints of "improper questioning" by security investigators, "sometimes in violation of regulations" and of discouragement or denial of the presence of a third person.

The extent to which psychiatric-psychological probing into the subject's family, sex life and personal habits may be warranted in connection with persons seeking employment or employed in sensitive security positions may be debatable. Thus, in Schlagenhauf v. Holder, decided by the United States Supreme Court on November 23, it was held that where good cause was shown to exist a Federal District Court would be authorized to require a truck driver sued for negligent operation of his vehicle, to submit to a mental examination.

Only Justice Douglas dissented from this broad construction of the Federal Rules of Procedure. However, even his dissent conceded that both Congress and the Supreme Court could authorize such a rule.

Justice Douglas took the view that a rule suited to the purposes of discovery against defendants must be "carefully drawn in the light of the great potential of blackmail." He also raised the question whether "If the truck driver in the instant case were not a defendant [but was only a witness to the accident], could he be examined by doctors and psychiatrists. For these reasons, Justice Douglas concluded that the problem was one which should be referred to the Civil Rules Committee of the Judicial Conference so that proper safeguards might be set down.

It seems to me that the concern expressed by Justice Douglas in Schlagenhauf, is even more pertinent with respect to psychiatric-psychological probings by governmental departments conducted without court supervision. They might well be suspended until standards and safeguards can be devised and made effective. The "inviolability of a person" has such historic roots in Anglo-American law and tradition and so deeply touches the sensibilities of persons and the values which they attach to privacy, that the manner and extent to which this or that department of the government may venture into this area needs to be thought through and guides and bounds carefully formulated.

Some of the practices reported in the Trussell article, it seems to me, clearly violate legal rights.

The denial of counsel would, in my opinion, be held by the Supreme Court to be unauthorized action by any governmental department in the absence of express Congressional sanction. Even such sanction by Congress might well be deemed to violate the due process of law guaranteed by the Fifth Amendment.

In one respect the subject matter of inquiry reported by Trussel is not only outside the authorized area of inquiry but any such authorization would clearly violate the First Amendment. There can be no possible justification for "religious belief" or "differing with the family on religious matters." These are simply beyond the competence of government because of the First Amendment guarantee of freedom of religion. Questions on these matters are, in short, an indefensible example of bureaucracy running amok.

Sincerely yours,

Shad Polier

Shad Polier

WA
JD

AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS

FEB 8 1965

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February 5, 1965

Dear Friend:

My newsletter of January 18 characterized President Johnson's special message on federal aid to education as offering "A Mess of Pottage." The newsletter stated that the views expressed were my own because the President's proposals had not yet been considered by the policy-making bodies of the American Jewish Congress. Since then the official position of AJCongress has been formulated in a memorandum prepared by the Commission on Law and Social Action. It was presented at hearings held by the House and Senate Committees this week on identical bills.

There is grave danger that these bills will be rushed through the committees before public opinion can be alerted to the danger they pose of nullifying the principle of separation of church and state, and before attention can be focused upon the necessity for amendments which would preserve this vital principle. Under these circumstances, it seems to me justifiable to forego writing my usual newsletter and to give you instead the text of the AJCongress statement which reads as follows:

The American Jewish Congress is an organization of American Jews deeply concerned with the preservation and extension of the American democratic way of life and with the survival and enrichment of the Jewish cultural tradition. Our concern in the field of educational opportunities is long-standing and well-known. Education being the foundation upon which true democracy rests, we could not fulfill our obligation to preserve and maintain democracy without expending our energies towards the extension of educational opportunities. We have therefore been active in the struggle to achieve equality of educational opportunity for all in accordance with the traditions of American democracy. At the same time, we have worked for the preservation of the basic constitutional liberties that are the heart of the American system.

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We have long recognized the need of states and local communities for Federal financial assistance in the field of education. For many years we have urged the enactment by Congress of legislation providing Federal financial aid to public schools.

We are therefore gratified that for the first time there seems to be a real possibility that the Federal Government will begin to meet its responsibilities in this area.

Nevertheless, there are three aspects of H. R. 2362 which cause us grave concern. Indeed, we find ourselves opposed to the measure in its present form. Fortunately, none of these three items is vital to the effectuation of the purpose of the bill, and each can be eliminated by simple amendment.

Specifically, we oppose the bill because:

1. The provisions of Title I in effect require the establishment, where there are underprivileged children attending non-public schools, of "dual enrollment" (more popularly known as "shared time") systems as a condition for the public school system to receive a basic grant or a special incentive grant under that Title.

2. Title II provides for grants of "library resources and instructional materials" for use in "non-public elementary and secondary schools," including parochial or other sectarian schools, and the supplemental educational service programs proposed in Titles III and IV provide for grants of funds and equipment to such schools.

3. Title III (and, by reference to the Economic Opportunity Act, Title I) provides, without necessary safeguards that could easily be included, for establishment of what have been called "consortiums" to provide supplementary educational services and grants.

I. The Shared Time Requirement

There are serious questions regarding the constitutionality of the shared time program since it is intended to provide a form of financial assistance and subsidy to parochial schools, by establishing joint courses in the very areas (science, shop, gymnasium) of greatest expense to these schools. But completely aside from the constitutional question, we consider it a serious mistake to require provision for shared time as a condition to qualification for grants under this Act.

The "shared time" idea is objectionable in the following respects:

1. It creates the danger of dividing the public school community into two groups, based upon religion--the general student body and the parochial school group. Convenience, economy, efficency and the desire of the parochial school authorities make it almost inevitable that the parochial school students will enter the public school as separate groups. The limited experience there has been under the shared time plan has validated this prediction.

2. Modern teaching methods seek integration rather than compartmentalization of school subjects. Shared time, which can operate only on the basis of separate subjects, would reverse this trend and set back the course of progress in education.

3. Operating a school during part of the day for a large student body and during the other part for a smaller student body may wreak havoc with the orderly administration of the school and its curriculum.

4. Not only would the added expense be prohibitive but the result would be wasteful. The influx of large numbers of new students for a part of every school day would require costly expansion of facilities utilized at only a fraction of capacity. It would be unavoidable that, after a large sum is expended to build new classrooms, the school itself would be half empty part of the day.

5. The plan would necessarily blur the line which separates public from parochial education. In order for the plan to work it would be necessary for the public and parochial school authorities to coordinate their operations. This could lead in many communities to joint operation of the public school system by public and church authorities. I shall discuss this aspect more fully when speaking of Title III. Here I suggest that such a consequence would be fatal to the integrity of our independent, secular public educational system.

6. Likely, too, would be efforts by church authorities not only to review but to censor even religiously "neutral" subjects in order to "protect" parochial school children in the public schools.

7. The public schools will lessen their interest in the humanities subjects and concentrate on such subjects as physical sciences, manual training, home economics, etc. Thus, what is most meaningful and significant in public education will be watered down.

8. Finally, there is the serious danger of fragmenting the public school system by encouraging proliferation of private schools. We might end up in many communities with a situation where all the important subjects needed for human relations are taught in a multiplicity of separate private schools and the public school is used as a common manual training institution, physical science laboratory or gigantic gymnasium.

These are real dangers. We submit that they cannot be eliminated by any safeguards. There never has been a "pure" shared time program and experience strongly indicates that there cannot be. In these circumstances it would be disastrous to condition grants under Title I on adoption of shared time programs or even to endorse such programs.

We therefore urge that all reference to "dual enrollment" be deleted from the bill.

II. Instructional and Library Materials and Funds and Equipment for Non-Public Schools

The bill raises squarely the issue of Federal funds for educational services in parochial or other sectarian schools.

We urge strongly that Federal funds should not be granted, directly or indirectly, to sectarian schools. We see no difference between the grant of Federal funds to sectarian schools to purchase instructional and library materials and equipment, and the grant of such materials themselves. We deem both contrary to the constitutional principle of the separation of church and state.

The meaning of this principle, implicit in the Constitution and explicit in the First Amendment, has on four separate occasions from 1947 to 1962 been spelled out by the Supreme Court in the following language:

> The "establishment of religion" clause of the First Amendment means at least this: Neither a state nor the Federal government can set up a church. Neither can pass laws which aid one religion, aid all religions, or prefer one religion over another. Neither can force nor

influence a person to go to or to remain away from church against his will or force him to profess a belief or disbelief in any religion. No person can be punished for entertaining or professing religious beliefs or disbeliefs, for church attendance or non-attendance. No tax in any amount, large or small, can be levied to support any religious activities or institutions, whatever they may be called, or whatever form they may adopt to teach or practice religion. Neither a state nor the Federal Government can, openly or secretly, participate in the affairs of any religious organizations or groups and vice versa. In the words of Jefferson, the clause against establishment of religion by law was intended to erect "a wall of separation between Church and State."

Our Constitution and Bill of Rights were adopted before the development of our public school system and the application of the First Amendment to public education and tax-raised funds was therefore not initially clear. But by 1875 our public school system had become firmly established, and the application to it of the principle of separation of church and state was eloquently expressed by President Grant in an address that year:

> Encourage free schools and resolve that not one dollar appropriated for their support shall be appropriated for the support of any sectarian schools. Resolve that neither the state nor the nation, nor both combined, shall support institutions of learning other than those sufficient to afford every child growing up in the land the opportunity of a good common school education, unmixed with sectarian, pagan or atheistical dogma. Leave the matter of religion to the family altar, the church, and the private school, supported entirely by private contributions. Keep the church and state forever separated.

These words are as relevant today as they were when they were uttered, just 90 years ago. Our public school system, in desperate need of funds for its own vitality, will be gravely threatened if tax raised funds are made available for the support of private schools.

We submit that there is no merit to the claim that those who send their children to private schools are entitled as a matter of fairness to support out of the public treasury. Under our constitutional system, tax-raised monies, obtained from all, are appropriately spent on public schools, open to all. All citizens are privileged either to go to those schools or to set up schools of their own. If they choose the latter alternative, they have no right to claim public support.

Establishment of a universal free public school system has been one of the greatest contributions of our American democracy. It would be gravely threatened by the provisions of this bill. If the bill were adopted in its present form, a host of new school systems would inevitably spring up. There are today well over 250 religious denominations in the United States. One thing can be said with certainty: if any religious denomination is allowed to receive tax-raised funds for its schools, our Constitution as construed by our Supreme Court would require that all be allowed to do so. If but a small fraction of these 250 denominations exercise the privilege, the consequences to the public school system will be profound.

Consider what happened in the Netherlands. Before tax-raised funds were made available to confessional schools, only one out of every five Dutch children attended such schools, and the other four attended public schools. When, after almost a century of pressure, the Dutch constitution was changed so as to provide for governmental financing of confes-

sional schools, the ratio was almost reversed. Today about three out of four children in Holland attend confessional schools and only one out of four attend public school. Is there any reason to believe that a similar result would not be caused in this country?

The fragmentation of the public school system would be but one of the many unfortunate consequences of the initiation of a policy of dividing governmental education funds among religious groups. We can expect bitter rivalries in seeking a "fair share" of the pie. One can expect high-priced lobbyists to represent various private school systems, and perhaps even the formation of religious political parties to push for government funds. It is not unreasonable to expect that the public schools, lacking such well-organized and committed pressure groups, will in time become the step-children of the educational system, receiving from tax-raised funds only what is left after the sectarian forces have had their shares. One thing can be said with certainty; division of tax-raised education funds among a multiplicity of school systems will be duplicative and wasteful, and will necessarily purchase a substantially inferior education. The deterioration of general public education in this country, where it has been caused by lack of funds, will continue.

It is for these reasons that we urge that educational services financed by Federal funds be limited to public schools.

We are aware that in 1930, in the case of Cochran v. Louisiana, the Supreme Court ruled it constitutional for a state to provide textbooks to children attending non-public schools. We point out, however, that the church-state issue was neither raised nor considered in the Cochran case, and that such a ruling today would be inconsistent with the church-state principles since then announced by the Court. We point out, finally, that the provisions for aid to church schools in the present bill go far beyond what was involved in the Cochran case.

III. Supplementary Educational Devices

The United States is unique among the nations of history in its commitment to the protection of religious freedom and respect for individual conscience. The founding fathers of this country were determined to forego the power of the majority to control the souls and minds of men. The First Amendment, assuring that the State should not interfere in matters of faith and that no religious body should interfere in matters of the State, became the bulwark against attempts to undermine the guaranty of freedom of religion and individual conscience.

Today the critical need for greater opportunity for education of our children has raised the question of whether this basic freedom must be compromised in order to meet the social and economic needs of our children. Opposition to Federal aid to education unless it include church-controlled schools has long delayed needed Federal aid to our schools and the children throughout the nation. Today, many to whom the war on poverty is of first concern are questioning why the precious First Amendment freedoms should prevent a program of direct help to needy children.

Too often the issue is posed in terms of either no help to the children of the poor or the inclusion of parochial school children in the legislation. This is a false issue. No such alternative in fact exists, if this country is prepared to help its children and if the churches are ready to support such help without demand for a quid pro quo for church institutions.

Educators and the government are rightly concerned with children handicapped by poverty, whose learning is slowed by the economic, intellectual and emotional deprivation which burdens them regardless of which schools they attend. The answer lies in providing Federal aid to such children in public community-based educational centers in which supplementary aid can be given to all children regardless of religious or racial background.

Such help should include pre-school preparation for learning and remedial help for those already in schools who require it regardless of whether they attend private or public, sectarian or non-sectarian schools, during the regular school day.

Such help should be given by qualified teachers in educational centers where there are no religious symbols and no religious garb and no identification with any one religious group so that they are truly community based. Such help should be given in public buildings or in centers that are administered under public auspices so that all children may feel comfortable and so that no parents will as a matter of faith or conscience be barred or feel barred from using such centers.

Such help should be given to children grouped on the basis of their need without any possibility of segregation on the basis of race, or color, or creed.

To accomplish these ends, the legislation to establish Federal aid for community based educational centers must authorize the States and localities to establish such centers either under local public school authorities or other public bodies to provide services for all children in need of such assistance. Such centers must, in turn, be authorized to work out programs during and after school hours for the fullest use by all children of the special services made available on a non-discriminatory and non-segregated basis. These safeguards can easily be included in the proposed bill. As it stands, however, we are opposed to the provisions in this bill (patterned after the Economic Opportunity Act) which would establish "consortiums" for the operation of supplementary educational centers and the administration of supplementary educational services. The idea of a partnership between church and state in education is not only unprecedented in American history since the establishment of the public school system but is directly contrary to the entire philosophy of the First Amendment.

With the proper safeguards, the Federal Government can meet its obligations under the Constitution and provide the needed services to all disadvantaged children so that they may be helped to realize their full potential. If there is good will and sincere desire to achieve that purpose, all children of the poor can receive assistance without further delay and the concept of the federally-supported community based educational center can prove a blessing to the country.

IV. Judicial Review

We have expressed our grave doubts as to the constitutionality of some of the major provisions in this bill. We believe that the bill should be amended to remove these doubts. But at the very least we urge that a provision be added to this bill so as to make possible a review and determination, ultimately by the Supreme Court, of any questions of constitutionality that may still remain. It was unfortunate that the

Congress deleted such a provision from the College Facilities Act of 1963 and we urge that this mistake not be repeated. Constitutional rights are too precious to be allowed to fail for lack of a procedure to secure them

Sincerely yours,

Shad Polier

Shad Polier

JUL 6 1963 WBE

Atlanta, Georgia
5 July, 1963

Dear Friend:

This letter comes to you as an interested citizen of our society.

We are not in the process of negotiating with the Liquor Distributors through the Committee on Appeal for Human Rights and we as adults are needed to help the students in said negotiations.

This body now being formed will be known as "The Atlanta Student-Adult Liaison Committee" of which we hope you will become a member. We as adults cannot do most of the things that are done by students but we can offer our support and guidance through this committee.

You are cordially invited to attend a meeting of the above committee at the Atlanta Life Insurance Company, Tuesday, July 8, 1963 at 2:30 p m. Please make every effort to be present and on time. Your presence is urgently needed.

Sincerely,

Larry Fox

Larry Fox, Chairman, Student
Committee on Appeal for Human Rights

Rev H I Bearden

Rev H I Bearden, Chairman
Atlanta Student-Adult Liaison Committee

A M Davis

Dr A M Davis

Eunice Cooper

(Mrs) Eunice Cooper, Secretary

J Boone

Rev J Boone
Co Chairman

1- agencies- Committee on appeal for Human Rights

WBV

JUL 15 1963

Atlanta, Georgia
12 July, 1963

Dear Friend:

The Student-Adult Liaison Committee for the Committee on Appeal for Human Rights will meet on Wednesday, July 17, 1963 at 2:30 p m at the Atlanta Life Insurance Company, 148 Auburn Avenue, N E.

All problems will be related to organization. Procedures have been corrected, therefore, we feel certain with a united front we will be able to continue our goal of equal employment for all.

As you realize the Picketing Committee is hard at work and their efforts have been fruitful. This should be a source of pride and a symbol of the degree of dedication of these workers.

We hope that this becomes contagious and you will accept your responsibility as a civic leader.

Very truly yours,

Larry Fox

Larry Fox, Chairman
Committee on Appeal for Human Rights

H I Bearden

Dr H I Bearden, Chairman
Student-Adult Liaison Committee

J Boone

Rev J Boone

A M Davis

Dr A M Davis
Co-Chairmen

1- agencies - Committee on appeal for Human Rights

REPORT ON NEW JERSEY GUBERNATORIAL ELECTION

Philip M. Weightman - Nov. 1961

FOREWORD

New Jersey presented more than the normal quota of problems for an untried territory. Before we could even begin the registration drive, which was the first phase of the operation, we had to overcome the suspicion and hostility of local leaders. Since we were working within the framework of the Democratic Party, our responsibility was to first appraise the situation in New Jersey and then to get the approval to start working from the state organizations through the chairmen and the county organizations through the county chairmen. Our team numbered six persons, two on loan from the Democratic National Committee, three from our staff and one from the state organization.

We had to gain the confidence and support of ward and district leaders. It appeared that "the word" had not been passed down to them from the state and county leaders. As "outsiders", we had to run the gauntlet before we could pass the test. In some instances, district leaders defied our right to come in to register people. In the "controlled" areas, there were ward chairmen (white) who feared that our chief motive was to register Negroes in large numbers in order to oust them from their positions.

There were other negative factors among Negroes, ranging from general apathy to discontent over the lack of share in patronage and the indifferent attitude of Democratic Party leaders towards them at all levels.

Negro voters felt they had not been given a "fair shake" in administrative and policy-level positions and in other decent-paying jobs. This was true in every section where we mapped our plans to concentrate. To a lesser degree this was applicable in the Puerto Rican districts where they also felt the sting of discrimination. Nevertheless, despite these handicaps, we were able to do a creditable job on registration, beginning in early August and closing out on September 28. We moved immediately into the second phase - the "get-out-the-vote" drive.

GENERAL PICTURE

Our operation included these areas with large non-white populations. The figures are obtained from the U.S. Census Bureau. They were Essex County, non-white population of potential voters, 108,000; Hudson County, non-white voter potential, 23,000; Camden County, non-white voter potential, 19,900; Union County, non-white potential, 22,300; Passaic County, non-white potential, 14,000; Middlesex County, non-white potential 9,300; Atlantic County, non-white potential, 17,600; and Mercer County, non-white voter potential, 26,000.

Our biggest handicap in the get-out-the-vote drive was the unknown reputation of the candidate for governor, and the prevailing belief that the Republican candidate, a nationally known figure, had the overwhelming odds, a theory well primed by GOP publicity experts and pro-Republican papers. Our general strategy, therefore, was to link Hughes to the popularity of the Kennedy New

Frontier. So our campaign theme was "Vote for Hughes, President Kennedy needs him in the New Frontier." The second technique, after assessing the facts, was to aim at cutting the majorities in traditionally Republican districts and to turn out record votes in the normally Democratic districts. Thus, between these balances, we could safely foresee a victory for Hughes, if all went according to plan.

METHODS USED

We had to take soundings to find out where the real, sincere and dedicated leadership could come from at the district level and to know how to approach the potential voters. We were fortunate to have a large corps of loyal hard-working people, many of whom gave their services generously, coming in after finishing their jobs and working until late at night. We set up a complete card file of potential voters in the areas with information on their contacts; the time they were to be visited by the worker and whether a follow-up was needed. At the peak time in the campaign, we had more than a thousand canvassers.

As the campaign progressed, we found we had other problems complicating the situation. In some areas, there were bitter local issues and factional disputes which to the district and county leaders took precedence over getting Hughes elected governor. However, as time went on and it looked more and more as if we had a fighting chance, this was somewhat overcome.

Our literature included personal letters sent by friends of Hughes asking their friends to vote for him; placards distributed in barber shops, pool halls, beauty shops and other places of business, with some in Spanish for the Puerto Rican districts. On the two preceding Sundays before the election, literature was distributed at the principal Negro churches. On the Friday and Saturday before election, we attempted to saturate such strategic areas as subway stops, supermarkets, housing projects and bus stops during rush hours.

Other techniques employed with great effect were "Koffee Klatches" in homes, motorcades, sound trucks, participation in testimonial dinners for local leaders and using the enthusiasm of many social organizations which had gone all out for the Democratic program. In Camden, there was a childrens' parade, with the youngsters riding gaily decorated bicycles and pulling wagons with colored paper and signs reading, "If I were 21, I'd vote for Hughes." The Puerto Rican children participating carried the signs in Spanish. More than 200 children took part. Another enterprising group of young women coined a popular slogan. "Hughes can't lose with the methods we use." This was chanted at rallies and during radio time and used over and over on the sound trucks.

Once the appeal to support President Kennedy's program began to sink in, the image of Hughes as an individual began to come more sharply into focus. When the Republicans tried to counter with citations of Mitchell's alleged good record on

minorities, we counter-attacked with the story of his part in the ouster of J. Ernest Wilkins, former Assistant Secretary of Labor for International Affairs and the first Negro appointed to a sub-cabinet post. The Wilkins removal and his tragic death from heartbreak were still fresh in the minds of many Negroes. We also used to great effect, President Kennedy's appointment of so many Negroes to top positions, particularly, the number of former NAACP lawyers, including the magic name of Thurgood Marshall who was appointed to the second highest court in the land. Among both Puerto Rican and Negro groups, we stressed the welfare program of the New Frontier, low-cost public housing, the establishment of the Presidents' Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, minimum wage laws, expanded social security, etc. We cited the appointment for the first time of a Puerto Rican as Ambassador to a South American country. An intensive telephone campaign in the last days also greatly aided. The decision of President Kennedy to come into New Jersey gave the campaign the excitement and last minute boost it needed.

RESULTS

A conservative estimate at this point shows that Hughes received at least 72 percent of the minority vote. Some districts he carried by as much as 7-1. What was most gratifying was that we were successful in cutting down Republican majorities in so many areas that this combined with the record turnout of Negro and Puerto Rican voters gave Hughes his 40,000 lead for victory.

It must be pointed out that in some instances, strong Negro candidates on the local tickets helped to carry Hughes instead of the reverse. This was true in Monmouth County where a Negro named Dr. Lorenzo Harris, running in a Republican area carried Hughes.

Our appreciation goes to the "International unions which helped us financially," the state, county and ward leaders who cooperated with us, the Democratic National Committee and most of all, to the hundreds or better thousands of folks who helped to make victory possible. Our only hope and suggestion is that labor and the Democratic Party at all levels will close ranks and work together so that we will not have the heartaches and crushing problems we encountered in this campaign. New Jersey has a great potential for becoming a good Democratic state. We must warn that we cannot continue to gamble on the good will of our minority voters if they are not included in the family circle in patronage as well as otherwise.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT ON DISTRIBUTION OF WORKERS IN
NEW JERSEY GUBERNATORIAL CAMPAIGN - Philip M. Weightman

		No. of workers
1. Essex County		
	Cities of Newark, East Orange and Orange	306
	Montclair	30
	Total	336
2. Hudson County		
	Jersey City	200
3. Pasaic County		
	Paterson	80
4. Monmouth County		
	Asbury Park	62
5. Union County		
	Elizabeth	50
	Rahway	25
	Plainfield	25
	Total	100
6. Middlesex County (Rural Areas)		125
7. Camden County		
	Camden City	100
8. Ocean County		
	Atlantic City	20
9. Bergen County		
	Cities of Teaneck, Hackensack and Englewood	40
Total number of workers		1,063

This does not represent the operation within the labor movement in the state.

The Evening Star
WITH SUNDAY MORNING EDITION

3-5000 WASHINGTON, D. C., WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 8, 1961—88 PAGES Daily and

Democrat Richard J. Hughes, surprise victor over former Labor Secretary James P. Mitchell for the governorship of New Jersey, joins his wife in a victory celebration early today in Trenton.—AP Wirephoto.

G. O. P. '62

Hopes Jolted By Upset in New Jersey

After

Sunday Star-Ledger

11/5/61

Vol. 48, No. 260 15 Cents F Newark, N. J., Sunday, November 5, 1961

Final tally in state poll: It's Mitchell by 100,000

James P. Mitchell, the Republican candidate for governor, will win Tuesday's election by about 100,000 votes, final tabulations of The Star-Ledger Jersey Poll indicated last night. The exact plurality will depend on the size of the vote. The poll shows that a vote of 2 million would give Mitchell a 92,000 margin over Democrat Richard J. Hughes. However, since more than 2 million votes are expected, the plurality probably will reach 100,000 or more.

STAR-LEDGER JERSEY POLL

While a number of last-minute shifts have taken place around the state, gains and losses by the two candidates have virtually offset each other, according to the poll, which on balance points to the same victory margin for Mitchell as three weeks ago.

The county by county boxscore gives the edge to Mitchell — 13 to 7 with Hunterdon a tossup. Last week's tabulations showed President Eisenhower's secretary of Labor ahead in 12 counties, Hughes leading in eight and Cumberland evenly divided.

Mitchell's most dramatic gain is in Essex County. Last August, early samplings showed the GOP standbardbearer would carry Essex by about 30,000. Hughes subsequently chipped away at that figure, picking up most of his strength in Democratic Newark, and two weeks ago the poll showed Mitchell would lose Essex by a small margin.

A tremedous surge of Mitchell strength in suburban Essex in the last two weeks has once again reversed the outlook, and the poll now points to an impressive Mitchell victory in Essex.

The final tabulations do not reflect the effect, if any, of the last-minute visits by President Kennedy and former President Turman on behalf of Hughes — but they do follow widely publicized announcements of Kennedy's decision to campaign here for the former Superior Court judge.

While nothing in the state quite matches the drama of the see-saw shifting of fortunes in Essex, other counties have been pinpointed by the poll in which rather big swings are taking place.

Somerset County, for example, now seems safely in the Mitchell column—despite earlier samplings which showed Hughes ahead.

Cumberland County, a tossup until this week, appears to be leaning now to Mitchell, while Hunterdon, which had favored Mitchell, is now split 50-50.

On the Hughes side of the ledger, the Democrat has taken the lead in Salem away from Mitchell, has improved his lead in Middlesex, Mercer and Camden and has cut down Mitchell strength in Atlantic.

Union County remains an impressive Mitchell stronghold and Burlington County, the poll shows has reversed itself and now leans to the Republican nominee.

Mitchell's best county, however, will be Bergen, where a real return to old-time GOP pluralities seems indicated.

Before

Labor and the Elections

By John Herling

THE 1961 election proved to be a valuable workout for organized labor's political stamina. Until now, the trade union in politics was regarded as a major function during presidential and congressional elections. The odd years were usually interludes of rest from victory or defeat. But there was no rest for labor in politics in 1961.

In the three critical election campaigns—the focus of national attention—organized labor played a critical role: in the New York City mayoralty campaign, the Texas congressional election, and the New Jersey run for governor.

In New York, organized labor began by splitting its energies in the primary campaign. Certain labor groups considered it realistic politics to play along with the "county machine bosses" against Mayor Robert F. Wagner, despite Mr. Wagner's proved friendship for organized labor.

But the greater part of the New York labor movement not only stuck with Mr. Wagner, but became the organizational backbone of the Wagner campaign. AFL-CIO President George Meany, an old Bronx resident himself and a friend of Boss Charles Buckley, made it plain that he considered any trade union member who did not support Mr. Wagner was not hitting on all his mental cylinders.

In the campaign itself, Gov. Nelson Rockefeller—who has cultivated trade union relations—sought to persuade some of the union leaders to vote for Abraham Lefkowitz, the Republican mayoralty candidate. He couldn't get them to budge. His failure to do so represents a loss of prestige with labor which may hurt him in his 1962 gubernatorial re-election campaign.

In the mayoralty campaign, Mr. Wagner's name appeared on three lines of the voting machine—two of them were directly labor-sponsored parties—the Liberal and Brotherhood parties. In addition, the United Labor Committee for Wagner cut across all parties.

Down in San Antonio, Henry Gonzalez had a great deal riding for him, and because of his Mexican origin, strong prejudice was running against him. The fact that he was the regular Democratic candidate would probably have not been enough. The opposition—topped off with President Eisenhower's special appearances for the Republican candidate—was well financed and could make appeals to the right-wing Democrats who did not like Mr. Gonzalez's all-out New Frontier stance. Thru the Committee on Political Education, COPE, manpower and money were made available to channel the enthusiasm and provide the precinct detail, without which campaigns are not successfully fought. A key role was played by Don Ellinger, COPE's regional director in Texas.

In New Jersey, James P. Mitchell ran for governor expecting considerable labor support. The former Secretary of Labor had won accolades from key national labor leaders for his career in Washington, but as AFL-CIO President Meany told his Executive Committee a few weeks before the election, "I'm a personal friend of Jim Mitchell, but I wouldn't vote for him." In fact, the AFL-CIO president chided some of his fellow council members—conspicuously David Dubinsky, president of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union—some of whose affiliates were supporting Mr. Mitchell.

Actually, altho the newly merged New Jersey AFL-CIO made no official endorsement in the campaign, the CIO unions threw their full support behind Judge Hughes, the Democratic candidate, who was practically unknown when the campaign began. Important work was done by COPE's field staff man, Phil Waitman, whose intensive work among the Negro workers began early last summer. Here, the key issue was support of the Kennedy Administration. Reports showed that the Negro voters poured out to support Mr. Hughes—and President Kennedy.

"What impressed me," said Mr. Waitman, "is that Bobby Kennedy's popularity among the Negro workers is even higher than the President's. They like his civil rights work."

How Montclair Voted in Tuesday's Election

			GOVERNOR		ASSEMBLY		FREEHOLDERS							
	REGISTRATION	TOTAL VOTE	HUGHES, DEM.	MITCHELL, REP.	*MATTHEWS, DEM.	*TATE, REP.	GORDON, DEM.	McMAHON, DEM.	MARUCCI, DEM.	MATTHEWS, DEM.	REITMAN, REP.	LaMORTE, REP.	CLARK, REP.	McGEE, REP.
1ST WARD														
District 1	822	614	110	493	108	477	97	95	92	89	462	469	470	465
District 2	712	550	102	433	93	428	85	91	88	90	421	421	424	409
District 3	668	538	77	452	71	439	66	69	66	66	435	434	432	417
District 4	896	709	151	550	137	532	121	127	116	124	530	528	529	503
District 5	751	606	85	505	77	496	70	69	70	68	480	475	480	463
District 6	550	469	100	368	96	357	86	86	89	84	357	353	350	348
District 7	671	540	113	411	107	404	95	96	92	94	407	405	403	397
District 8	704	582	91	483	90	466	78	86	81	81	465	462	466	455
District 9	693	573	122	442	115	430	101	104	100	98	411	419	428	408
District 10	1,096	837	131	691	121	671	116	118	113	112	670	665	675	643
TOTAL	7,563	6,018	1,082	4,828	1,015	4,700	915	941	907	906	4,638	4,631	4,657	4,508
2ND WARD														
District 1	869	616	150	455	133	440	126	127	125	113	433	428	426	429
District 2	615	394	211	178	175	191	171	176	173	161	160	162	159	189
District 3	636	414	242	158	202	183	185	197	180	169	143	142	141	182
District 4	587	405	189	204	168	213	168	175	161	159	185	188	187	200
District 5	545	391	226	161	201	163	188	205	192	175	138	143	141	162
TOTAL	3,252	2,220	1,018	1,156	879	1,190	838	880	831	727	1,059	1,063	1,054	1,162

How Montclair Voted in Tuesday's Election

			GOVERNOR		ASSEMBLY		FREEHOLDERS							
	REGISTRATION	TOTAL VOTE	HUGHES, DEM.	MITCHELL, REP.	*MATTHEWS, DEM.	*TATE, REP.	GORDON, DEM.	McMAHON, DEM.	MARUCCI, DEM.	MATTHEWS, DEM.	REITMAN, REP.	LaMORTE, REP.	CLARK, REP.	McGEE, REP.
RD WARD														
District 1	600	454	113	331	107	330	85	92	83	90	328	324	333	322
District 2	690	495	142	348	140	337	128	131	132	127	331	326	334	322
District 3	690	524	174	333	139	347	139	145	138	126	314	322	318	333
District 4	838	654	281	361	230	383	217	219	202	187	334	334	332	384
District 5	591	385	150	230	134	233	124	127	123	111	233	221	223	234
District 6	754	549	268	265	214	312	221	231	213	173	227	229	234	331
District 7	607	450	76	367	65	364	57	52	59	58	363	362	361	350
TOTAL	4,770	3,511	1,204	2,235	1,029	2,306	971	997	950	872	2,130	2,118	2,135	2,276
RTH WARD														
District 1	678	467	288	168	258	177	242	256	248	234	157	160	156	172
District 2	655	449	270	161	192	258	170	181	161	143	138	149	152	244
District 3	678	507	306	188	205	312	199	219	195	134	169	158	169	311
District 4	795	546	337	180	282	229	253	264	254	234	162	162	162	234
District 5	681	405	284	106	268	104	247	252	252	246	80	88	82	100
District 6	704	495	276	205	173	310	186	186	173	118	194	195	201	325
TOTAL	4,191	2,869	1,761	1,008	1,378	1,390	1,297	1,358	1,283	1,109	900	912	922	1,386
PH WARD														
District 1	643	508	101	403	84	388	78	76	76	76	394	381	390	369
District 2	646	485	190	288	156	307	155	157	153	121	277	275	271	312
District 3	610	485	103	371	97	359	84	81	80	76	369	363	367	353
District 4	543	431	100	326	93	318	82	92	78	79	318	310	317	313
District 5	536	408	138	265	126	258	118	123	121	113	260	257	254	251
District 6	631	474	170	296	149	301	147	148	146	142	286	278	287	282
District 7	625	447	266	167	226	183	230	224	231	210	145	153	143	177
District 8	453	347	143	193	136	180	134	133	142	131	165	172	161	169
TOTAL	4,687	3,585	1,211	2,309	1,067	2,294	1,028	1,034	1,030	948	2,214	2,189	2,190	2,226
GRAND TOTAL	24,463	18,203	6,276	11,536	5,368	11,880	5,049	5,210	5,001	4,562	10,941	10,913	10,958	11,558

st name on ticket.

JERSEY CITY - 1961 GUBERNATORIAL ELECTION - Earl W. Davis

Jersey City, the largest city in Hudson County, and the stronghold of the Hudson County Democratic Organization, claimed the major part of our energies during the campaign.

We found the same problems during the get-out-the-vote drive as we had experienced in the registration campaign. There was general dissatisfaction among Negroes over the failure of the Democratic Organization to give them recognition and patronage. This was an acute aggravation. The situation was further complicated by the activities of Negro Councilman Fred Martin.

Martin, an anti-organization Democrat, won the seat for the city council in June, 1961 over Dr. Paul Sinclair, also Negro, who had been backed by the regular Democratic Organization.

Martin later came out in support of the Republican candidate, James P. Mitchell, and was named a coordinator for Mitchell in Hudson County. The Republicans also nominated Mrs. Ella Lawrence, a Negro school teacher, for the state assembly. There were no Negro candidates on the Democratic slate.

The GOP strategy was clear: to capitalize on the dissatisfaction of Negroes with the Democratic Organization and to use Martin and Mrs. Lawrence to siphon off votes for Mitchell. They hardly expected to carry Hudson County, but they hoped to whittle down the margin so Mitchell could win overall. The Republicans had no interest in the Negro candidate winning.

There were also a group of intellectuals who urged a protest vote against the organization. "We are not against Hughes," they said, "we are not saying Mitchell is a good candidate, but

we ask you to vote for him as a protest against the man that the organization is backing, Hughes."

We had opened two offices in strategic Negro areas during the Registration Drive, so we immediately re-activated these for the "get-out-the-vote" phase. It was obvious that our first task would be to concentrate on motivation. We had to do a selling job to get Negroes to vote for Judge Hughes, since he was virtually unknown and had no record on which we could build.

We decided that we should tie Hughes to the Kennedy Administration's civil rights program and the "New Frontier." The theme would be that Hughes would carry the Kennedy program out in New Jersey. By constantly playing up JFK and Hughes, we felt we could overcome the unknown factor against the candidate. Our offices were decorated with JFK posters surrounded by Hughes literature.

To get the story across to the voters, we saturated the non-white areas with leaflets. Special squads supplied all barber and beauty shops and business places (where permitted). The two Sundays prior to the election were used as church distribution days. In most cases, the ministers were given advance notice and asked for their approval and cooperation. While many of them were not for the Democratic ticket, they did not interfere with the leaflet distribution.

The largest supermarkets in the area were covered on busy weekends. The literature was put in plain shopping bags with Hughes stickers pasted on them. These were passed out to the shoppers by young adults working with us.

Letters were sent to key persons, suggesting the futility of the protest vote and citing the Kennedy Administration's civil rights record. The New Jersey Edition of the Afro-American Newspaper carried a special supplement on Hughes. This was widely distributed.

Another important part of our motivation program was the sound truck operation. We had two working from 11:00 a.m. to 8:00 p.m. We were fortunate to have Mrs. Marie D. Smith, an effective speaker who was familiar with the issues to man one of the trucks. She did a wonderful job in getting the message over, particularly housing projects, multiple dwellings and among the housewives. She had a co-worker who distributed literature while she talked. We had some very attractive women working on behalf of the Democratic slate, and they proved very effective. As a matter of fact, they were most persuasive as a counter-effect to Defector Martin who was concentrating on housing projects.

A telephone campaign was not as extensive as we would like to have seen it, but we used some of our most influential leaders to call people on behalf of Hughes. We also had canvassers in particular areas making house to house calls. Finally, as a technique, there were the "inspired" discussions with generated lively debates and some arguments on the merits of our candidate and program. This always worked out in our favor.

For Election Day, we organized door bell ringers and car pools to transport voters to the polls. We worked closely with

the Democratic Organization on this. Our offices were the clearing houses for workers on Election Day. Drs. J. C. Gibbs and Paul Sinclair, two physicians of a civic-minded bent, were named as coordinators by the Democratic Club to work with us. We also had the able assistance in tying together activities from Mr. Charles Alston, Jr., who worked as a team with Mrs. Smith.

In spite of the Herculean efforts among minority groups by the Republicans in Jersey City, the results more than made up for the hard work. Of the 28 districts where we concentrated in Ward F. Martin carried only the 22nd (his home district) for Mitchell by two votes - 284-282. Only one other district, the 27th, went for Mitchell 362 to 253.

In other areas, such as WARD E, where there are large numbers of non-whites, we were able to conquer Mitchell by two and three to one. It must be emphasized that the Republicans really concentrated in these areas. Mitchell made repeated visits here, accompanied by Councilman Martin and Mrs. Lawrence. The pitch was "Vote for your first Negro State Assemblywoman and the man who will work with her in Trenton, James P. Mitchell." However, Hughes carried Hudson County by 40,561 and Jersey City by 19,287 votes. In WARD F, the largest non-white area, his winning majority was 3,007. In WARD E, it was 6,187.

SUMMARY

Jersey City proved most difficult because of the contention of Negroes that they were not getting a fair shake from the

Democratic Organization, a complaint which seemed to be state-wide at the beginning of the campaign. The particular beef was against hand-picked me-too leaders for them and no consideration given to their problems. Actually, Negroes in Jersey City were almost prepared to sit out the election, so unhappy were they over the way they had been treated. Councilman Martin exploited this dissatisfaction to the hilt. Many strong Negro leaders became disgusted due to lack of cooperation from the parent Democratic Organization and it took much persuasion to keep them from bolting. It is only fair to warn that in Jersey City, unless the Democratic Party and the new state administration come through with some performances in the way of patronage and recognition, the old discontent which was laid to rest with a struggle may revive stronger than ever and there will be wholesale desertion to the Republican column in the crucial 1962 election.

HUDSON COUNTY

Hughes 136,364
Mitchell 95,803

Hughes Hudson County Plurality 40,561

Ward F (Bergen Lafayette)

Hughes 9996
Mitchell 3809

Hughes majority 6,187

JERSEY CITY

Hughes 62,742
Mitchell 43,455

Hughes majority 19,287

VOTE IN WARD F - JERSEY CITY (Predominantly non-white area)
1961 and 1957 Gubernatorial Elections

District	Hughes	Mitchell	Meyner	Forbes
1	342	116	189	95
2	323	188	367	277
3	307	100	381	198
4	301	158	302	168
5	265	125	239	153
6	236	92	251	147
7	324	115	249	149
8	320	159	228	114
9	329	152	251	138
10	348	230	413	279
14	273	222	124	105
15	249	156	158	77
16	235	146	190	128
17	196	126	205	218
18	197	175	191	145
19	236	150	139	79
20	271	207	200	121
21	288	187	208	141
22	282	284	242	166
23	274	175	90	149
24	236	155	229	156
25	197	184	160	182
26	292	224	167	100
27	253	362	131	72
28	199	169		

BERGEN COUNTY

1961 Gubernatorial Race - Earl W. Davis

In this Republican stronghold, we discovered that a young Negro attorney, Arnold Brown, was running for the state assembly on the Democratic ticket, as well as Emil Starr of organized labor. It was our thinking that help for these two would be help for the Hughes ticket. Our only hope in this area was to cut down the huge majority that the Republicans usually roll up.

Upon examination, we found that Brown was working hard for the Hughes ticket as well as for his own election. We agreed to give him some help, which in our opinion was the best way to help Hughes in the non-white areas.

Our principal targets in Bergen County were Teaneck, Hackensack and Englewood. In the former city, we were fortunate in enlisting the aid of a Charles Campbell who had previous experience in politics through the old CIO-PAC. Through his help the 13th District went Democratic for the first time. The 16th District, which also has a large non-white population, went Democratic. Because of Campbell's work, Mitchell's margin over Hughes in Teaneck was cut to 859 votes.

In Englewood, Barry Lewis of the IBEW worked closely with Candidate Brown to bring out the vote for Hughes, Brown and Starr. This activity made Mitchell's margin over Hughes in Englewood only 918 votes.

In Hackensack, Mitchell won by 1,443 votes. In Bergen County, Mitchell received 171,180 votes to Hughes 123,421. Brown polled 116,016 votes and Starr 114,569. Mitchell carried the county by 47,759 votes. But this does not tell the complete story. Mitchell, undoubtedly, would have had a much larger lead if there had not been concerted activity on the part of Starr and Brown.

The general feeling is that the Democrats would have made an even better showing had there been normal cooperation from the various city committees, as well as the county committee. Brown found in some areas that the only Hughes literature being distributed was that going along with his own campaign literature. There is a large Democratic potential in Bergen County if it is only organized and some cooperation is received from the Democratic organization.

1961 GUBERNATORIAL ELECTION VOTE IN
PREDOMINANTLY NON-WHITE AREAS - Earl W. Davis

Bergen County

Hackensack

Ward	District	Hughes	Mitchell	* Brown
4	1	236	265	232
4	2	119	72	158
4	3	487	794	482
	City Totals	3,687	5,130	3,547

Englewood

Ward	District	Hughes	Mitchell	Brown
4	1	266	166	282
4	2	487	287	538
4	3	265	167	262
	City Totals	4,288	5,206	4,149

Teaneck (No wards in this city)

District	Hughes	Mitchell	Brown
13	458	367	458
16	453	352	424
City Totals	7,487	8,346	7,111

Bergen County Totals

Hughes	123,421
Mitchell	171,180
Brown	116,016
Starr	114,569

* Arnold Brown is a Negro attorney who ran for the State Assembly on the Democratic ticket

Monmouth County

1961 Gubernatorial Election - Earl W. Davis

The Republicans expected to take this traditionally Republican area by 20 to 25,000. In this county, as in Bergen, our job was to cut into their anticipated majority.

Dr. Lorenzo Harris, a Negro physician, was a candidate for the State Assembly on the Democratic ticket. Here again, we gave some assistance through the candidate who was also working for the election of Judge Hughes as well as himself.

The areas of concentration in this county were Asbury Park, Neptune, Long Branch and Red Bank. On Election Day, the Republicans went all out to roll up hugh majorities in the non-white areas. Heavy concentration was made in District 10 in Neptune, as well as other spots. It appeared that they wanted this district above all, as there were so many workers and cars around the polls that the voters could hardly get in to vote.

In spite of their money and workers, Hughes and Harris carried the main non-white districts in Neptune. All of the activity that centered around Dr. Harris' campaign was the main reason that Judge Hughes did not fare worse in Monmouth. Every piece of literature that Dr. Harris put out was joined with some for Hughes. It is quite evident in examining the results that Harris carried Hughes in many areas.

Mitchell carried Monmouth by 12,126, less than half of the predicted 25,000. Hughes carried the city of Asbury Park by 121 votes. The total vote in Monmouth for Hughes was 49,198 and for Harris 45,743. In the non-white areas, Hughes and Harris were the winners.

VOTE IN 1961 GUBERNATORIAL ELECTION IN
PREDOMINANTLY NON-WHITE AREAS
MONMOUTH COUNTY

Asbury Park

Ward	District	Hughes	Mitchell
1	3	257	101
	4	152	75
	5	157	125
	6	138	94
	7	162	109
	8	159	118
Neptune	9	290	122
	10	372	169
	11	188	128

Long Branch (This municipality has a very large non-white vote)
Dr. Harris received 3,968

	4,449	3,335

Red Bank

	1,789	2,205

(Dr. Harris received 1,754 votes)

Asbury City total - Hughes 2,656
Mitchell 2,535
Hughes plus 121

Monmouth County total - Hughes 49,198
Mitchell 61,324 M. 12,126

Comparison - Hughes County vote 49,198
Dr. Harris County vote 45,743

Dr. Harris was the Negro candidate for the State Assembly on the Democratic ticket.

Paterson - 1961 Gubernatorial Election - Earl W. Davis

Our activities for Judge Hughes were handled in this area by Mrs. Erma Nelson. She went beyond the call of duty to make the program a success. Results of the voting in the non-white areas show that her efforts were not in vain. In spite of concerted opposition, Hughes was the winner in most of the wards where minority groups are dominant in population.

The "Koffee Klatches" organized by Mrs. Nelson proved very effective and quite popular. Literature was distributed door-to-door in the Negro and Puerto Rican districts. Newsboys who were the carriers sported news-bags made by Mrs. Nelson with slogans about Hughes prominently painted on them: "New About Hughes," "Hughes for Equality," " Hughes for Economy," "Vote Row A." The young women working with Mrs. Hughes wore earrings made of Hughes pins.

Mrs. Nelson also held a successful meeting with a large number of ministers in the city. Though many of them did not support Hughes, she succeeded in neutralizing them so that they did not actively campaign on behalf on Mitchell.

In Passaic, Negro leaders were contacted by Mrs. Nelson's group and our literature which was distributed had great impact. This combination was responsible for the large Hughes vote in that area. He won in Passaic County by 10,959 votes. The total returns were Hughes, 71,450 and Mitchell, 60,491. In Ward 4 in Paterson, a non-white typical district, Hughes majority was 1,789.

VOTE IN 1961 GUBERNATORIAL ELECTION IN PREDOMINANTLY

NON-WHITE AREAS

PATERSON, NEW JERSEY

Ward	District	Hughes	Mitchell
4	1	126	43
	2	131	63
	3	275	73
	4	246	48
	5	232	117
	6	238	97
	7	200	82
	8	217	74
	PASSAIC		
1		1,595	488

COUNTY TOTAL

Hughes 71,450

Mitchell 60,491

Hughes majority - 10,959

Ward 4 total

Hughes 3,062

Mitchell 1,273

Hughes majority - 1,789

CAMDEN CITY REPORT

Margaret B. Holmes
Tinsley L. Spraggins

After completing a fairly successful registration drive in the city of Camden, we returned on October 16 to prepare a program to get out the vote for Richard J. Hughes among the Negroes and Puerto Ricans.

Our objectives were to motivate these groups to go to the polls on Election Day and to supplement the program of those engaged in getting the candidates elected. We selected some 43 districts, or portions thereof, in which these groups were heavily concentrated. It was here that we carried on an intensive motivation program.

Problems were encountered which made it necessary to spend 16 to 18 hours daily and seven days a week on the program. Among these were: the lack of any other motivation in the area, our failure to secure new registration lists and a split in the party organization that was only interested in concentrating on the defeat or election of the County Freeholders. We feared that the latter would have an effect on the Gubernatorial Candidate.

Taking these factors into consideration, between October 16 and November 6 we distributed 75 to 80,000 pieces of literature on civil rights, throw-aways, dealing with the Kennedy Administration, facts about Hughes and on progress made in New Jersey under the Democratic Administration of Gov. Robert Meyner.

This literature was distributed at the seven principal Negro churches in Camden on the last two Sundays preceding the Election, the

five major supermarkets patronized by Negroes on the two Fridays and Saturdays preceding November 7, subway stations during rush hours, three housing projects in the Seventh Ward which have 800 families and in the waiting rooms of several doctors and dentists. Placards were placed in barber, beauty shops and other places of business in the Negro and Puerto Rican areas, and on telegraph poles, trees and vacant buildings.

During this period, we also sponsored many "kaffee klatches" in which the candidates, as well as ourselves talked to the voters in these districts about Candidate Hughes and progress under the present administration. The last week was used to hold larger meetings with the workers and leaders to map plans for Election Day. Because of the split among the Democrats (both sides were supporting Hughes) it was necessary to have two sets of meetings. Some of the other techniques employed during the campaign were sound trucks, radio spot announcements in Spanish and hundreds of personal contacts:

On Election Day, we supplemented both factions who were supporting Hughes with two to six workers per district and two to three telephone workers. We also provided cars to transport voters to the polls.

Throughout the city on this day, we used over 200 youngsters, both Negro and Puerto Ricans with gaily decorated bicycles, home-made go carts and on foot wearing signs such as: "IF I WERE 21, I'D VOTE FOR HUGHES." These signs were made by the children. In the case of the Puerto Rican youngsters, they were done in Spanish. This proved to be very effective.

The results show that there were 35,098 persons in the city who voted. Hughes received 24,784 and Mitchell, 10,314. Hughes' plurality was 14,470, 4400 more than predicted by the Democratic leaders. In the Negro and Puerto Rican districts, Hughes received 9527 as against 3333 for Mitchell. Hence a little more than seven out of every 10 votes was cast for Hughes or a ratio of 3-1 votes against Mitchell.

When you consider that Hughes was virtually unknown at the beginning of the campaign and never made a personal appearance in this area, we feel the results were very good. They could have been much better if we had been able to secure the registration lists. Our workers were completely without any lists; yet they did a commendable job.

CAMDEN CITY VOTE COMPARISON

Dist.	1961 MITCHELL	HUGHES	MEYNER	1957 FORBES
			WARD I	
1. ***	78	149	157	94
2.	83	182	167	96
3.	89	189	181	85
4. *****	96	207	193	102
5. *****	50	182	227	79
6. *****	67	137	140	66
			WARD II	
1.	74	77	129	105
2. *******	34	135	156	105
3.	59	149	202	73
4.	65	144	135	106
5. *******	61	231	122	102
6. *******	58	183	193	96
			WARD III	
1. *******	34	119	143	42
2. *******	54	240	227	38
3. *******	65	242	265	44
			WARD IV	
1. *******	71	149	207	76
2. *******	72	127	147	73
3. *******	65	183	199	42
4. *******	47	194	213	31
			WARD V	
1. *******	50	238	241	47
2. *******	41	169	254	56
3. *******	80	205	245	81
4. *******	67	196	240	37
5. *******	47	148	252	76
			WARD VI	
1. *******	88	248	263	73
2. *******	58	183	157	62
3. *******	85	217	306	81
4. *******	64	184	151	74
5. *******	62	166	183	68
6. *******	77	195	170	80

DIST.	MITCHELL	HUGHES	MEYNER	FORBES
		WARD VII		
1. *******	63	217	199	90
2. *******	102	222	226	108
3. *******	83	172	167	85
4. *******	78	252	233	122
5. *******	72	327	293	72
6. *******	104	414	399	86
7. *******	55	194	164	70
		WARD VIII		
1. ******	74	261	288	80
2. ******	76	247	264	93
3. ******	65	164	192	62
4. ******	63	281	262	63
5. ******	73	205	249	67
6. **********	49	144	170	53
7. **********	29	177	121	29
		WARD IX		
1.	57	130		
2.	92	225		
3.	86	202		
4.	44	227		
5.	93	204		
6.	67	193		
		WARD X		
1.	127	183	189	120
2.	126	177	225	92
3.**********	106	205	209	80
4.	148	202	227	165
5.*********	63	222	273	44
6.	88	167	238	72
7.	108	205	227	94
8.**********	66	129	185	58
		WARD XI		
1.	129	393		
2.	148	268		
3.	135	250		
4.	184	297		
5.	92	280		
6.	156	269		
7.	121	198		
8.	131	214		
9.	105	270		
10.	153	246		
11.	55	127		
12.	54	160		

DIST.	MITCHELL	HUGHES	MEYNER	FORBES
		WARD XII		
1.	113	211		
2.	135	185		
3.	159	179		
4.	106	170		
5.	188	291		
6.	219	320		
7.	173	257		
8.	162	310		
9.	80	210		
10.	330	723		
11.	314	908		
		WARD XIII		
1.	63	235		
2.	101	260		
3. *********	95	225	241	113
4. *******	98	217	297	90
5. ********	124	295	378	101
6.	70	243		
7.	77	312		
8.	116	324		
9.	89	429		
10.	69	251		
11.	67	152		
12.	130	343		
13.	146	418		
14.	69	151		
		WARD XIV		
1.	100	310		
2.	246	555		
3.	195	339		
4.	166	297		
5.	311	643		
6.	143	250		
7.	42	147		
8.	149	281		

********** - Districts in which we participated.

It should be noted in comparing these two tables that there has been a vast Urban Renewal Program going on in the Riverfront districts of Camden where most of the Negro and Puerto Rican families are concentrated and that many of the districts have far less voters living here now than there was in the 1957 Election.

UNION COUNTY

G. Booker

Newspapers and the political pollsters had indicated that Union County would be the pivotal county in the Gubernatorial Election and that every effort should be made to reduce the Mitchell majority in this normally Republican area.

From experiences gained during the Registration Drive it was decided that we would go into the same areas we had worked in the Registration Drive, covering Elizabeth, Linden, Plainfield, Rahway, Roselle, Union, Scotch Plains and the Vauxhall areas.

We were fortunate in having the same local leadership associated with us in the Get-Out-The-Vote Drive as was during the registration period. With the exception of Elizabeth, Union County is primarily a residential area with many Negroes of professional status residing there. Differing in this respect to Essex, Hudson and Camden Counties, Negroes in this County who have obtained political leadership do not depend on political patronage for their livelihood. In Rahway, a Negro Councilman is a successful Doctor, in Roselle a Negro Councilman is a successful Funderal Director, in Linden and Union successful businessmen, in Plainfield a teacher and minister. Although none of

these leaders have gained the recognition they should from the County or State Democratic leaders, nevertheless they are loyal Party workers and dedicated to the principles of the Democratic Party. It should be mentioned that their political success has been gained not only from the Negro Voters of their communities but also many members of the white population. It was also pointed out that many Negroes in this area leaned toward the Republican Party but with the rise of Negroes to leadership positions in the Party fewer and fewer Negroes were voting with the Republican Ticket.

Again the Negro leaders of this County expressed their appreciation of having the support and interest of the Democratic National Committee in this campaign and promised that they would lend their active support in our efforts for "The-Get-Out-the-Vote Drive" in behalf of Judge Hughes.

In Elizabeth in addition to the very active New Elizabeth Democratic Club - a Negro organization, the regular City Democratic Organization is very strong and well organized and there was evidence of an effective organization in behalf of Judge Hughes despite the fact that there were no important local elections with the exception of Mr. Thomas Luchio for County Clerk, Mr. Pat McCann, the Democratic City Chairman and Mr. Joe Manfredi, the City Treasurer were extremely helpful to us in our efforts and close organizational

contact was made to eliminate the possibility of duplication of efforts inasmuch as we had enlisted the aid of the New Elizabeth Democratic Club for our Get-Out-the-Vote Drive in this area. Mrs. Mabel Holland, the President of this organization again displayed the same devotion to our Party as she had during the Registration Drive and gave tirelessly of her time and efforts. She informed her club members that the support of the National Committee to their organization was a direct challenge of proving their worth in the City of Elizabeth Democratic Party structure. Their efforts, I believe, are best shown by the election results which gave a majority of 3 to 1 in favor of Judge Hughes.

The City of Linden, although primarily a residential area has a strong Democratic Party organization and were very helpful to us in our efforts. Our greatest asset in this area apparently comes from the competitive spirit of the Negro community trying to achieve a larger Democratic majority than the other areas. Mr. Clarence Bauknight, a young Negro businessman, and who is apparently destined for future political leadership, was very helpful to us and was able to garner the support of the Negro community.

Rahway and Roselle are two identical communities which apparently rely heavily upon the Negro vote to place them in the Democratic column. Dr. Adam McDaniel and Mr. George Woody are Negro City Councilmen in their respective areas

and enjoy immense popularity among the Negro voting, population. By virtue of their standing and respect in the community they have been able to deliver a solid block of Negro votes in all recent elections. They not only were of great assistance to me in this campaign in their own areas, but campaigned vigorously in behalf of the candidacy of Judge Hughes in other parts of the County.

It was felt that in Plainfield the City with the largest Negro population with the exception of Elizabeth in Union County, and where great success had been achieved in our Registration Drive that the Republican majority could really be cut down. Mr. Eugene Campbell, a Negro City Councilman from the 4th Ward gave us the same invaluable assistance as he did during our Registration Drive, but I believe we were more fortunate in having Reverend Everett Lattimore, a popular young Negro Minister for city councilman candidacy from the 1st Ward. This ward has in the past been a Republican stronghold among Negro voters as well as white. It was felt that by lending Reverend Lattimore all possible support we would be able to deliver this ward into the Democratic Column. A door-to-door canvass was made to every home in this area, koffee klatches were set up, block meetings were established, we enlisted the support of the local ministers, religious groups and social organizations. Boys clubs passed

literature to every house in the ward, women handed out campaign materials at supermarkets and busy shopping areas, a telephone brigade called every home, and the results were that we were able to carry this ward for Reverend Lattimore and Judge Hughes.

In every ward in this County where we concentrated our efforts, we were able to deliver to the Democratic Party and whereas it had been indicated that the Republicans would carry Mr. Mitchell's home county by 20,000 votes, they were only able to muster a slight majority of 5,000 votes.

Undoubtedly, Judge Hughes intensive campaigning, the dynamic personality of Mrs. Hughes and the timely visit of President Kennedy and former President Truman into the State had a great deal to do with this upset victory, however, it is the opinion of our group that by achieving the results we originally established for ourselves, we were not only able to deliver the Negro Vote to the Democratic Party but perhaps have been able to establish a trend for future elections.

UNION COUNTY VOTE IN GUBERNATORIAL ELECTION

Elizabeth	Hughes	Mitchell
Ward 1 (Negro)	2,769	1,133
Ward 2	3,977	1,606
Ward 3	4,619	3,771
Ward 4	4,113	3,528
Ward 5 (Negro)	3,712	1,734
Ward 6 (Negro)	3,070	1,493
TOTAL	22,260	13,265
Linden	10,270	4,681
Plainfield	6,204	7,573
Rahway	5,125	4,508
Roselle	4,474	3,892
Scotch Plains	2,491	4,371
Union	10,306	11,597
County Total	90,583	96,230

MIDDLESEX COUNTY - G. Booker

The worker being assigned to Middlesex County is fortunate in having the vigorous leadership of Mr. David Wilentz, the Democratic National Committeeman from the State of New Jersey, Mr. Joseph Duffy, County Clerk and others in this Democratic stronghold. Although it was a consensus of opinion that Middlesex County would be in the Democratic column, it was felt that by also concentrating our efforts in this County we would be able to give Judge Hughes a substantial Democratic majority and also eliminate the possiblity of Mr. Mitchell making inroads in this area.

I do not feel that any member of our group received finer cooperation from the Democratic leadership on all levels than was received by the worker assigned to this County.

There is complete rapport and harmony among all racial groups and the white leadership will give as vigorous support to Negro meetings, rallies and problems as will the Negro give support to the Democratic Party.

We were again able to enlist the aid of the United Middlesex Negro Democratic Clubs in our efforts in the "Get-Out-the-Vote-Drive". The campaign was at a most opportune time in this respect because this Negro organization was paying tribute to a fellow Negro in a testimonial dinner that gave every indication of being a popular and successful affair. Plans for this dinner had been underway for several months and I was able to attend many of the meetings which were attended by the Negro leadership in the County. Again we were able to arouse as enthusiastic support for the Gubernatorial Election as we had been able to do in the Registration Drive.

It was decided that we would put into effect our plan of operation in Cartaret, Edison, Jamesburg, New Brunswick, Perth Amboy and Woodbridge, the same areas where we had been so successful during the Registration Drive.

Our plan of operation was not only readily accepted by the leadership in this County, but in many instances they were able to revise and elaborate on making this Drive more successful. This was noted when it was suggested that we counter-attack the effect of Republican literature in Edison Township. Wherein I made the suggestion that we would blanket the area with literature which I felt had particular appeal to the Negro voter, the leaders of this Negro organization decided they would put on a Sunday Motorcade traveling through the entire County of Middlesex. The final result being that we had a motorcade of over thirty well decorated cars, two sound trucks and a giant rally ending up in Edison with refreshments served free to the public. We carried Edison by 2,500 votes.

The testimonial dinner in honor of James Conover was in a sense a political dinner. I was invited to be a guest speaker along with Mr. Patten, New Jersey Secretary of State, and other Democratic State leaders and without exception each of the guest speakers mentioned the importance of voting a straight Democratic ticket on the November 7th election.

However successful these other affairs were, the applied and proven campaign techniques were also put into effect in this County. Over 15,000 pieces of literature was distributed. Coffee Klatches were held in the Negro neighborhoods, door-to-door canvassing was made,

meetings were held with local candidates discussing the issues with the Negro voter and telephone workers were used extensively. Mr. Harold Lincoln, Mr. Charles Hall and Reverend Silas Tillman, three of the most outstanding and respected leaders in the County gave tirelessly of their time, energy and talent. Mrs. Gertrude Washington was extremely helpful in organizing women's groups.

The election results of so many good Democrats working many long hours in behalf of Judge Hughes and the Democratic ticket was a thirty-two thousand majority for the County.

In this traditional Democratic County, Mr. Mitchell carried only Cranbury, Plainsboro and Metuchen. Perth Amboy Evening News had this to say about the election - "In Cartaret the local Democrats swept 10 Districts, led by the heavy plurality of the Negro and Puerto Rican inhabited Fourth District which gave the Democrats a vote edge of more than seven to two. The second greatest vote edge was recorded in the other Negro district, the Third, where the Democrats won by a two to one count."

Although our being in Middlesex County has apparently made friends for the National Committee and the Democratic Party, too much emphasis can not be given to the wonderful cooperation I received from the people I have mentioned in this report and the many unmentioned workers in this campaign.

MIDDLESEX COUNTY

1961 GUBERNATORIAL ELECTION RESULT

	HUGHES	MITCHELL
CARTARET	4,610	2,963
EDISON	9,289	7,127
JAMESBURG	839	439
NEW BRUNSWICK	8,726	3,825
PERTH AMBOY	11,535	4,227
WOODBRIDGE	18,717	11,971
COUNTY TOTALS	98,364	65,573

ESSEX COUNTY

At the close of the registration drive in New Jersey, it was felt that the Negro vote would play an important role in the Gubernatorial Election in Essex County if we were to offset the Republican majorities enjoyed in other Counties in New Jersey.

Subsequently, great emphasis was placed upon the areas in Essex County where there was a large Negro population. Inasmuch as there was little evidence of enthusiasm among the Negro population in the forthcoming election it was decided that a detailed plan of operation covering Newark, East Orange, Orange and Montclair of Essex County would be put in effect.

It was realized that if we were to be successful in our efforts for a "Get-Out-The-Vote-Drive", nothing could be left undone in arousing interest among the Negro voter.

It was, of course, necessary to attend many social and political meetings during this period, but recruiting a hard core of dedicated Democratic workers would be the most essential thing in accomplishing our mission. We were fortunate in many respects of having some of the same workers who had been with us in our registration drive. Also the registration drive had taught us many of the problems we would be confronted with during this period, and we were able to avoid some of the mistakes we would not normally have been familiar with if we had not worked in this area before.

One of the first tasks we undertook was to make a record of every qualified Non-white voter in Newark on 3x5 cards in triplicate. These cards were broken down into Wards, Districts, Streets and Blocks. One set of cards were to be used by our workers at the polls to check off

the voter as he came to vote; another set of cards were given to the district leaders to be assigned to his block workers. The block worker indicating if the voter had gone to the polls, or the time he was expected to vote. If the cards at the polls did not show the voter had been to the poll at the expected hour, his card would be given to a worker who would make another house check. The third set of cards were for the telephone workers who made calls to the voters between the hours of 9:00 a.m. and 9:00 p.m. The telephone workers would inform the voters that they were working in behalf of Judge Hughes and ask their support for Judge Hughes and other candidates on the Democratic Ticket. The telephone workers would also ask if the voter needed transportation to the polls, a baby-sitter, and what hour they could be expected to vote. Approximately 30,000 voters were contacted by our telephone workers with most of them getting very fine reception for their efforts.

We also made continuous use of 2 sound truck equipment throughout the City of Newark for approximately two weeks. We were fortunate in that our driver could speak Spanish and therefore could address the Puerto Rican population also.

More than 30,000 leaflets were distributed in the County during this period. Some leaflets were composed by our group, others from local Democratic leaders and from the Democratic State Committee Headquarters. For the most part this literature was well received and it is felt it had some effect on introducing the position of Judge Hughes on many issues important to the Negro Voter.

There was also a Negro candidate for the position of Freeholder and a Negro candidate for the position of State Assemblyman. Both of these candidates conducted vigorous campaigns and were instrumental in arousing voter interest. We were also fortunate in having a newly formed Puerto Rican Democratic Organization associated with our efforts and this group led by Mr. Melon and Mr. Rosario were extremely helpful in getting out the Puerto Rican vote for the Democratic Party.

Every Ward Chairman in Newark, East Orange, Orange and Montclair was also contacted and informed of our plans for election day. We asked each Ward Chairman to pass along this information to his District leaders so they would know we would be working in conjunction with their efforts and to help eliminate the possibility of duplication of efforts. Our plan was to provide each Non-white district with two workers on election day in addition to the workers we had recruited for our program. Each worker was given a specific assignment and informed of the goal we wished to obtain in his respective area. If there was any difficulty the worker was to inform his District leader who would in turn send in additional help. We also had workers paroling the areas to make spot checks of the results our workers were obtaining.

The results of our operation is indicated by the attached sheets which for the most part show an increase in the Democratic vote over the 1957 Gubernatorial election and a decrease in the Republican vote. Where there is a decrease in the Democratic vote in 1961, several factors should be taken into consideration. In some instances urban renewal plans have eliminated residence dwellings and in the South

Ward of Newark an Independent Negro Candidate for Freeholder garnered votes which would have normally voted the straight Democratic ticket.

In addition to the tremendous campaign by Governor Hughes and the interest aroused by the visits of President Kennedy and former President Truman in the State, credit should be given to the workers associated with us. Among those who gave tirelessly of their time and efforts were Mrs. Lorraine Hardin, Mrs. Nell Stokes, Mrs. Ida Little, Mrs. Gloria Jenkins, Miss Pearl Beatty, Miss Oriel Pearman, Members of the Sweethearts Club, and many others.

Without exception every local Democratic leader gave us all possible assistance. Mr. Dennis Carey - Essex County Chairman, Mr. Joe Cohan - Assistant to Mr. Carey, Mrs. Madeline Williams - County Registrar of Deeds, Mr. Eulis Ward - Ward Chairman, are only a few who helped to assist us in achieving a successful campaign.

NEWARK

West Ward

	1961		1957	
District	Hughes	Mitchell	Meyner	Forbes
1	349	97	356	158
2	300	96	323	127
3	196	88	240	123
5	239	107	296	128
6	359	109	344	172
7	334	140	310	183
10	353	121	304	172
11	357	88	354	108
12	312	80	255	114
13	239	216	273	173
14	349	147	375	184
16	331	118	321	135
17	349	125	363	141
20	340	148	351	151
44	231	69	283	107
Total	15,078	7,472	15,428	7,785

NEWARK

Central Ward

	1961		1957	
District	Hughes	Mitchell	Meyner	Forbes
1	151	47	209	142
2	284	92	255	156
3	277	67	221	173
4	85	23	236	163
5	171	59	261	152
6	268	78	211	134
7	228	91	292	143
8	521	183	385	287
9	236	52	213	100
10	257	66	279	144
11	449	99	148	103
12	190	32	216	104
13	259	90	264	135
14	225	88	250	109
15	322	81	268	182
16	295	72	268	160
17	350	116	285	157
18	309	80	277	134
19	285	83	281	158
20	264	59	246	152
21	659	127	493	270
22	511	111	353	217

NEWARK

Central Ward continued

	1961		1957	
District	Hughes	Mitchell	Meyner	Forbes
23	367	88	292	136
24	288	54	283	127
25	357	114	409	127
26	298	78	274	120
27	249	69	252	91
28	338	84	275	112
29	337	74	265	142
30	387	119	286	158
31	364	79	328	88
32	278	88	319	113
33	248	84	300	125
Total	10,107	2,771	9,194	4,814

NEWARK

South Ward

District	1961 Hughes	1961 Mitchell	1957 Meyner	1957 Forbes
1	243	94	375	101
2	347	96	396	128
3	339	64	369	103
4	367	68	250	120
5	285	69	302	90
6	236	59	248	80
7	318	118	344	121
8	343	104	323	132
9	339	84	287	100
10	429	87	360	149
11	334	64	300	102
12	390	108	402	188
13	308	82	428	84
14	283	68	399	91
15	282	110	298	112
16	419	141	449	141
17	335	144	373	181
18	344	160	384	164
26	304	113	350	106
27	359	94	330	115
28	336	116	370	111
29	298	73	350	115

NEWARK

South Ward continued

	1961		1957	
Districts	Hughes	Mitchell	Meyner	Forbes
30	343	122	465	102
31	345	104	443	83
Total			20,892	5,567

ORANGE, NEW JERSEY

District	1961 Hughes	Mitchell	1957 Meyner	Forbes
1	208	106	214	132
2	180	126	167	152
3	158	52	138	79
4	331	154	239	192
5	343	252	325	262
6	199	82	172	91
Total Vote Cast	15,078	7,472	15,428	7,785

EAST WARD - NEWARK

District	1961 Hughes	Mitchell	1957 Meyner	Forbes
13	323	81	261	120
16	414	165	394	154
22	291	95	236	105
23	305	73	264	95
24	223	105	245	146
25	211	99	237	126
26	293	118	323	144
27	153	61	195	101
28	280	83	260	106
29	349	143	306	172
30	328	75	264	107
31	379	145	346	203
Total Vote Cast			11,524	4,457

Tuesday's Election Tabulation

		WARDS 1	2	3	4	5	Total
GOVERNOR							
Hughes (D)		2168	2496	3427	2795	2265	13151
Mitchell (R)		2755	3484	2522	2155	2543	13459
COUNCIL		WARDS 1	2	3	4	5	Total
McLoughlin (R)		2157					
Scull (D)		1990					
Reuter (R)			2562				
Lonzello (D)			1993				
Bowser (R)				2276			
Holtz (D)				2396			
Berlin (R)					1596		
Locker (D)					2288		
Kidd (R)						2020	
Deignan (D)						1556	
SHERIFF							
D'Aloia (D)		1864	2196	2923	2309	1978	11270
MacDonald (R)		2649	3311	2260	1988	2415	12623
FREEHOLDERS							
Gordon (D)		1922	2186	2800	2423	1947	11278
McMahon (D)		1953	2185	2763	2308	1849	11058
Marucci (D)		1900	2103	2624	2230	1865	10722
Matthews (D)		1901	1990	2731	2298	1934	10854
Reitman (R)		2569	3336	2201	2073	2310	12489
La Morte (R)		2543	3233	2239	1885	2391	12291
Clark (R)		2537	3296	2122	1891	2308	12154
McGee (R)		2469	2974	2285	1864	2267	11859
Bond	Yes..	2208	2668	1921	1852	1980	10629
Issue	No..	903	847	792	547	916	4005
Green	Yes..	1836	2238	1489	1547	1596	8706
Acres	No..	1233	1154	994	744	991	5116
Continuation	Yes..	2583	2847	2135	2008	2231	11804
of Gov't.	No..	467	427	476	295	447	2112
Amusement	Yes..	1787	2129	1609	1658	1494	8677
Games	No..	1193	1071	797	644	972	4677
Firemen	Yes..	2516	3398	2586	2454	2355	13309
Hours	No..	1376	970	1022	536	1209	5113
ASSEMBLY		WARDS 1	2	3	4	5	Totals
Matthews (D)		1976	2294	2880	2454	2083	11687
Policastro (D)		1956	2230	3018	2409	2100	11713
Mandelbaum (D)		1951	2291	2931	2495	2012	11680
Vohdin (D)		1924	2199	2843	2379	1993	11338
Lubetkin (D)		1929	2262	2856	2462	1998	11507
Lynch (D)		2036	2296	2987	2517	2090	11926
Richardson (D)		1956	2271	2999	2525	2031	11782
Miller (D)		1937	2899	2856	2427	2002	12121
Poll (D)		1859	2118	2701	2255	1899	10832
Tate (R)		2612	3393	2514	2185	2412	13116
Bate (R)		2624	3341	2272	1970	2357	12564
Stiles (R)		2615	3312	2224	1946	2349	12446
Lindeman (R)		2646	3388	2314	2076	2355	12779
Sarcone (R)		2598	3318	2335	1943	2421	12615
Everett (R)		2578	3289	2197	1936	2323	12323
Clark (R)		2607	3337	2203	1931	2340	12418
Stevenson (R)		2586	3292	2220	1847	2310	12255
Warner (R)		2545	3251	2159	1933	2256	12144

Total Registered Voters — 38,590
Votes Cast — 27,136 — 70.31 Per Cent

Make file COPY

COPE Research Department
April, 1962

VOTING DATA 1960 ELECTIONS BY CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS

State and Congressional District	Population 21 & Over	Total Congressional Vote 1960	Not Voting 1960 Number	Not Voting 1960 %	% Democratic Vote for Congress 1958	% Democratic Vote for Congress 1960	Population 65 & Over	Total Non-white Population 21 & Over (estimate)
CALIFORNIA								
1 *	336,536	224,338	112,198	33.3	54.9	51.6	54,710	9,640
15 *	298,744	173,884	124,860	41.8	48.0	48.7	62,678	75,745
22 *	282,983	205,250	77,733	27.5	44.6	51.1	33,935	1,804
25 *	466,196	340,842	125,354	26.9	50.1	46.4	60,108	4,737
COLORADO								
2	368,115	262,041	106,074	28.8	53.9	42.4	46,924	3,237
3	237,315	164,894	72,421	30.5	49.8	48.0	39,738	5,924
CONNECTICUT								
2	251,345	187,486	63,859	25.4	53.3	49.9	40,115	4,979
3	291,258	226,818	64,440	22.1	56.2	54.9	45,017	15,697
4	414,664	310,859	103,805	25.0	50.9	48.3	61,224	20,677
DELAWARE								
AL	267,249	194,564	72,685	27.2	50.2	50.5	35,745	37,179

* Indicates Congressional district has been redistricted.

State and Congressional District	Population 21 & Over	Total Congressional Vote 1960	Not Voting 1960 Number	Not Voting 1960 %	%Democratic Vote for Congress 1958	%Democratic Vote for Congress 1960	Population 65 & Over	Total Non-white Population 21 & Over (estimate
IDAHO								
2	222,264	176,261	46,003	20.7	45.0	51.2	31,885	3,644
ILLINOIS								
11 *	240,358	187,529	52,829	22.0	56.7	54.0	40,223	805
12 *	264,364	186,885	77,479	29.3	60.8	50.8	47,723	4,118
15 *	249,270	186,287	62,983	25.3	47.5	49.5	38,511	7,877
19	218,441	163,322	55,119	25.2	49.5	49.4	41,295	4,366
21 *	223,741	186,625	37,116	16.6	58.8	54.7	46,975	3,812
23 *	188,644	156,527	32,117	17.0	50.1	51.6	41,484	2,002
INDIANA								
3	282,098	219,500	62,598	22.2	56.9	52.4	42,338	13,052
5	275,168	213,752	61,416	22.3	53.7	50.0	45,823	7,226
6	203,661	162,909	40,752	20.0	51.5	48.0	39,019	3,778
8	253,398	203,062	50,336	19.9	61.5	53.2	43,311	9,259
9	172,046	141,163	30,883	18.0	50.4	49.4	31,325	1,078
10	235,756	183,601	52,155	22.1	50.7	42.9	40,830	6,727
11	424,090	288,261	135,829	32.0	52.1	46.2	59,191	60,437

* Indicates Congressional district has been redistricted.

State and Congressional District	Population 21 & Over	Total Congressional Vote 1960	Not Voting 1960 Number	Not Voting 1960 %	% Democratic Vote for Congress 1958	% Democratic Vote for Congress 1960	Population 65 & Over	Total Non-white Population 21 & Over (estimate)
IOWA								
2 *	275,257	205,745	69,512	25.3	51.1	47.4	51,788	1,263
4 *	148,722	114,934	33,788	22.7	52.0	43.4	34,681	543
5 *	246,535	173,282	73,253	29.7	52.3	53.0	43,322	6,909
6 *	172,825	131,187	41,638	24.1	58.3	53.6	35,517	357
KANSAS								
2 *	276,332	182,251	94,081	34.0	50.8	47.7	43,772	22,529
3*	136,944	96,556	40,388	29.5	51.7	48.8	33,680	4,220
KENTUCKY								
3	364,762	229,684	135,078	37.0	52.2	50.3	50,730	47,334
6 *	248,610	136,295	112,315	45.2	94.7	54.7	42,760	25,280
MAINE								
1 *	213,565	159,647	53,918	25.2	52.1	46.2	40,032	810
2 *	186,297	133,580	52,717	28.3	61.2	46.5	36,510	314
MARYLAND								
1	148,152	78,727	69,425	46.9	50.6	53.6	26,382	34,048
6	357,678	221,186	136,492	38.2	51.4	48.0	44,066	13,332

*Indicates Congressional district has been redistricted.

* Indicates Congressional district has been redistricted.

State and Congressional District	Population 21 & Over	Total Congressional Vote 1960	Not Voting 1960 Number	Not Voting 1960 %	% Democratic Vote for Congress 1958	% Democratic Vote for Congress 1960	Population 65 & Over	Total Non-white Population 21 & Over (estimate)
MASSACHUSETTS								
5 *	289,773	225,933	63,840	22.0	34.0	45.5	45,114	2,139
MICHIGAN								
7	369,147	267,877	101,270	27.4	50.7	53.3	44,774	6,213
11	138,102	99,004	39,098	28.3	47.6	45.1	25,400	1,853
MINNESOTA								
3 *	390,259	300,214	90,045	23.1	51.6	46.6	47,566	4,977
7 *	175,880	140,096	35,784	20.3	46.7	47.5	35,746	313
9 *	154,486	119,436	35,050	22.7	49.3	47.8	30,891	3,546
MISSOURI								
4 *	287,118	206,627	80,491	28.0	64.0	54.0	45,884	13,163
6 *	230,018	170,923	59,095	25.7	64.9	54.6	48,994	3,122
7 *	256,234	195,370	60,864	23.8	53.7	45.1	56,167	2,573
11 *	200,963	149,371	51,592	25.7	56.9	50.1	44,835	8,971
MONTANA								
1	162,219	118,428	43,791	27.0	69.5	53.3	28,898	2,593
2	226,454	153,784	72,670	32.1	61.0	49.1	36,522	11,825

*Indicates Congressional has been redistricted.

State and Congressional District	Population 21 & Over	Total Congressional Vote 1960	Not Voting 1960 Number	Not Voting 1960 %	% Democratic Vote for Congress 1958	% Democratic Vote for Congress 1960	Population 65 & Over	Total Non-white Population 21 & Over (estimate)
NEBRASKA								
3*	180,015	130,967	49,048	27.2	55.1	48.7	38,790	1,692
4*	186,506	136,453	50,053	26.8	52.3	48.9	36,188	1,685
NEW JERSEY								
3*	376,198	262,870	113,328	30.1	43.9	46.9	58,724	27,104
8	257,123	169,311	87,812	34.2	41.2	52.0	38,861	16,054
12	240,658	153,191	87,467	36.3	45.3	47.7	37,009	38,125
NEW YORK								
1*	527,707	371,835	155,872	29.5	42.5	50.4	65,458	21,610
3*	328,051	246,559	81,492	24.8	45.6	45.9	36,853	10,816
5*	260,569	111,582	148,987	57.1	43.7	54.2	38,980	49,414
12*	223,761	130,895	92,866	41.5	39.9	50.4	36,135	15,944
15*	262,626	164,856	97,770	37.2	47.2	47.2	40,210	6,688
26	261,996	187,385	74,611	28.5	36.8	47.4	37,591	24,008
35/	258,516	195,732	62,784	24.3	46.2	44.6	40,094	8,456
36*	215,590	160,561	55,029	25.5	35.3	47.4	41,387	3,020
40*	283,721	195,378	88,343	31.1	36.9	43.5	37,118	9,098

*Indicates Congressional district has been redistricted.
/District renumbered.

State and Congressional District	Population 21 & Over	Total Congressional Vote 1960	Not Voting 1960 Number	Not Voting 1960 %	% Democratic Vote for Congress 1958	% Democratic Vote for Congress 1960	Population 65 & Over	Total Non-white Population 21 & Over (estimate)
NORTH CAROLINA								
9 *	213,433	142,942	70,491	33.0	66.5	53.1	27,749	27,394
12 *	175,019	117,538	57,481	32.8	62.5	52.0	28,703	13,349
NORTH DAKOTA								
AL *	354,866	246,677	108,189	30.5	51.9	47.1	29,966	7,745
AL *	354,866	246,677	108,189	30.5	51.9	47.1	29,966	7,745
OHIO								
6	221,848	145,169	76,679	34.6	62.0	44.8	38,053	5,594
10	161,405	110,564	50,841	31.5	52.9	52.5	29,801	3,250
11	292,772	203,174	89,598	30.6	50.3	51.0	38,117	10,928
13	224,179	142,133	82,046	36.6	41.1	48.6	33,108	10,984
15	144,180	97,108	47,072	32.6	42.7	48.8	30,334	3,516
17	222,733	150,079	72,654	32.6	51.7	47.0	37,528	6,065
OKLAHOMA								
6	244,776	136,308	108,468	44.3	66.7	50.03	19,870	18,223
OREGON								
4	270,649	187,969	82,680	30.5	56.3	48.9	39,594	1,511

*Indicates Congressional district has been redistricted.

State and Congressional District	Population 21 & Over	Total - Congressional Vote 1960	Not Voting 1960 Number	Not Voting 1960 %	% Democratic Vote for Congress 1958	% Democratic Vote for Congress 1960	Population 65 & Over	Total Non-white Population 21 & Over (estimate)
PENNSYLVANIA								
7	337,811	256,860	80,951	24.0	40.8	47.0	42,124	23,498
10*	213,529	177,109	36,420	17.1	50.4	45.2	39,808	837
12*	182,649	137,646	45,003	24.6	45.1	47.6	31,167	374
14*	182,592	111,957	70,635	38.7	58.3	53.8	30,911	2,899
19	252,565	166,819	85,746	34.0	51.5	46.8	38,822	4,655
24	272,387	186,647	85,740	31.5	46.2	49.0	45,203	7,938
SOUTH DAKOTA								
1	289,841	229,788	60,053	20.7	53.4	45.2	55,640	4,690
UTAH								
1	166,634	131,810	34,824	20.9	46.1	50.0	11,481	5,538
2	301,183	237,652	63,531	21.1	51.1	50.8	16,398	4,541
VERMONT								
AL	230,645	166,016	64,629	28.0	51.5	42.8	19,018	473
WASHINGTON								
3	205,733	143,990	61,743	30.0	38.9	53.4	37,235	2,245
7	310,489	191,187	119,302	38.4	70.7	50.0	46,253	27,443

* Indicates Congressional District has been redistricted

VOTING DATA 1960 ELECTIONS BY CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS

State and Congressional District	Population 21 & Over	Total Congressional Vote 1960	Not Voting 1960 Number	Not Voting 1960 %	% Democratic Vote for Congress 1958	% Democratic Vote for Congress 1960	Population 65 & Over	Total Non-white Population 21 & Over (estimate)
WEST VIRGINIA								
4*	205,473	155,983	49,490	24.1	51.5	53.2	33,709	3,690
WISCONSIN								
1	257,404	185,312	72,092	28.0	50.6	47.3	42,796	5,606
2	310,177	224,629	85,548	27.6	52.1	53.4	47,477	2,145
3	175,866	131,204	44,662	25.4	48.8	45.4	36,510	490
WYOMING								
AL	190,305	134,331	55,974	29.4	46.4	47.7	25,908	4,286

* Indicates Congressional district has been redistricted.

May 24, 1962

Mr. Philip Weightman
AFL-CIO Committee on
Political Education
815 Sixteenth Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Re: New Orleans voter registration drive

Dear Phil:

I discussed with you and Roy Reuther in Washington several days ago the possibility of COPE contributing to a coordinated voter registration effort in the metropolitan New Orleans area, which would be under the sponsorship of the Coordinating Council under the direction of Dr. Daniel C. Thompson of Dillard University. I also discussed this with you last weekend when we were in Norfolk together.

The Coordinating Council feels that they will need approximately five thousand dollars ($5,000.00) to get their program going effectively in the New Orleans area and I would like to know whether or not COPE can contribute this amount to their program so that they can concentrate very heavily on increased registration prior to the June 27 deadline for primary registration, while at the same time organizing for their long-range program.

I would appreciate a prompt reply to this request so that we will know how to proceed in the New Orleans area. I am enclosing a copy of a letter which I recently wrote to Dan Thompson.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton
Project Director

Copy to Dr. Daniel C. Thompson

Enclosure
WAB/mr

May 24, 1962

Mr. Philip Weightman
Committee on Political Education
AFL-CIO
815 Sixteenth Street
Washington 6, D. C.

RE: George Holloway, Memphis, Tennessee

Dear Phil:

I am in receipt of a letter from Russell B. Sugarmon of Memphis, Tennessee, in which he informs me that Mr. George Holloway, a member of Local 988, UAW,CIO (International Harvesters) has been very helpful in the past to the registration effort in Shelby County. Russell was wanting to know if it is at all possible for Mr. Holloway to be given a leave of absence and assigned to the Shelby County registration effort immediately on a full-time basis from now until about August 2, 1962. I am sure that with this request would also go the further request that his salary be paid by UAW,CIO or by COPE.

I would appreciate it if you would take this up with Roy Reuther and such other parties as may be necessary in order to get immediate action with regard to this request.

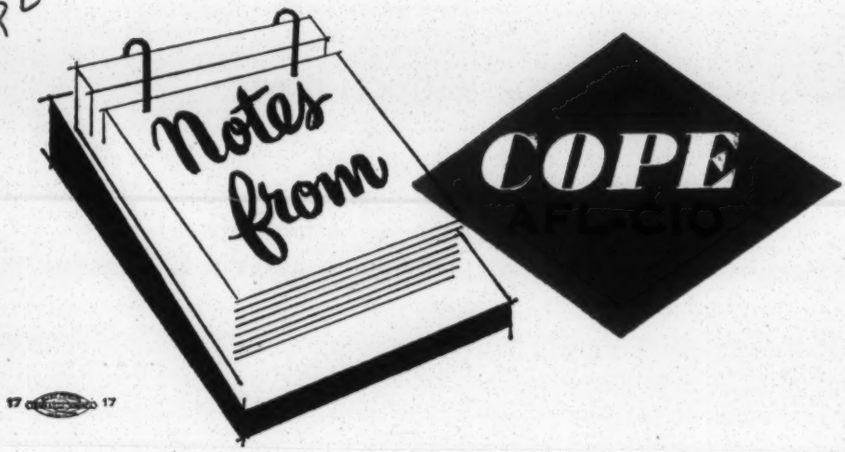
Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton
Project Director

Copies to: Mr. Russell B. Sugarmon
Mr. George Holloway

WAB/mr

COPE



"We . . . strive . . . to win full respect for the dignity of the human individual whom our unions serve."

Preamble to the AFL-CIO constitution

AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education **815-16th St. N.W., Washington 6, D. C.**

No. 5-62 PUBLISHED ONCE A MONTH May, 1962

RIGHT-WINGERS FORM NEW ANTILABOR FRONT

Headed by old-line right-winger Clarence Manion and a flock of John Birch Society leaders, a new antilabor outfit has set up shop, calling itself the **Committee for Equal Anti-Trust Law Protection.** Its aim: to bring unions under the anti-trust laws. The full weight of the Manion Forum network of 245 radio outlets will be thrown into the campaign **to sway public opinion for harsher antilabor laws.** In a letter to businessmen signed by an odd assortment of John Birchers and former officials of the National Association of Manufacturers, Manion's front appealed for fund donations of up to $500. The campaign was launched nationwide April 15 when Sen. John McClellan (D.-Ark.) appeared on Manion's radio hook-up.

They mean business. The letter announcing formation of the group said in discussing campaign plans: ". . . press releases will be circulated across the country; tapes will be available upon request . . . brochures will saturate the nation . . . **(we) will impel thousands to contact their Representatives and Senators to urge passage of this legislation."**

Among the letter-signers were Fred Koch and A. G. Heinsohn Jr., national council members of the Birch Society, and Ernest G. Swigert, former NAM president. Listed among endorsers are **Robert Welch, Birch Society fuehrer;** J. Bracken Lee, former governor of Utah; Charles Sligh and William Grede, **former NAM presidents,** and a battalion of other names with roots deep in the right wing movement.

AWARD OF THE WEEK

To ultra-conservative House Republicans who bravely remained in session until after midnight recently, delivering tirades against the administration, the UN and just about everything: **the Stiff-Upper-Lip Citation** for trying to bring back vaudeville.

HOW NOW, MR. BLOUGH

There once was a fellow in steel
Who tried swinging a $6 deal—
Darned near had his way, until JFK
Dropped the boom on his deal . . . and for real!

COPE AREA CONFERENCES PAVE WAY FOR ELECTION DRIVE

COPE Area Conferences have passed the half-way mark and are heading into the home-stretch **building more enthusiasm and greater potential effectiveness than ever before.** Eight conferences have been held of the 14 scheduled with a total combined attendance of more than 3,500. These meetings were in Miami, Dallas, New York City, Providence, Detroit, Chicago, Louisville and Raleigh.

A new peak interest among trade unionists has been in evidence, showing the concern they feel about the coming Congressional elections, and their determination to help elect Congressmen who will support legislation for the welfare of all Americans.

Conferees have concentrated on organization of register-and-vote campaigns to make sure unionists register so they **can** vote, then to make certain they **do** vote. Also high on the agenda have been important legislative issues like health care for the elderly, school aid, public works programs and other key bills for progress. Too, delegates have exchanged ideas on the most effective means of collecting voluntary dollars for COPE, **the dollars that help elect good candidates.**

Headed by Director James L. McDevitt, national COPE staff personnel attend each conference and serve as discussion leaders. Also in attendance are the COPE Area Director and Women's Director of the region in which each conference is held. Conferences are meant for local leadership and rank-and-file union members.

Six conferences remain. They are: May 4-5, Bellevue-Stratford Hotel, Philadelphia—**Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, Washington, D. C.;** May 28-29, Continental Hotel, Kansas City, Mo.—**Missouri, Kansas, Oklahoma;** June 1-2, Sheraton-Fontenelle Hotel, Omaha, Nebr.—**Nebraska, North Dakota, South Dakota;** June 5-6, Plains Hotel, Cheyenne, Wyo.—**Wyoming, Montana, Colorado, Utah;** June 9-10, Davenport Hotel, Spokane, Wash.—**Idaho, Washington, Oregon, Alaska;** June 13-14, Statler Hilton Hotel, Los Angeles—**California, Nevada, Arizona, Hawaii.**

BIG-CITY CONFERENCE LAUNCHES REGISTER-VOTE DRIVE

A kickoff Big Cities Conference will be held in Washington April 30-May 2 **to launch the 1962 nationwide AFL-CIO registration and get-out-the-vote drives.** Conferees will review with AFL-CIO leaders all phases of the register-and-vote campaign. Experts on different aspects of registration and voting drives will help lead discussions and direct workshop programs. Attending will be AFL-CIO council officers from the 30 largest cities in the U.S. and state council officers from 21 states.

NEW COPE FILM AVAILABLE

A new COPE film, **geared to help stir interest and activity in register-and-vote drives,** is now available. It was shown at the last two COPE Area Conferences and received a lot of favorable comment. It will also be shown at future Area Conferences. The film can be purchased through national COPE for the nominal sum of $60. Local unions perhaps will be able to borrow it for use from their State bodies or International Union.

You know, the chance to get good laws for the benefit of all our people won't be nearly as thin as this column if you and your family and friends GIVE $1 to COPE! The best investment you can make.

THIS IS RESTRAINT?

Business and industrial leaders urge labor "restraint" in bargaining. After all, they say, **it's patriotic.** Yet, while waving the flag, approximately **44 percent of major corporation presidents collected handsome pay boosts last year,** according to the Securities and Exchange Commission. Examples: Logan T. Johnston, Armco Steel, up $57,000 to $257,537; L. B. Worthington, U.S. Steel, up $17,000 to $275,000; James W. Foley, Texaco, up $38,000 to $178,000. Under such "restraint," **how do they ever manage to keep body and soul together?**

YOU CAN'T BEAT GOOD, HEALTHY COMPETITION

Following are examples of industries where **competition is in mothballs.** The top four companies in their respective industries produce: 100% of railroad passenger cars; 99% of primary aluminum; 98% of plate glass and flat glass; 98% of automobiles; 94% of copper products; 93% of light bulbs; 82% of cigarettes.

12 CWA LOCALS ARE COPE '100 PERCENTERS'

Communications Workers Local 4372 of Portsmouth, Ohio, is one of 12 CWA locals to hit the COPE 100 percent contribution mark for 1962. **It's the seventh straight year all members of Local 4372 have contributed.** Also reaching the goal: Locals 1000, Trenton, N.J.; 1013, Camden, N.J.; 3219, Rome, Ga.; 4024, Lake Linden, Mich.; 4315, Toledo, Ohio; 4324, Piqua, Ohio; 5576, Black River Falls, Wis.; 6472, Council Grove, Kan.; 8306, Provo, Utah; 9215, St. Helens, Ore.

SHORT SHORTS

AMA begins **multi-million dollar advertising drive** against health care. Example: Colorado Medical Society placing ads in 118 dailies and weeklies. . . . Drug-makers, too, **plan $1.5 million ad campaign to smoke-screen** Kefauver committee reports of sky-high prices, huge profits. . . . Richard Nixon **may run through $700,000 just in Republican primary** for governor nomination. . . . Attorney General Kennedy charges literacy tests for voting in the South are loaded to keep Negroes from polls, even **Negro professors** are disqualified in some areas on phony "illiteracy" grounds. . . . Sen. Paul Douglas' effort to hold hearings outside Washington to focus public attention on his "truth-in-lending" bill was defeated when Dixiecrat Sen. A. Willis Robertson (Va.) voted "nay" with four Banking subcommittee Republicans, **probably killing the bill for this session.**

ONCE, THERE WAS A DOCTOR . . .

Once, there was a doctor. He was a good doctor. He rated A-Okay at jamming a stick down a patient's throat and telling him, "Say aaaagh," and he was deadly accurate with the needle. He diagnosed quickly and surely and prescribed wisely.

Naturally, he belonged to the American Medical Association. **He had great faith in it.** So when the AMA sent him a poster and asked him to hang it on his office wall so patients could see it, he did. It read: "Health Care Under Social Security Will Lead to Socialized Medicine."

That phrase, **"socialized medicine,"** gave him such cold chills even penicillin couldn't cure him. So he urged his patients to oppose the King-Anderson health care plan. **Of course, he hadn't read the bill.** He'd only read what the AMA said about it, but that was good enough for him.

One day, Joe, a union man, came in for a check-up. Joe read the poster. He said: **"Doc, this is a bad diagnosis."** He showed the doctor that health care under social security wouldn't lead to "socialized medicine" or change the doctor-patient relationship.

A few days later, Joe mailed the doctor a copy of the bill. The doctor read it, and then he read more about the health care plan, and the more he read the more surprised he grew. It looked like Joe was right—the AMA propaganda was a bad diagnosis.

He learned **most elderly Americans can't afford proper health care or adequate private health insurance. The AMA had never told him this.**

Next thing he knew, he was joining a group of doctors, themselves AMA members, fighting for the health care plan.

Moral: Next time your doctor tells you, "Say aaaagh," **grab the opportunity**—while your mouth is open, get in a few good words about health care under social security. You never know what good it might do.

Notes from COPE

Notes from COPE is published every month by the Committee on Political Education, 815-16th Street, N.W., Washington 6, D. C. Subscription price $1.00 per year.

POSTMASTERS — ATTENTION. Notice to Publisher Form 3579 should be sent to C.O.P.E., 815-16th Street, N.W., Washington 6, D. C.

Second class postage paid at Washington, D. C.

ATTNY WILEY A BRANTON
318 STATE ST
PINE BLUFF ARK
04 7011--0223 0318

June 29, 1962

Mr. Philip Weightman
Committee on Political Education
AFL-CIO
815 Sixteenth Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Phil:

I deeply regret that I will be unable to attend the testimonial luncheon being given in your honor at the Sheraton-Park Hotel tomorrow. The NAACP lawyers are coming in town tomorrow to start a two-day legal session in advance of the convention, and I simply must be here in Atlanta on Saturday.

I note that COPE has a new film which is designed to help stir interest and activity in register-and-vote drives. Would it be possible for VEP to borrow the film for a few days just so that we might see what it is like?

With kindest personal regards

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton
Project Director

WAB:gwc

(Night Letter)

Telegram Sent 6/29/62

L. Joseph Overton, Chairman
Philip Weightman Testimonial
Washington, D. C.

Long before the Voter Education Project was established/set up, Phil Weightman was widely known and acclaimed as the outstanding single individual working to "advance the cause of full citizenship" through the vote.

Today he is still so regarded, especially by VEP. A testimonial in his honor is thus long overdue but truly well earned.

Wiley A. Branton, Director
Voter Education Project

JUN 18 1962

Philip M. Weightman Testimonial

3301 - 13th Street, N.E.
WASHINGTON, D. C.
LA 6-8258

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(List of Vice Chairmen incomplete)

June 15, 1962

Dear Friend:

On Saturday, June 30, 1962, at the Sheraton Park Hotel, Cotillion Room, 12:30 p.m., Philip M. Weightman will be honored at a Testimonial Luncheon.

For many years Phil has worked tirelessly and unselfishly to bring about an awareness of political and civic responsibilities to citizens in communities throughout the nation. We therefore wish to share with you this opportunity to honor one who, through his dedication and devotion, has done much to advance the cause of full citizenship.

Won't you join us in this tribute! Enclosed is a return addressed envelope and a reply card.

Sincerely,

L. Joseph Overton

L. Joseph Overton
General Chairman

LJO/cbl
oeiu2aflcio
Enclosures

Bd members who could attend
No UEP staff available

Bev Harris
Ward Scull?

1-30-63

January 23, 1963

Mr. Philip Weightman
Committee on Political Education
AFL-CIO
815 Sixteenth St., N.W.
Washington 6, D.C.

Dear Phil:

I hope that you don't have a stroke when Earl Davis tells you that I went out to New Orelans and practically agreed to give the New Orleans Coordinating Council the sum of $15,657. He will also tell you that I stated that I would try to get COPE to give as much on this amount as they possibly could over and above the $1,750 which Earl brought with him and which goes toward this share of the budget.

I have carefully considered the program presented by the Coordinating Council of Greater New Orleans and am of the opinion that their proposed budget of $25,657 for a year-round program is very sound and reasonable for a city the size of New Orleans and IF they are going to raise $10,000 of the budget themselves.

It will be necessary that I find out from you just what financial contribution toward this budget we can expect from COPE over and above the $3,000 you are presently committed to $1,750 of which was brought by Earl last Thursday.) At your earliest opportunity I wish you would discuss this matter with your office to see what further help, if any, we could expect on this program. I note

N-Ugrees - COPE

that I will be in Washington the week end of February 15-17, and perhaps we could arrange to discuss the matter at that time if you are going to be ~~in town~~ January. not on original

Mind personal regards.

Sincerely yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:jl

B4
1-30-63

January 23, 1963

Mr. Philip Weightman
Committee on Political Education
AFL-CIO
815 Sixteenth St.,.N.W.
Washington 6, D.C.

Dear Phil:

VEP is not receiving pamphlets and literature which I am certain you are sending to your various locals and individuals. I would appreciate your checking into this. If you will recall, you took the necessary steps several months back to see to it that we were put on the mailing list but nothing has ever come through.

I would also appreciate receiving two copies of the 1963 COPE calendar and any information which you might have regarding elections which will be held in 1963 anywhere in the South.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:jl

4-organiz. - COPE

M E M O R A N D U M
W. A. Branton
February 20, 1963

Re New Orleans

At the beginning of the Voter Education Project, George Barrett and I met with COPE officials in Washington to discuss our mutual interests in voter registration. Later in the summer of 1962, I had a separate meeting with Phil Weightman, Earl Davis, Fannie Neal, Al Barkin, Jim McDevitt, and Victor Reuther. McDevitt is director of COPE and Al Barkin is his chief assistant.

Phil Weightman is a Negro who was very active in the old CIO-PAC and is one of the most effective registration workers in the business. Phil's work is carried on primarily in areas of large Negro concentration. He is assisted by Fannie Neal and Earl Davis, both of whom are also Negroes.

Victor Reuther had come to Washington from Detroit to serve temporarily as director of a gigantic voter registration campaign.

In the discussions last summer we agreed that COPE and VEP would keep each other informed at all times regarding voter registration activities in the states in which VEP was operating. We discussed the necessity for exchanging opinions regarding local groups and personalities and all other problems pertaining to registration activities. COPE stated that it would not spend much money in the South for voter registration during the remainder of the VEP program, but that it would be willing to supplement financial assistance in certain areas at the request of VEP. The first and only program, thus far, where COPE assistance has been requested by VEP is in the Greater New Orleans area where COPE agreed to give the Coordinating Council of Greater New Orleans the sum of $5000. COPE sent an initial check of $1500 to New Orleans last summer but the local program there bogged down due to a number of circumstances but primarily stemming from the sudden removal of Dr. Dan Thompson of Dillard University who was the director of the registration effort in New Orleans and who left the city to accept a position at Howard University.

The Coordinating Council held a series of meetings and conducted some field surveys and finally re-organized with

Mr. Harvey Kern, local Urban League Executive Director, being elected as Chairman of the Coordinating Council. The Council proposed that a full time year-round registration program be conducted in the Greater New Orleans area and prposed that the registration program consider the hiring of a full time director, an assistant director who would be in charge of field activities, an office secretary, and at least three part-time field workers. A ground floor office would be set up and operated for a full 12-month period on a proposed budget of $25,657. I went to New Orleans on January 17 and met with the Coordinating Council and with Earl Davis of the COPE staff.

The Council proposed to raise $10,000 of their annual budget and they are seeking to raise the other $15,657 from VEP and/or COPE. I was completely satisfied with the budget and project plans at that stage and informed the group that they should proceed immediately to launch their project, including the fund-raising effort, and that I would be in touch with COPE officials to see how much of the grant we could get from COPE. Earl Davis explained that COPE was already committed to giving CCGNO the $3500 remaining from the $5000 promised last summer and he presented a check for $1,750 and assured the group that the other $1,750 would be forthcoming at their request. This $4,500 would be applied toward the $15,657 which was needed for the budget.

On January 23, I wrote Harvey Kerns and suggested that the CCGNO should undertake to employ a competent full time director and expressed an opinion that the director employed should be freed entirely from any responsibility for fund raising. A copy of my letter was sent to Phil Weightman of COPE together with a request that we get together as soon as possible to discuss the New Orleans program. Phil phoned and we agreed to meet at the COPE office in Washington at 2:00 p.m. on Tuesday, February 5.

I arrived at the COPE office on schedule where I met with Phil Weightman, Earl Davis, Al Barkin and Jim McDevitt in McDevitt's office. We discussed the New Orleans project generally and McDevitt claimed that he had not seen the proposal regarding New Orleans and he wanted to know a great deal about it. I took the position that VEP and COPE had

previously agreed that inasmuch as COPE was withdrawing from several communities in the South where it had previously spent money on registration and was doing so because of the VEP program that COPE would seriously consider any request for financial assitance to a project coming from VEP because, in effect, VEP was relieving COPE of some of its financial burdens. McDevitt stated that COPE would certainly pay the remaining $1,750 of their previous $5,000 committment but did not want to commit themselves to anyting above that. Davis and Weightman were trying to press McDevitt (as best subordinates could) that he should commit himself to a major portion of the New Orleans budget and Al Barkin stated that some definite sum should be agreed upon.

McDevitt asked me just how much of the additional $12,157 ($15,657 less $3,500 already committed by COPE) were we asking from COPE. I told him quite frankly we were asking the entire amount, and he almost exploded at the thought. The conversation became somewhat strained and I told him that COPE certainly had an obligation to do registration work all over the country and that prior to VEP I know that they were spending more money for registration in the South than the amount we were asking them to conbribute in New Orleans. I told him further that we had tried to help out in areas where COPE was especially interested and our actions in this regard were confimed by Phil Weightman. In like manner, I told him of an instance where we had declined to give money for registration to a particular group (Memphis) because Phil had good reason to believe that the local group was concerned with partisan politics and the registration efforts would be directed toward an attempt to elect a candidate whom labor was not supporting. (NOTE: While this was not discussed with COPE, VEP cannot become involved in partisan politics and we would have declined to make the grant if we had received knowledge from any other source). I them implied to McDevitt that if VEP could not expect a strong measure of support from COPE, consistent with our original understanding, then there was no necessity for VEP to bother to keep COPE informed of our activities or to even welcome suggestions from them as to where VEP might work. McDevitt then said that COPE would make some financial commitment but that he would need time to figure out exactly how much, and promised to let us know at a later date. Phil and Davis told me privately that they felt that I had done more to support the views which

they have taken than anything theycould imagine and that McDevitt was obviously impressed favorably by what I had to say.

As of February 19, we have heard nothing further from New Orleans. I will get a letter off to them immediately to inquire as to their progress.

WAB:jl

COPE

March 5, 1963

Mr. Philip Weightman
Committee on Political Education
444 E. 63rd Street
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Phil:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter inviting me to attend the COPE area conference at Gatlinburg on March 6 and 7. I had hoped to be able to attend the conference, but the shooting incident involving our registration worker in LaFlore County, Mississippi appears to have me pretty well tied down this week. If it is at all possible for me to get there then I will do so.

I wish also to confirm our telephone conversation in which you informed me that Mr. McDevitt had approved an additional $6500 for the New Orleans project. As I understand it, this will be in addition to the remaining $1750 of your original grant.

We are very appreciative of this assistance and will keep you closely informed of developments in New Orleans.

Sincerely yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:jl
cc: COPE Washington office

COPE

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR & CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS
AFL CIO

Committee on Political Education

GEORGE MEANY chairman
WM. F. SCHNITZLER secretary-treasurer
JAMES L. McDEVITT national director

444 E. 63rd. St.

FROM THE OFFICE OF
PHILIP WEIGHTMAN
FIELD REPRESENTATIVE
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
PHONE: RANDOLPH 6-7022

February 23, 1963

FEB 26 1963

Atty. Wiley Branton
5 Forsythe Street, Rm. 206
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Atty. Branton:

Each year the AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education holds area conferences throughout the country in order to exchange information on how to conduct a more effective political organization and campaign among our members and their friends in the communities where they live.

On March 6th and 7th, 1963, at the Mountain View Hotel, Cattinburg, Tennessee, the COPE Area Conference will meet with the labor leadership from the following States; Georgia, Alabama and Tennessee.

You are cordially invited to attend this two day conference and to be our luncheon guest at Noon of the first day so that we may discuss how to be helpful to each other in the community where you live.

This meeting should give us a good chance to talk about registration and organization to get out the vote in your area. We do hope you will be present.

Respectfully yours,

Philip M. Weightman

Philip M. Weightman,
Assistant National Director
AFL-CIO COPE

PMW:gc

COPE

The 21 Club -- For Young Americans

.... A Pilot Project On Citizenship .....

A Presentation

by E. Pauline Myers
Adult Activities Program Director
Phyllis Wheatley YWCA

May 1963

Phyllis Wheatley YWCA
901 Rhode Island Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Mrs. Grace C. Lormans
Executive Director
North 7-9100

1- Agencies - COPE

Introduction

The right to vote is only the beginning of citizenship. Ways of life are changing everywhere and men and women suffer or enjoy, resist or promote the changes. Some accept, others resist blindly, others again try to understand what is happening and on the basis of understanding choose to promote what seems to them good and to oppose what is bad. Citizenship involves the active citizen in a constant making of such choices. To live like a citizen and not a mere inhabitant of one's country is to accept the responsibility of choosing what to keep, what to change and what to throw away.

The free way of life draws on youthpower for survival. Youth asks full partnership both in opportunity and responsibility to ensure the survival of our free world.

The Young Women's Christian Association in its 1961 Convention Action resolved as follows:

"... In light of the growing importance of women's role in the country and in all parts of the world and confronted with the compelling and sobering opportunity and task of this revolutionary period, the YWCA has a new awareness of the significance of its own responsibility as a woman's movement. It is faced with a new urgency to help women and girls:

.Find meaning for their own lives

.Develop to the full their capacity for leadership

.Play an effective and constructive part in the life of today."

In line with this purpose the Adult Activities Department, Phyllis Wheatley YWCA, through one of its clubs known as the Town-women's Council, is organizing and promoting a three-year pilot project on citizenship. The project is designed to help young people understand what it means to be a citizen of the United States to give them some of the rudiments of practical policies and to broaden techniques and skills necessary for solving human relations and community problems. The name of the project is the 21 Club -- For Young Americans, hereinafter known as 21 Club.

The Proposal

The specific purpose of 21 Club is to bring together confident, enterprising and public-spirited young Americans of voting age or approaching voting age, into a program which provides them an opportunity to listen to experts on public affairs, to exchange ideas, to observe how our federal and District of Columbia governments function; to be enlightened as to their responsibilities as citizens for maintaining and preserving our democratic form of government, and to recognize and accept their obligations to work seriously for the betterment of conditions which affect their daily lives.

The plan proposes a series of two-day institutes to be conducted over a period of 8 months per year two or more workshop tours, an Awards Banquet and several social and cultural programs.

The Proposal Defined

Institutes

I. The Dynamics of Group Leadership--a national training laboratory in community human relations.

It seeks to answer such questions as:

.How to improve communications

.How to strengthen leadership roles

.How to tighten decision making

.How to make better use of available human resources

.How to design better meetings.

It is the primary business of this institute to study group reactions and behaviour, to alert members to what is wrong and what they can do about it. It will study our own emotions in the presence of others and our ability to listen to other people and really understand what they are trying to communicate and why.

How the institute is conducted:

This institute is to be conducted by the National Training Laboratories of the Division of Adult Education Services, National Education Association. The NTL recruits the faculty and plans the design with the Steering Committee from the Townwomen's Council.

II. How the District of Columbia Government Functions:

A study and evaluation of:

.The District Commissioners

.The Senate and House District Committees

.The Office of Recorder of Deeds

.The Board of Public Welfare

.The Board of Education

.The Police Department

.The District Tax Department

.The District Courts

How the institute is conducted:

This institute will listen to representatives from each of these departments spell out their duties and responsibilities. A panel of youth under a trained moderator will criticize and analyze their statements. Group discussion will follow.

III. How a Bill Becomes a Law

A study of the national legislative process and how special groups organize to influence legislation. Efforts will be made to enable trainees to know available community resources and how to use them--press, radio, civic clubs, and community leaders.

How the institute is conducted

This institute will bring legislators, lobbyists, civic and community leaders, as well as representatives of the press and radio to discuss the legislative provess. Special emphasis will be placed on Home Rule Legislation for the District of Columbia.

IV. Political Parties--Voting and Registration

A description of the organization and function of political parties--an examination of Registration procedures and preparation for voting. This institute will study the procedure for nominating candidates, formulating platforms and eventually influencing state and national politics.

How the institute is conducted

Representatives will be invited from the two major political parties, the Board of Elections and civic and community organizations.

V. The Role of the Presidency

A study of the organization of the Executive Office of the President and the Exacutive Branch of the National Government.

How the institute is conducted

Representatives from various government departments, commissions and the cabinet will be invited to discuss the functions of their respective departments. An effort will be made to interest trainees in the government career service.

VI. ~~Equal~~ Job Opportunities --Today and Tomorrow

This study is devoted to employment and counselling and to be planned in cooperation with the Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor

How the institute is conducted

Representatives from the President's Committee on Equal Job Opportunities, the Trade Union Movement, the National Negro Labor Council, the Urban League, the State Employment Service, the Retraining Division, D.C. Board of Public Welfare and CORE will be invited to lead discussions.

VII. Youth in World Affairs

An analysis of the role of youth in promoting international understanding, opportunities for study and service in private international organizations and in government agencies.

How the institute is conducted

Representatives from the Peace Corps, Crossroads to Africa Project and private international organizations including the YWCA will discuss the role of youth in world affairs.

VIII. Minority Group Organizations and Civil Liberties

A study of the work of such organizations as the NAACP, the Southern Christian Leadership Council, CORE, the Student Non-Violence Movement, the American Civil Liberties Union, the Anti-Defamation League and the Black Muslim Movement in the fight for civil rights.

How the institute is conducted

National leaders of each of the fore-mentioned organizations will be invited to come and discuss their respective programs.

Workshop Tours

I. A Date with Congress:

A visit to the Congress--a meeting with members of the House and Senate District Committees on Home Rule Legislation. A meeting with the Vice President in his Senate chambers.

II. A visit to the White House:

A tour of the White House--an effort to get an introduction to the President of the United States.

How tours are conducted:

There will be buses hired to transport trainees to and from destinations.

Awards Banquet

Each year there will be an Annual Awards Banquet to recognize the "Coming of Age" of voting citizens. It is expected that persons attending the Institutes and participating in the Workshops Tours will have been exposed to such knowledge as will merit a certificate which should send them back into the community as prospective leaders.

It is hoped that this Banquet will take on increased significance for the entire city and nation.

Who May Belong

Any ambitious youth between the ages of 18 and 25 years is privileged to join 21 Club. Trainees may be recruited from high schools, colleges, churches, civic organizations, youth organizations, fraternities, sororities and government services. The plan is to recruit from 75 to 250 trainees per year.

Procedure

The Townwomen's Council has set-up six steering committees of volunteers to assist the Director in promoting 21 Club. They are as follows:

1. Recruitment Committee:

   This Committee aims to enlist from 75 to 250 trainees per year for 21 Club.

2. Institutes and Tours Committee

   This Committee arranges the Institutes, selects the discussion leaders and moderates the sessions. It also arranges the Workshop Tours.

3. Awards Banquet Committee

This Committee arranges the Annual Awards banquet, selects the speakers and promotes the ticket sales.

4. Public Relations and Publicity Committee

Works with media, prepares news releases, bulletins and brochures. Arranges data for study kits.

5. Finance Committee

This Committee finds ways and means for financing 21 Club and manages the budget.

6. A Cultural and Social Events Committee

This Committee plans social events, from time to time, throughout the year to give 21 Club members a well-rounded variety program.

Personnel

There will be a Project Director and a Secretary Stenographer employed. It is expected that the Adult Activities Program Director, Miss E. Pauline Myers, will be the Director of this project.

Duration of Project

It is hoped to begin the project August 1963 and continue to August 1966.

Appropriation

The Townwomen's Council is entering a request for a three-year grant of $76,076.99--$25,625.33 to be utilized the first year.

Budget Estimates for Three Years

Respectively submitted
E. Pauline Myers, Program Director
Adult Activities Department

Items	Itemized		First Year	Second Year	Third Year	Total
Salaries:	Part-time Director	$4,000.00	$9,200.00	$9,200.00	$9,200.00	$27,600.00
	Full time Sec'y-Stenog.	5,200.00				
Staff Benefits:	Employer's ½ Social Security		489.00	489.00	489.00	1,467.00
	Director 130.56					
	Sec'y - Stenog. 161.66					
	DUCS on $3000.00					
	Director 81.00					
	Workmen's Compensation 35.00					
Equipment and Furniture	Typewriter	400.00	655.00			655.00
	File cabinet	65.00				
	Desk & 1 chair	190.00				
Postage			1,500.00	1,500.00	1,500.00	4,500.00
Stationery & Office supplies			2,000.00	2,000.00	2,000.00	6,000.00
Publicity & Promotion	Printing		2,500.00	2,500.00	2,500.00	7,500.00
	Mimeographing					
	Travel (in city)					
Telephone & Telegraph			1,000.00	1,000.00	1,000.00	3,000.00
Institutes--Tours Banquets	Speakers Honorarium		5,000.00	5,000.00	5,000.00	15,000.00
Other contingencies			656.00	345.00	345.00	1,346.00
			$23,000.00	$22,034.00	$22,034.00	$67,068.00

RTB: – Perhaps we could arrange to have copies of either leaflet sent to certain of our projects. WB

WB [redacted]

Public Relations
COPE
815 Sixteenth St., N.W.
Washington 6, C. .

DEC 23 1963

December 20, 1963

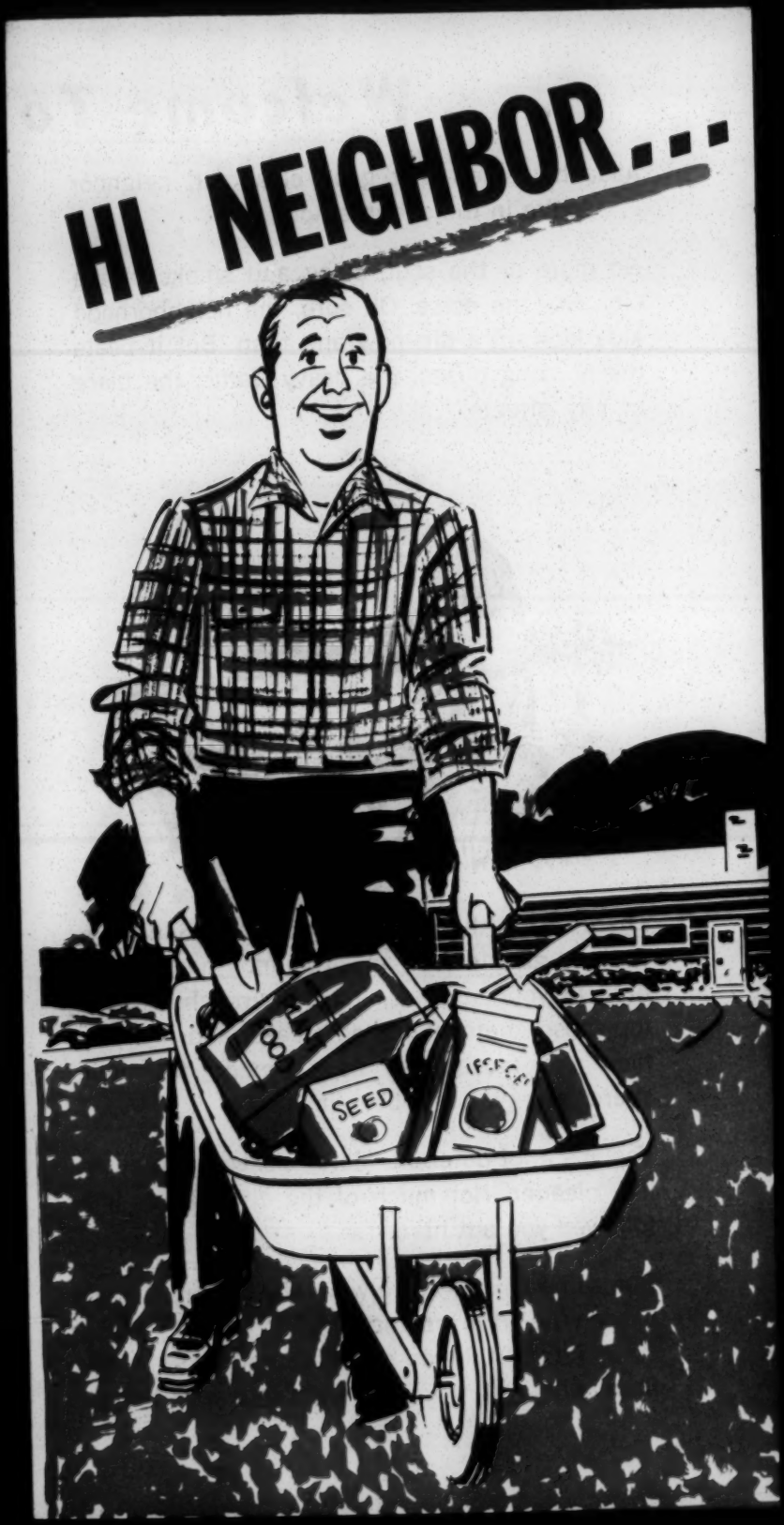
NOTICE OF AVAILABILITY

Two new COPE leaflets are now available free in quantity. COPE publication No. 131, "Hi Neighbor," is designed for distribution in suburban areas. It reminds folks who have moved out from the city to the suburbs to be sure to register and vote because "city or suburbs, politics is your business." Publication No. 132, "1 Vote Counts," describes more than a dozen contests for major political office which were decided by a relative handful of votes.

In writing for these leaflets, please ask for them by publication numbers.

- 30 -

oeiu #2
afl-cio
Enclosures


HI NEIGHBOR...
SEED

. . . Welcome To The Suburbs

Aaaaahh, smell that good clean air, neighbor . . . you're in the suburbs now.

No more of the soot, smog and smoke of the city. Nor the noise. Oh sure, the neighborhood kids kick up a din now and then. But it beats the honking buses, the heavy traffic, the blare of city streets.

There are other differences, too. Suddenly, you're a gardener, or an all-thumbs handy-man. And, to your surprise, a back-yard chef. Can't top those charcoal-broiled steaks, and if a few flies and mosquitoes buzz around for their share, you grin and bear it.

Yes, it's a lot different. More relaxed . . . quieter . . . cleaner. Not much of the city way of life followed you out here.

But some things are always the same. Things like politics, for instance. **You don't leave politics behind.** City or suburbs, politics will be there with you, marching right into your living-room and kitchen, affecting your well-being and the future of your kids.

You still need good men and women in Congress to vote for laws that protect your security . . . fairer tax laws, unemployment compensation laws, proposals to provide a better education for your youngsters, health insurance for the elderly, improved social security benefits, consumer protection, programs for peace.

And you still need good people in town and county offices fighting for better police protection, better schools and playgrounds, better street lighting and better roads . . . yes, even better garbage collection.

One other thing you didn't leave behind in the city. That's your voice in deciding who the people will be who represent you in Congress or in community, county and state offices.

Your vote is still your voice. But to use it, you must be registered.

Maybe you moved out here to the suburbs recently and haven't had the chance to register yet. If so, better get it done. There are important elections coming up.

Or maybe you've been registered in the past, but somehow your name has been taken off the registration lists. You'd better check, just to make sure. And while you're at it, be sure your family and friends are registered, too.

Find out from your local union COPE or local union officials where, when and how to register, or just pick up the phone and call your community board of elections.

City or Suburbs, Politics Is YOUR Business REGISTER and VOTE

AFL-CIO COMMITTEE ON POLITICAL EDUCATION
AFL-CIO Bldg., 815 16th St., N.W., Washington, D. C.

GEORGE MEANY
Chairman

WM. F. SCHNITZLER
Secretary-Treasurer

COPE Publication No. 131

WB

COPE
AFL-CIO

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR & CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS
AFL CIO

Committee on Political Education

GEORGE MEANY chairman WM. F. SCHNITZLER secretary-treasurer JAMES L. McDEVITT national director

FROM THE OFFICE OF
PHILIP WEIGHTMAN
FIELD REPRESENTATIVE
444 EAST 63RD ST ~~ROOM 1221, 205 W. WACKER DRIVE~~
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
PHONE: RANDOLPH 6-7022

DECEMBER 23, 1963 Rec'd 12-27-63

ATTY. WILEY BRANTON
5 FORSYTHE STREET, RM. 206
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

DEAR ATTY. BRANTON:

EACH YEAR THE AFL-CIO COMMITTEE ON POLITICAL EDUCATION HOLDS AREA CONFERENCES THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY IN ORDER TO EXCHANGE INFORMATION ON HOW TO CONDUCT A MORE EFFECTIVE POLITICAL ORGANIZATION AND CAMPAIGN AMONG OUR MEMBERS AND THEIR FRIENDS IN THE COMMUNITIES WHERE THEY LIVE.

ON JANUARY 11, 1964, AT THE DINKLER PLAZA, ATLANTA, GEORGIA, THE COPE AREA CONFERENCE WILL MEET WITH THE LABOR LEADERSHIP FROM THE FOLLOWING STATES: GEORGIA, FLORIDA AND SOUTH CAROLINA.

YOU ARE CORDIALLY INVITED TO ATTEND THE CONFERENCE AND TO BE OUR LUNCHEON GUEST AT NOON TO DISCUSS HOW TO BE HELPFUL TO EACH OTHER IN THE COMMUNITY WHERE YOU LIVE.

THIS MEETING SHOULD GIVE US A GOOD CHANCE TO TALK ABOUT REGISTRATION AND ORGANIZATION TO GET OUT THE VOTE IN YOUR AREA. WE DO HOPE YOU WILL BE PRESENT.

RESPECTFULLY YOURS,

Philip M. Weightman/c

PHILIP M. WEIGHTMAN
ASSISTANT NATIONAL DIRECTOR
AFL-CIO COPE

PMW:GC

1-6-64

December 27, 1963

Mr. Philip M. Weightman
Assistant National Director
AFL-CIO COPE
444 East 63rd Street
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Phil:

Thank you for your letter of December 23 in which you invite me to attend the COPE Area Conference here in Atlanta on January 11, 1964.

I am marking my calendar accordingly, and plan to be in attendance at the conference, including the luncheon.

Sincerely yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:js

THE TIP-OFF

By EMORY O. JACKSON

KNOXVILLE, Tenn. — (SNS) — The first of 16 area conference sponsored by the Committee On Political Education, AFL-CIO at the Andrew Johnson Hotel here Wednesday, Jan. 8.

Labor delegates and civic-service leaders from Tennessee, Alabama, North Carolina and Kentucky sat in conference to exchange political ideas, pool information, and to build understanding. Phil Weightman, assistant director of COPE(and his staff, which includes Mrs. Fannye Neal of Montgomery, Ala., helped to organize and run the conference.

Among others present, from outside the ranks of labor, were C. H. Montgomery, of Mobile, Ala., a member of the Mobile County Democratic Executive Committee and Rufus Lewis of Montgomery Ala., president of the newly-organized Montgomery, Ala., president of the newly-organized Montgomery County Democratic Conference.

Speakers at the conference banquet included Alexander E. Barkin, Washington, D. C., COPE national director; Mrs. Esther Murray, Washington, COPE's Eastern Women's activities director, and Mr. Weightman. Rep. Ross was also listed as a conference speaker.

The conference broke down in state panels which included the labor and civic leaders. These discussions were closed panels in which a frank exchange of opinions, facts, and observations could be made. There was a large delegation from Alabama.

All delegates were housed at the host Andrew Johnson Hotel. All of the hotel facilities were open to all delegates. COPE plans to hold one of its area conferences in Atlanta, Ga. under similar openness. COPE seems to be proud of its pioneering in full and open hotel accommodations, This seems to be symbolic of the social change which is going on in the U. S. A.

1964 is a presidential election year. Stakes are high in this election, as is the case of such elections in other years. Apparently these area COPE conference are planned, in part. to survey the political scene, take sthock of organized labor's political inventory, and to build and rebuild alliance for political victory. Organized labor has learned how to use the ballot box to advance its cause.

In the Deep South, more attention than ever is likely to be given to the vote of the Negro group. The size of the Negro group's vote is still a fraction of its potential. Yet in the Deep South, the total vote is far shy of its potential. Tighten by the effects of propaganda and bigotry, the Negro group's ballot can have double effectiveness.

Organized labor seems to be giving to the Negro group in the South a better opportunity for political education, decent participation, and a sharing of vital data than is true of some other organizations, including the two major political parties. Yet in many instances Negro political action leaders are not taking full advantage of such opportunities.

As for Alabama, not many of the rank and file Negro trade unionists leaders seem to be participating in labor's political action. There could be reasons for it, yet there seems to be no excuse for it. Some of the key rank and file AFL-CIO leaders in Alabama did not show up for this area conference.

Not many of Alabama's Negro rank-and-file AFL-CIO leaders are active in community and civic affairs. When they are active, they usually do not carry the identity of organized labor. Hence these Negro rank and file labor leaders fail to carry the weight they could in the communities and cities in which they live.

While in Knoxville I visited Knoxville College where Dr. James Allen Colston is president and Dr. Wiliam McArthur of Birmingham, Ala. is head of the Biology Department. Dr. Colston was our 1932 Morehouse College graduating classmate. This was my first trip to hilly Knoxville. Dr. Colston was scheduled to attend the area COPE conference but a heavy load of work would not allow him to do so. He said he was back from a college educational meeting in Atlanta, Ga. at which Dr. Herman H. Long, president of Talladega (Ala.) College was among those present.

Dr. McArthur inquired about bomb-damaged Sixteenth Street Baptist Church where he held membership while living in the Magic City. Some others asked about Dr. George C. Bell, principal of Ullman High School, who is an illustrious graduate of Knoxville College.

Birmingham World
1-15-64

Agencies - COPE

Memo from **JOE TUCKER**

BWV
RTB

2/27/64

To: WAB, Voter Education Project

Thought you might like to know this film is carried for distribution by the AFL-CIO.

Negro Registration Film Available from AFL-CIO

A new documentary film on voter registration in the South has been added to the AFL-CIO Film Library.

Filmed in Mississippi, "We'll Never Turn Back" presents a series of interviews with Negroes who tell of violence, coercion and economic reprisals brought down upon them because of their attempts to register as voters.

Produced by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, the film may be rented from the AFL-CIO Dept. of Education for $3. Reservations should be made at least three weeks in advance with alternate dates listed.

The Dept. of Education recommends use of the film in programs dealing with the need for civil rights legislation and to encourage voter registration where lethargy is the only obstacle. Running time is 30 minutes.

AFL-CIO News Wash. D.C.
2/22/64

JLT

COPE

WBJ
BWN
RTB

JAN 31 1964

Public Relations
COPE
815 Sixteenth St., N.W.
Washington 6, D. C.

February, 1964

NOTICE OF AVAILABILITY

Now available for mass distribution is the enclosed new COPE register-and-vote leaflet. "An Open Letter to Union Men..." (Publication 133).

In writing for this leaflet, please ask for it by publication number.

oeiu #2
afl-cio
Enclosure

Public Relations
COPE
815 Sixteenth St., N.W.
Washington 6, D. C.

July, 1964

NOTICE OF AVAILABILITY

Now available for mass distribution is the enclosed new COPE register-and-vote leaflet. "Do I Look Like a Recruiting Sergeant". (Publication #138C).

In writing for this leaflet, please ask for it by publication number.

COPE
white

oeiu #2
afl-cio

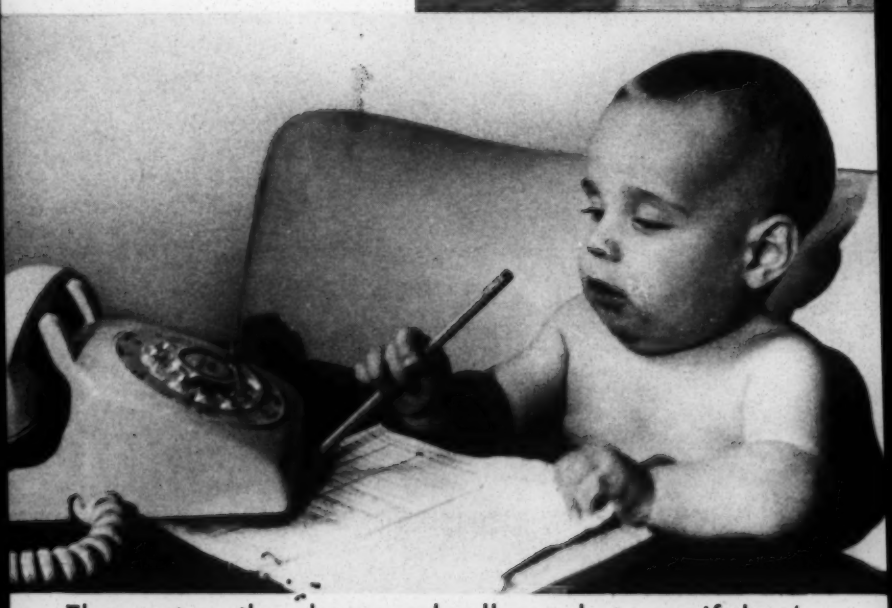
Well, I am . . . for the WADs, the Women's Activities Department of AFL-CIO COPE. How about joining up?

My Mom's a WAD, and that makes me real proud.

My Mom's a WAD, and that makes me real proud.

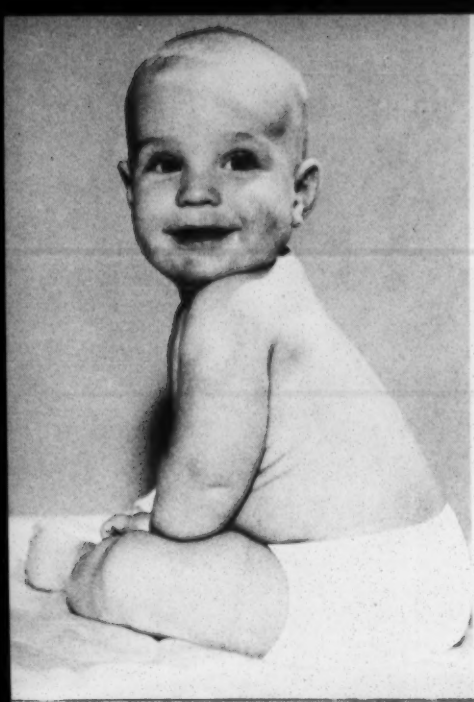
Being a WAD is good citizenship, and you know as well as I do there's a lot more to good citizenship than waving a flag . . . or just talking.

It's standing up and being counted. It's doing . . . participating in politics. And that's the WADs. They're doers.



They get on the phone and call people to see if they're registered to vote. And they check voter lists, and they help get out the vote on election day.

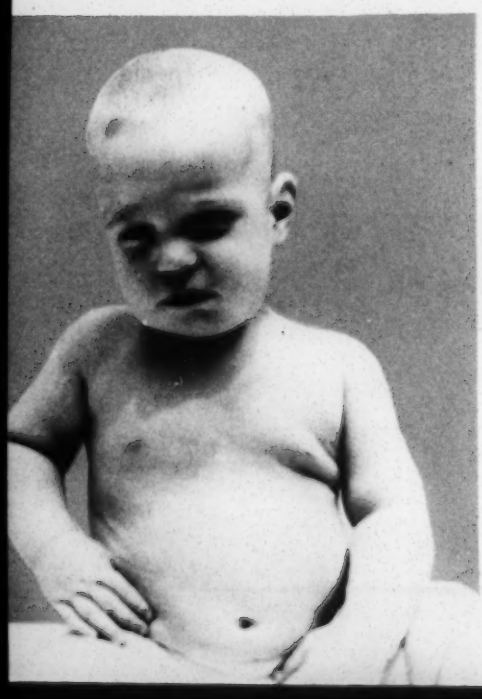
Being a WAD means more than just knowing the bare facts. WADs study the issues and the records of candidates. Then they get behind the good ones, and help elect them.



WADs have been active is some very important political victories.

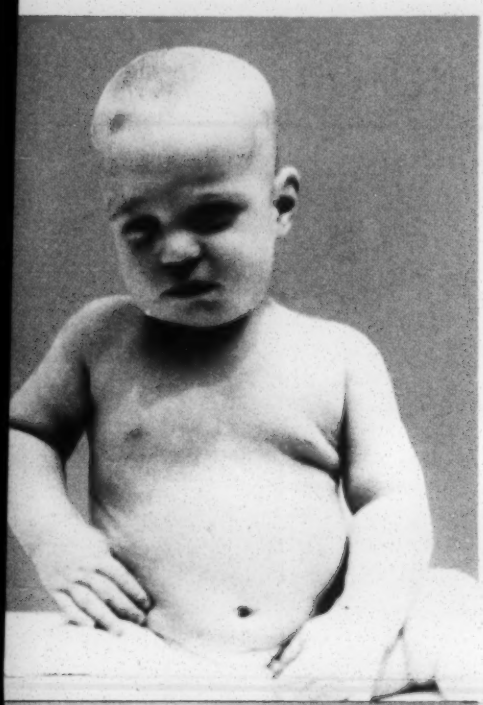
Of course, you can't win 'em all.

But Mom says by being a WAD, and helping to elect better lawmakers, who'll enact better laws, she's protecting my future . . .



. . . And that's serious business.

But Mom says by being a WAD, and helping to elect better lawmakers, who'll enact better laws, she's protecting my future . . .



. . . And that's serious business.

How about you? Get in the swim. Be a WAD. Ask your Central Labor Union or local union officers how to become active in the WAD in your community. Or write to COPE-WAD, 815 16th St., N.W., Washington, D. C.

What do you know? My first recruit.

AFL-CIO COMMITTEE ON POLITICAL EDUCATION

AFL-CIO Bldg., 815 16th St., N.W., Washington, D. C.

GEORGE MEANY,
Chairman

WM. F. SCHNITZLER,
Secretary-Treasurer

COPE Publication No. 138C

bc: Phil Weightman

August 14, 1964

Mr. George Meany, President
AFL-CIO
815 16th Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Mr. Meany:

I know that sometimes unfounded rumors can get out which have no basis in fact, and I hope that my concern at the moment is also unfounded.

I understand that Phil Weightman will not be serving on the AFL-CIO team which will be going to the Democratic National Convention in Atlantic City. I certainly hope that labor will not seriously dilute the effective gains in Negro voter registration which was made during the past two years by moving out at a crucial moment a major source of contact and coordination which is what you would be doing if you fail to send Phil Weightman to the convention.

You were kind enough to give your endorsement to VEP when it was launched two years ago, and last week, we were pleased to send you a copy of our Second Annual Report which reflected a gain of 551,328 new voters in the South. VEP must remain strictly a non-partisan program, but two million Negro voters in the South need some effective political action guidance such as Phil Weightman has been able to provide. I would certainly appreciate knowing the status of Mr. Weightman's involvement as a labor representative to the Democratic National Convention.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:js
cc: Alexander E. Barton

COPE
Organizing - white

WB

DEC 30 1963

COPE
AFL-CIO

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR & CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS
AFL-CIO

Committee on Political Education

GEORGE MEANY chairman WM. F. SCHNITZLER secretary-treasurer ALEXANDER E. BARKAN national director
815 16TH STREET, N.W. ★ WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006 ★ PHONE 393-0220

December 27, 1963

Mr. Wiley Branton
5 Forsythe Street, Room 206
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Friend:

Each year the AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education holds Area Conferences throughout the country in order to exchange information on how to conduct a more effective political organization and campaign among our members and their friends in the communities where they live.

On January 11, 1964 at the Dinkler Plaza Hotel, Atlanta, Georgia, the COPE Area Conference will meet with the labor leadership from the following states: Georgia, Florida and South Carolina.

You are cordially invited to attend this one day conference, and to be our luncheon guest at noon so that we may discuss how to be helpful to each other in the community where you live.

This meeting should give us a good chance to talk about registration and organization to get out the vote in your area. We do hope that you will be present.

Respectfully yours,

Philip M. Weightman

Philip M. Weightman

PMW:blk
oeiu #2 afl-cio
Enclosure

Agencies. Gen.
(Have to a reply to
this. Oct/JL)

File COPE
WB

NOV 18 1964

Advanced Institute--Southern Labor School
Carillon Hotel, Miami Beach, Florida
November 8-13, 1964

Barney Weeks, President
Alabama Labor Council, AFL-CIO
604 Lyric Building
B'ham 3, Alabama

William E. Mintz, Exec. V.P.
Alabama Labor Council, AFL-CIO
604 Lyric Building
B'ham 3, Alabama

A. G. Trammell, Secretary-Treasurer
Alabama Labor Council, AFL-CIO
604 Lyric Building
B'ham 3, Alabama

John Barnette
Int'l Representative, UAW
1004 N. 50th Street
Birmingham, Alabama

Allen Platt
Representative, OCAW
3121 St. Stephens Road
Whistler, Alabama

J. Bill Becker, President
Arkansas State AFL-CIO
1408 Rebsamen Park Rd.
Little Rock, Arkansas

Charles Harris, President
Florida AFL-CIO
P. O. Box 537, Allapattah Branch
Miami, Florida

William E. Allen, Secretary-Treasurer
Florida AFL-CIO
P. O. Box 7097
Tampa, Florida

Art Hallgren, 1st Vice President
Florida AFL-CIO
P. O. Box 537, Allapattah Branch
Miami, Florida

Robert Gladnick
ILGWU Local 415
2841 N. W. 2nd Avenue
Miami, Florida

Philip Dooley
Int'l V. P., Postal Clerks
8740 N. W. 15th Avenue
Miami, Florida

Clark H. Goodrich
Grand Lodge Representative, IAM
1980 Byram Drive
Clearwater, Florida

Tony R. Huerta, Nat'l Field Director
Atlanta Region, Letter Carriers
P. O. Box 1930, Citizens Building
Tampa, Florida

Paul P. McCastland, V. P., 4th District
Hotel & Restaurant Employees
P. O. Box 1275
Fort Lauderdale, Florida

E. T. Stephenson
Dade County Federation of Labor
Suite 301, Everglades Hotel
Miami, Florida

Lee A. Tafel, Int'l Representative
State, County & Municipal Employees
2934 N. W. 17th Avenue
Miami, Florida

A. D. Taylor, Int'l Representative
Chemical Workers
Rt. 1, Box 206-G
Mulberry, Florida

George Gill
District 3 Director, CWA
40 Pryor Street, S. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

E. G. Harvey
Vice President, Tobacco Workers
806 Realty Building
Louisville, Kentucky

W. M. Barbee, President
North Carolina State AFL-CIO
P. O. Box 10805
Raleigh, North Carolina

J. L. Williams, Jr., COPE Director
North Carolina State AFL-CIO
928 Ravenwood Drive
Raleigh, North Carolina

Sinway Young, President
South Carolina Labor Council
P. O. Box 1411
Columbia, South Carolina

Duncan B. Holland
Int'l Representative, IBEW
1018 Leesburg Road
Columbia, South Carolina

P. A. Alexander
Representative, IBEW
4515 Silver Wood Drive
Houston, Texas

Lee Case, Secretary-Treasurer
Tennessee State Labor Council
226 Capitol Boulevard, Room 205
Nashville 3, Tennessee

Harold B. Boyd, President
Virginia State AFL-CIO
102 N. Belvidere Street
Richmond 20, Virginia

C. A. Smith, Director
West Tennessee, Amal. Clothing Workers
4712 Log Cabin Road
Nashville 6, Tennessee

Julian F. Carper, V. P., COPE Director
Virginia State AFL-CIO
102 N. Belvidere Street
Richmond 20, Virginia

Roy R. Evans, Secretary-Treasurer
Texas State AFL-CIO
308 W. 11th Street, Box M.M. Capitol Sta.
Austin 1, Texas

Jack S. Smith
Organizer, Plasterers
P. O. Box 27
White Marsh, Virginia

H. G. Tate, Education Director
Texas State AFL-CIO
Box M. M., Capitol Station
Austin 1, Texas

Martin Vest
Int'l Representative, ILGWU
P. O. Box 28
Roanoke, Virginia

Staff & Instructors

Wiley Branton, Project Director
Voter Education, Sou. Reg. Council
5 Forsythe Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Carroll Hutton
UAW Educational Director
8000 E. Jefferson
Detroit 14, Michigan

Dr. Louis Killian
Professor of Sociology
Florida State University
Tallahassee, Florida

Charles (Chuck) Morgan, Jr.
Reg. Dir., American Civil Liberties Union
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

John Sweeny, Executive Secretary
Appalachian Commission
Room 5845, Commerce Building
Washington 25, D. C.

Dr. J. Earl Williams
Professor of Economics
University of Tennessee
Knoxville, Tennessee

Wilbur Hobby, Director
Area III, COPE
P.O. Box 175, 103 Corporation St.
Durham, North Carolina

Daniel A. Powell, Director
Area V, COPE
5298 Revere Road
Memphis, Tennessee

Frank Smith
Director, TVA
Knoxville, Tennessee

National AFL-CIO Office
815 Sixteenth Street, N.W.
Washington 6, D. C.:

Nelson Cruikshank, Director, Social Security Department, AFL-CIO
Marvin Friedman, Economist, AFL-CIO Research Department
George Guernsey, Assistant Director, Education Department, AFL-CIO
Don Slaiman, Director, Civil Rights Department, AFL-CIO

Guests:
Frank Roche, President Emeritus, Florida AFL-CIO, 2500 N. W. 26th St., Miami, Fla.
Abraham Jordan, Area Dir., Labor-Management Reports, 51 S. W. 1st Avenue, Miami, Fla.
Ray Mills, Information Off., U.S. Dept. of Labor, 51 SW 1st Ave., Rm. 1517, Miami, Fla.

February 22, 1965

Mr. Philip Weightman
COPE
AFL-CIO
815 16th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Phil:

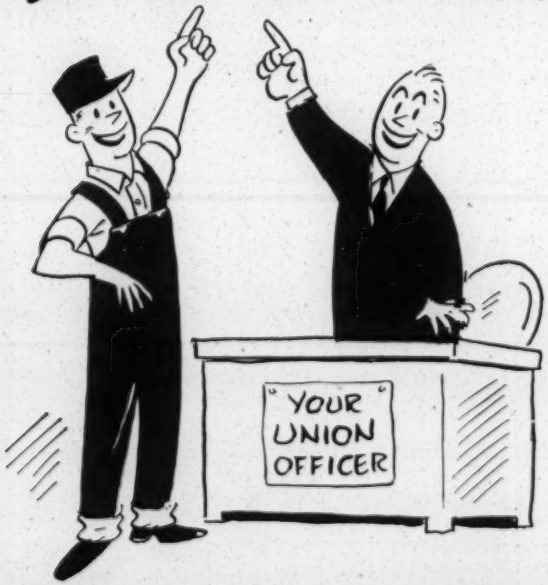
I just thought you would be interested in knowing that the check which we discussed when you were in Atlanta was returned unpaid with a notation that it bore a "stale date."

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

W
A
B
/
s

REGISTER TODAY
SO YOU CAN VOTE FOR A
BETTER TOMORROW!



Now
You
Have
NO
EXCUSE
!

You've always meant to register but somehow you never found out just where, when or how. So there is just one thing to do . . .

Contact the officers of your local union. They can tell you

WHERE

WHEN

HOW

A BRIGHTER FUTURE?
it's possible IF. . .

...you register now

and

vote

on

election day

You're just as close to Washington as you are to the voting booth or ballot box in your home town . . . and it's how you, your family and friends vote that decides who will represent you in the Nation's Capital.

If you register and vote, you can help elect a good senator or representative who will support programs that are good for you — programs for health care, better housing, better schools, better labor legislation, better social security . . . in short, a better way of life for you and a brighter future for your children.

IF YOU'RE REGISTERED YOU **CAN** VOTE IN THE CRUCIAL ELECTIONS THIS YEAR. IF YOU'RE **NOT** REGISTERED, YOU **CAN'T** VOTE. IT'S AS SIMPLE AS THAT.

FIND OUT FROM YOUR LOCAL UNION **COPE** OR FROM LOCAL UNION OFFICIALS WHERE AND WHEN YOU CAN REGISTER TO VOTE. **THEN, DO IT!**

REGISTER NOW— VOTE ON ELECTION DAY

your vote is your voice in the future

AFL-CIO COMMITTEE ON POLITICAL EDUCATION

AFL-CIO Bldg., 815 16th St., N.W., Washington, D. C.

GEORGE MEANY
Chairman

WM. F. SCHNITZLER
Secretary-Treasurer

COPE Publication No. 125

looking for your voice?

you won't find it there

The voice you're looking for . . . that is, the voice you use to make yourself heard in national, state or local affairs, isn't lost under the chair. You'll find it down at the county courthouse, or city hall, or wherever you must register to vote in your community.

You see, **your vote is your voice.** If you're not registered, you **can't vote,** and you will have no voice in the important elections coming up. As soon as you do register, though, you **will** have a voice in deciding:

- ★ Who your Congressman and Senators will be
- ★ Who your governor will be
- ★ Who your city and state officials will be.

You'll have a voice in your own future because

YOUR VOTE IS YOUR VOICE IN YOUR FUTURE

IF you want better laws passed for all our people

IF you want better schools and a brighter future for your children

IF you want more job security

IF you want better housing

IF you want more security for the elderly

You don't get them by sitting on your hands on Election Day.

You get them by making sure that you, your family and your friends vote for good candidates who will support the programs you support, programs that will help **you.**

AND YOU CAN'T VOTE UNLESS YOU ARE REGISTERED!

Check with your Local Union COPE or with your Local Union officials to find out where, when and how to register.

Remember your vote is your voice in your future

REGISTER NOW... VOTE ELECTION DAY!

AFL-CIO COMMITTEE ON POLITICAL EDUCATION
AFL-CIO Bldg., 815 16th St., N.W., Washington, D. C.

GEORGE MEANY
Chairman

WM. F. SCHNITZLER
Secretary-Treasurer

COPE Publication No. 124C

VOTE FOR $8,000 000 SCHOOL BOND ISSUE

Our Politicians must refinish and air condition all City and County NEGRO schools, or else they may loose the NEGRO Block Vote

Your Influence Will Be Appreciated.

YOUR TAXES will not much more than DOUBLE.

Citizens Committee for Better and Bigger NEGRO SCHOOLS.

DOWN with the WHITE MAN
HURRAY for the NEGRO

Do You Believe in President Kennedy's PROGRAM?

1 More Job Opportunities For Negroes

2 Medical Care For The Aged

3 Better Housing For Negroes

4 Mimimum Wage Benefits

5 Better Educational Training

Do you APPROVE the protection which the President gave to Meredith in Mississippi? IF YOU DO . . .

VOTE FOR

WILKES T.

THRASHER, JR.

For CONGRESS

HE PLEDGES to SUPPORT THE PRESIDENT'S PROGRAM

CITIZENS POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE

your vote

is

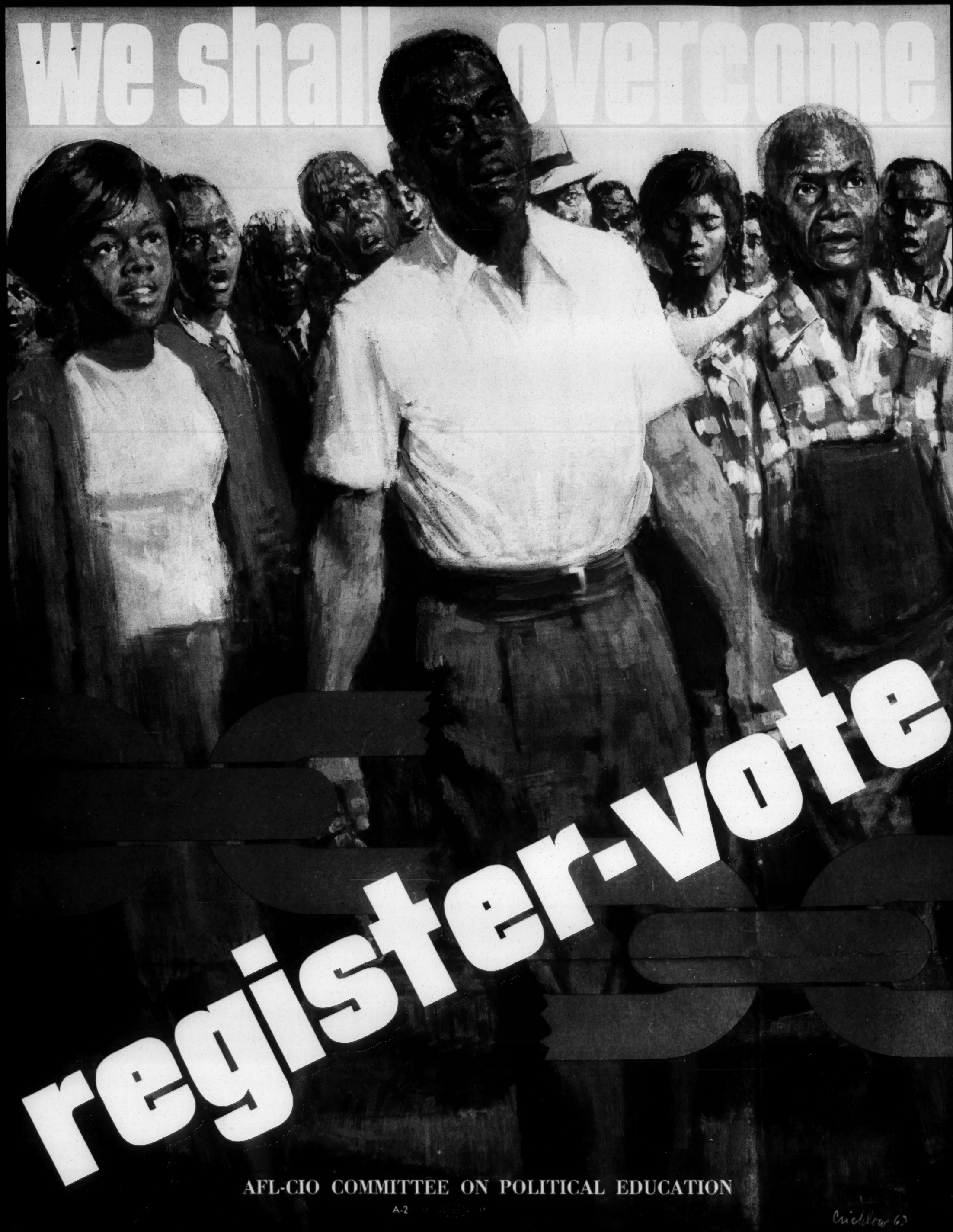
tha

REGISTER !

17 17

P-27

AFL-CIO Committee On Political Education


we shall overcome
register-vote
AFL-CIO COMMITTEE ON POLITICAL EDUCATION
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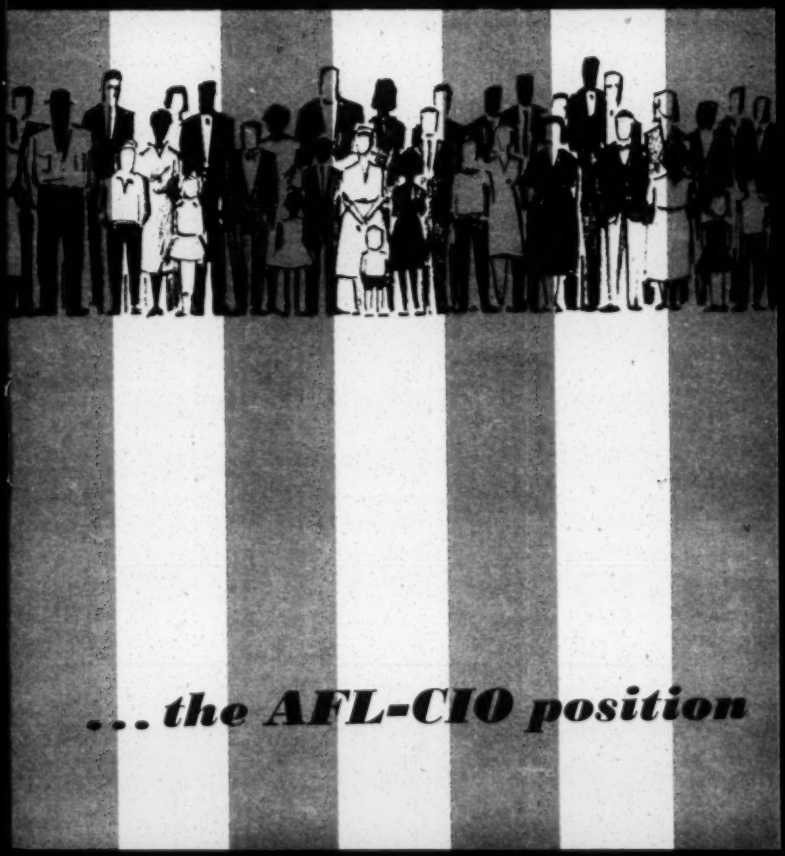
Crickow 63

6 how to

register voters

EQUAL RIGHTS FOR ALL



... the AFL-CIO position

MAY 21 1962

CORE - CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York

A CALL FOR VOLUNTEERS
FOR FREEDOM HIGHWAYS
FROM GORDON R. CAREY, PROGRAM DIRECTOR

CORE is seeking 30 volunteers. These volunteers are needed for the Freedom Highways project. They must be prepared to spend at least 6 weeks -- maybe longer -- on this project.

Freedom Highways is an assault on segregation met by the Negro traveler as he motors on the the federal superhighways. Last year we virtually ran jimcrow out of the bus terminals. He still lurks on the highways of America and raises the "white only" signs too often when the Negro traveler stops at a Howard Johnson restaurant -- and others in the South.

Participants on Freedom Highways will undergo an extensive training period before starting the action phase itself. Trained, they will embark on a journey which we hope will open a "freedom highway" all the way from Miami to New York -- a route where anyone can ride through America with dignity.

As we travel through the South we will be testing and sitting-in at restaurants along the road. We will encourage others to join the fight and carry it on in their own communities. We will ask America not only to open eating facilities, but also to make jobs available and to end discrimination against Negroes at the voting booths. Freedom Highways can be, like the Freedom Ride, a 'journey into the conscience of America.'

It could be a dangerous ride. The volunteer must be prepared for hostility. He must be ready to accept violence and jail if they come his way. And, they may well come. The segregationist will oppose this new attempt to bring democracy and brotherhood to our nation.

We need dedicated men and women for Freedom Highways. The training session will begin in mid July. The project will not end until the last of August. In case of jail it may end much later!

Travel will be by automobile. Cars are needed!! Please indicate whether you have an automobile which can be used.

If you are serious about volunteering, please fill in the application blank fully and send it to me. Please send it in as soon as possible.

1962 CORE Interracial Action Institute August 12 to September 2, 1962
Houston, Texas

The 1962 CORE Interracial Action Institute is designed to give participants an opportunity for training in action. Evaluation will be based on actual successes and failure experienced in direct, non-violent action projects.

CORE training is by doing. Participants in the Action Institute will engage in various kinds of activities such as sit-ins, picketing, negotiation and investigating. These projects will be part of a continued integration campaign in the local community. We shall attempt to perfect and devise new methods and ideas.

Participants will live interracially and explore the theory and history of nonviolence in addition to the action program. There will be opportunities for recreation, public meetings and meeting leaders in the civil rights field. Some training will be given in the area of press relations, group discipline and structure of local groups.

Please fill out the application carefully and fully. Persons under 18 will not be accepted. Applications from any person under 21 must be signed by one parent (second blank).

APPLICATION BLANK

Return as soon as possible to the Program Department, CORE, 38 Park Row, New York 38, New York.

I wish to apply to be enrolled as a participant in the 1962 CORE Interracial Action Institute, August 12 to September 2, 1962, in Houston, Texas. I understand that I shall be participating in nonviolent action projects against racial discrimination, that personal injury and arrest might result, and that, by signing this application, I waive all rights to damages against the Institute, any sponsoring organization, its directors, and all others in any way connected with the Institute.

COST: $150 (Signed)_____
Applicant

Scholarship Help Needed:

$_____ (Signed)_____
(Parent or Guardian if Applicant is under 21 years of age)

Please Print

NAME_____ PHONE_____

STREET_____ CITY_____ STATE_____

AGE_____ SEX_____ MARITAL STATUS_____ RACE_____ COLLEGE_____

Do you have a car which you could use at the Institute?_____

List 3 references, with full names, addresses and phone numbers.

_____

_____

_____

F R E E D O M H I G H W A Y

Freedom Highways is CORE's major summer project for 1962. If you want to take part return this application blank now.

You understand that only those who firmly believe in nonviolence will be accepted. Volunteers must be prepared to accept violence and jail without bail. No applicants under 18 will be considered.

A P P L I C A T I O N B L A N K

I wish to apply for acceptance as a participant in CORE's Freedom Highway Project, to travel via automobile, and to test and challenge segregated facilities enroute. I understand that I shall be participating in a non-violent protest against racial discrimination, that arrest or personal injury to me might result, and that, by signing this application, I waive all rights to damages against CORE - the Congress of Racial Equality, its directors, its officers, any other sponsoring organization, and all others in any way connected with the project.

(Signed)_____
Applicant

(Signed)_____
(Parent or guardian if applicant is under 21 years of age)

Please print:

Name:_____ Phone:_____

Street:_____ City:_____ State:_____

Age:_____ Sex:_____ Marital Status_____ Race_____

Are you a good driver and in possession of a valid drivers license?_____

Do you have a car which can be used on this project?_____

College or occupation:_____

What civil rights groups do you belong to:_____

Please note briefly on the back your past experience with nonviolent action.

List two references, with full names, addresses and phone numbers.

_____

_____

Return immediately to Gordon R. Carey, CORE, 38 Park Row, New York 38, N.Y.

SEP 28 19

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality

COrtlandt 7 6270
September 27, 1962

MEMO TO: Student Contacts
FROM: Program Department
RE: Howard Johnson Company

CORE's Freedom Highway project is not over. In North Carolina six Howard Johnson Restaurants have been desegregated since the project began in mid-July. Ten of the 20 North Carolina Howard Johnsons still discriminate.

Many of the Freedom Highway volunteers have elected to stay in North Carolina for an indefinite period to finish the job. Field Secretary Jerome Smith will be leading the volunteers who remain. Over ninety people have served time in jail stemming from their participation in direct action in North Carolina.

NATIONAL DEMONSTRATION - OCTOBER 6

They need your support! We are calling upon CORE chapters and student groups to demonstrate at the Howard Johnson Restaurant nearest them on Saturday, October 6.

TIME AND LENGTH OF PICKET LINES

It is suggested that picket lines be of at least three hours duration, and that they be as large as possible. Probably the best times to picket will be from about 3:00 p.m. to 7:00, or from 11:00 to 3:00. Each chapter should pick the time best suited to its own situation. (In the case of several chapters within a metropolitan area, it would be best if all picketed at the same time.)

DELEGATION TO SPEAK WITH THE MANAGEMENT

Each picket line should arrange for a small delegation to attempt to speak with the local management during the picketing. The delegations should request the management to pressure national Howard Johnsons to
1) desegregate all Southern Howard Johnson restaurants and motor lodges;
2) insert a non-discriminatory clause in all franchises, and
3) drop all charges against those arrested in North Carolina at Howard Johnsons.

You can expect management, in many cases, to disclaim any responsibility for national policy. Any person operating or employed by Howard Johnson has a moral responsibility and can apply pressure on the national company You should also ask local managment about their employment policies. Find out how many Negro employees they have, and in what capacities. Employment in the North is as important as service in the South!

SEP 28 1962

SAMPLE LEAFLET

Help End

SEGREGATION

AT

SOUTHERN HOWARD JOHNSONS

Many Howard Johnson restaurants and motels are segregated in the South. This is true in spite of the fact that many other eating places are now open to all.

100 Negroes have been arrested in North Carolina at the request of Howard Johnson managements.

SEGREGATION IS THE SHAME OF OUR U. S. HIGHWAYS.

. . . . . .

You can help:

1) Write or telegraph the Howard Johnson Company, 89 Beale Street, Wollaston 70, Massachusetts urging them to desegregate in the South.

2) Let the local Howard Johnson management know that you do not approve of segregation in the South.

September 27, 1962

SEP 28 1962

MAKE OUR
HIGHWAYS
"FREEDOM HIGHWAYS"

HOWARD JOHNSON
SEGREGATES IN
DIXIE

END SEGREGATION
IN SOUTHERN
HOWARD JOHNSONS

"LANDMARK FOR
WHITE
HUNGRY AMERICANS"

SEGREGATION S
MORALLY WRONG

END JIM CROW
ALL OVER
AMERICA

100 ARRESTED FOR
GOING TO NORTH CAROLINA
HOWARD JOHNSON

SERVE
28 FLAVORS
TO NEGROES ALSO

HOWARD JOHNSON:
SERVE EVERYONE
EVERYWHERE!
END DISCRIMINATION!

DEMOCRACY MEANS
EQUALITY IN AMERICA
EVERYWHERE!

HOWARD JOHNSON
SERVES 30 DAY
CAROLINA JAIL TERMS

September 27, 1962

NOV 7 1962

October 23, 1962

CORE - Congress of Rzcial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7-6270

TO: CORE Contacts
FROM: Bob Gore, Assistant Community Relations Director

Enclosed is a flyer announcing our new recording, SIT-IN SONGS: SONGS OF THE FREEDOM RIDERS. If you can use additional copies let us know right away and we will send them. There are many uses for these flyers, such as placing them in club rooms, houses of worship, private parties, tacking them on bulletin boards, enclosing them with mail, and so on.

Since the printed word is a vital communications vehicle we urge you to send for copies of this leaflet and to use them as widely as possible.

Have you telephoned all of your local radio stations yet? If you have not, please call each station and each announcer who has a musical program. If he or she has already played a song from the album, give praise; if not, ask them repeatedly. The more they are asked about the album, the more curious they will be about it and the more anxious they will be to play it. It would be especially good if you recommended a particular song or several songs to the music announcer. (My own favorites are "Get Your Rights Jack," "Hold On," and "Which Side Are You On.")

Be sure to check your local record stores to see if they have the record available. Often a record comes into the store and goes into the store-room to remain forever unless some interest is generated. If several people ask about the album, store owners often are encouraged to make a special display.

It would be additionally helpful if you dropped us a line indicating the kind of response you get from each program so that we will know the direction in which we should be moving. This record has to be made a hit within a month or it won't be one, so we look forward to your cooperation.

reprinted from

The New York Times

'Freedom Songs' of the New Negro Crusade

By Robert Shelton

NEGRO folk music, which has been singing of a promised land since the days of slavery, has become a vital force in fulfilling that promise in the South today.

Integration leaders agree that music sets the tempo of their movement. A survey in Albany, Ga.; Durham, N. C., and other tension points throughout the South indicates that spirituals, hymns and gospel songs are used to bolster the morale of integrationists and to disarm the segregationists.

A new and turbulent tributary of "freedom songs," bold words set to old melodies, is making the deep river of traditional Negro protest in song run faster.

The songs, old and new, are used at mass meetings, demonstrations, prayer vigils, on freedom rides, in jails and before sit-ins. The music rings with the propaganda bombast of election songs, the sanctity of marching tunes for a holy crusade and the spirit-building of fraternity anthems.

"The freedom songs are playing a strong and vital role in our struggle," says the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. "They give the people new courage and a sense of unity. I think they keep alive a faith, a radiant hope, in the future, particularly in our most trying hours."

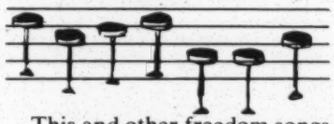
A young Negro leader, Charles Jones, says: "There could have been no Albany movement without music." The Albany movement is a coalition of civil rights groups. More than 1100 arrests have been made in the last nine months of those working to end racial segregation in that Southwest Georgia city.

In one night in Albany one can hear the old spiritual:

Go down, Moses,
Way down in Egypt's land,
Tell old Pharaoh,
To let my people go.

To the same melody a younger Negro, who speaks of "the new-time religion," will sing:

Go down, Kennedy,
Way down in Georgia land,
Tell old Pritchett (Police Chief Laurie Pritchett)
To let my people go.



This and other freedom songs are sweeping the South by word of mouth and song-sheets. Many of the verses are being written by younger people in the desegregation movement while they are in jail.

The freedom songs represent probably the greatest mass topical song-writing rage in this country since the days of the organized drive of the labor movement in the 1930's. They promise to become as controversial as those songs of the labor movement.

The freedom songs reflect the new attitude of the younger generation of Negroes. As one observer puts it: "They are not thinking about pie in the sky, in the bye and bye, but a piece of that pie now."

The young activists of the *Congress of Racial Equality* wear dark arm bands to signify the "dark past of segregation." They don't sing, as their slave forebears did, "Gwine to sit at the welcome table," but some have changed the words to "I'm going to sit at the white man's table."

But it is not only the new, more militant lyrics that are doing the proselytizing. A Georgia official of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People recalls the power of traditional religious music at an organizing meeting of the Hart County chapter in Hartwell. "The people were cold with fear," he said. "Music did what prayer and speeches could not do in breaking the ice."

THIS use of folk music has to be heard in context to be fully understood. Recordings and Northern "concerts" tend to make freedom songs seem like stale tub-thumping and sloganeering. But "a priori" judgments can disappear in the actual setting. A young woman on the unlighted stairs of an Albany church chants:

Over my head I see freedom in the air,
There must be a God somewhere.

As she sings, over her shoulder one sees a police patrol car pass three times within 15 minutes.

One must feel the emotional impact of 1,000 voices at a mass meeting in Albany's Mount Zion Baptist Church singing the universal theme song of the movement, "We Shall Overcome," adapted from an old Baptist hymn attributed to C. Albert Tindley:

We shall overcome,
We shall overcome,
We shall overcome, some day.
Deep in my heart,
I do believe.
We shall overcome, some day.

The infectious quality of the singing has not affected only the Negroes. Police Chief Pritchett, while saying "Their singing is a method to incite them," added, "These people got a lot of feeling and rhythm. I enjoy hearing them sing. They're catchy," he said of the songs.

Pritchett recalled that last December, while booking more than 260 persons in a mass arrest, his jail guards were singing and humming songs along with the prisoners.

There are stories to the contrary. In Dawson, Ga., singing was forbidden in jail. In Camilla, Ga., a prisoner was allegedly slapped for singing. In Rock Hill, S. C., a group was put in solitary confinement until they stopped their protests in music.

Desegration leaders agree that singing gets better the more intense the situation. One white observer called the "Freedom Chant" at the December 16, 1961, mass arrest in Albany "hair-raising."

In Baton Rouge, La., last December 15, 1500 persons demonstrated against the jailing of 50 Negroes for picketing stores and for sit-ins at lunch counters. The protest, to the tune of "America" and "We Shall Overcome," was ended when the police used tear gas.

Groups of up to 40 have serenaded four prisoners in Durham (N. C.) county jail, arrested in the *CORE* "Freedom Highway" campaign to desegregate restaurants on main roads.

THE new lyrics are proliferating around the South. A jazz-flavored up-tempo modern gospel song, "Woke Up This Morning With My Mind Stayed on Jesus," retails the contemporary beat, but substitutes the word "Freedom" for "Jesus."

An old white spiritual, which was transformed by Negro slaves, went:

We are climbing Jacob's ladder,
Soldiers of the Cross.

This can be heard today as:

Do you, do you, want your freedom?
Soldiers of the CORE.

To the tune of "St. James Infirmary," William Bradford and Weldon Rougeau have written:

We tried so hard to keep from crying,
Our hearts felt just like lead,
But we'll keep on fighting,
Until we all are dead.

In the Savannah, Ga., "freedom now" movement, which began in March, 1960, the topicality of verses almost made a living newspaper of the Sunday song sessions led by Wesley W. Law, president of the city's NAACP branch:

We shall not be, we shall not be moved.
Just like a tree planted by the water,
We shall not be moved.
We're fighting for our rights, we shall not be moved.
Our parks are integrating, we shall not be moved.
We're sunning on the beaches, we shall not be moved.

freedom songs on record

Come all you freedom lovers . . . Good news to you I tell . . . About the good old freedom fighters . . . Who've come here to dwell!

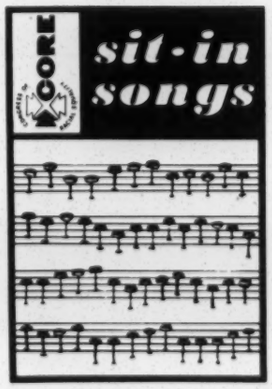
This is the first verse of "Which Side Are You On, Boy?", one of the dramatic songs in CORE's new SIT IN SONGS album. Recorded by Freedom Highways participants on the Dauntless label, the album contains numerous moving songs of protest, most of which are led by Field Secretary Hank Thomas.

Music critic Nat Hentoff said of the album: "The music which has emerged from these experiences has restored the fiery art of American topical song."

The album can be ordered directly from CORE; both monaural and stereo are $3.95.

plus FREE with your order

CORE's 24 page SIT IN SONGBOOK, containing the lyrics to many of the songs included in the album. The song book may be ordered separately at 25¢ a copy.



CORE • 38 Park Row • New York 38, N. Y.

Please send me ..... SIT IN SONGS ALBUMS ☐ Mono ☐ Stereo

☐ Send ..... SIT IN SONGBOOKS only.

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....

CITY.....STATE.....

I have enclosed $.....

DEC 21 1962

CORE, Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, NYC 38, N.Y.
CO 7-6270
December 7, 1962

TO: CORE Contacts
FROM: Dave Dennis

There is much poverty here in the state of Mississippi. Because of this, the local CORE group, in Cooperation with the Council on Federated Organizations (a state-wide organization which is composed of the NAACP, SCLC, SNCC, CORE and citizens throught the state -- at this time it is carrying on an extensive voter registration program in the state) has initiated a program of "Packages for Christmas," in order to do something to aid families in desparate need during Chrustmas.

Many people here rely on the cotton crop to make money. This year more than 68% of the cotton was harvested by automation, which meant that manpower was cut tremendously. There are very few skilled workers (Negro) in the area because of the low education level. There is very little to do. Many people who have attempted to register have been harrassed to the extent of losing their jobs, and members of the families have been victims of circumstances. Families have been thrown off their farms, some have been pressured financially.

This type of pressure has caused much hardship upon the people. Children are without warm clothing; homes are improperly heated; sanitation is poor, there is very little food. Jobs are impossible to find for some. Farming is all that they know and this type of work just is not available.

We have to do something. I have warm clothing and a comfortable bed to sleep in. My Christmas will be filled with laughter and parties, and I am sure that most of us will have such a Christmas. Please help us to give some other person in need a Merry Christmas.

Your help is desparately needed in this project; please give us your support. Any type of assistance you can give will be gratefully welcomed. Send everything directly to:

Dave Dennis
CORE Field Secretary
1104 Lynch Street
Jackson, Mississippi

* * * * *

LATEST INFO ON MISSISSIPPI: Now people who have tried to register to vote are being removed from the commodity lists, so that they will not be able to receive the Federal surplus foods sent to Mississippi. Their need is great, and will continue through the winter. Please help!

WB
JM
RB

FEB 15 1963

226/63

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

Cop Fined $50 For Assaulting Negro

Lebanon, Tenn., Feb. 14: In line with CORE's current campaign to halt police brutality against Negroes, the local group decided to come to the aid of Edward Lee Shorter, a Negro whom a county constable slugged without provocation.

Shorter wanted to file assault charges against Constable Wilson Denny, but he did not have sufficient funds to pursue the case. So, Lebanon CORE arranged for its attorney, Avon Williams, to handle it.

The outcome was a court victory which may well help avert a repeat performance of this type of police violence. After Shorter told his story on the witness stand, the court found Constable Denny guilty and fined him $50.

The story was that the constable had slugged him in the mouth after he had protested the remark: "You black S.O.B., I'll knock you down, nigger!" The incident occurred when Denny, accompanied by two other white men, whom Shorter assumed to be police, drove alongside his car, which was out of gas. They immediately started abusing Shorter verbally and then the policeman slugged him.

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228/63

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

CORE Team Served At Long-Biased Restaurant

Silver Spring, Md., Feb. 14: A test team including Julius Hobson, president of Washington CORE and Henry Thomas, former field secretary of national CORE, were served without incident at Crivella's Wayside Restaurant, the first eating establishment to be prosecuted under Montgomery county's public accommodations law.

The Negroes were served, even though the restaurant had won dismissal of the case against it on the grounds that the establishment does more business in liquor than in food. Presently, Washington CORE is seeking to initiate a new test of the law and plans sit-ins at several restaurants in the county.

In opposition, Republican County Councilman John Hiser is leading a campaign for repeal of the law, which was enacted under a previous Democratic administration.

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CORE NEWS RELEASE

235/63

MAR 14 1963

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

One Hour To Register One Negro

Kingstree, S.C., March 7: The type of terrorism practiced in Mississippi is not the only technique employed in the deep south to discourage Negroes from exercising their right to vote. Here in Kingstree the tactic used is an exasperating slowdown on registration procedures in the cases of Negroes.

"When we arrived at Kingstree at 8:40 A.M. on March 4, 138 Negroes were standing in line waiting to register," reports Frank Robinson, CORE field secretary. Only 14 entered the office during the day of whom 11 succeeded in registering and 3 failed. The remaining 124 faced the choice of returning another day or giving-up.

"The first in line entered the office at 9 and did not come out until 10:10. The other 13 were in the office for periods ranging from 18 to 50 minutes.

"In addition to being required to read sections of the constitution and write a perfectly-punctuated interpretation thereof, the Negroes are asked a number of questions by the registrar. These include: "How long have you been working at your present job?' 'Who sent you here?' 'Why does a person register?' Each Negro has to go through this, simply to register."

CORE plans an immediate protest to Williamsburg county officials and federal authorities. If no change results, further action will be taken.

Protest New Shooting at Registration Workers

Greenwood, Miss., March 7: The second shooting within a week of Negro registration workers in this area drew a strong protest wire to President Kennedy from CORE National Director James Farmer.

Only six days after Jimmy Travis was seriously wounded by bullets fired by whites in an unlicensed car, three Negro registration workers were cut by shattered glass in a similar shooting.

Farmer's wire to the President said:

Continued armed attacks on voter registration workers in Mississippi communities endanger the peace, security and reputation of the United States as well as the lives of these gallant workers. The federal government under your administration has encouraged the widest possible extension of voter registration as an exercise of citizenship responsibilities. CORE demands that you protect those who accept your urgings. The federal government cannot stand by while hoodlums defy our Constitution.

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234/63

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

Pickets At Mayor's Home Protest Negro Firings

Newark, N.J., March 7: The home of Mayor Hugh Addonizio was the scene of a CORE picket line recently protesting the dismissal of the only two Negroes in the city's electrical inspection bureau. Both of them -- Edward Dawkins and Mannie Lewis were fired at the same time, leaving the bureau lily-white.

Concentrating on the Dawkins case, Newark CORE has declared the entire dismissal procedure objectionable and has asked that he be reinstated immediately with back pay. Prior to the picketing the CORE group's chairman, Robert Curvin, headed a delegation which met with the mayor but the negotiations were unsuccessful.

"We will fight this case to the end," Curvin told reporters covering the picketing. "The mayor has not heard the last from us."

####

233/63

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and Robert Gore

CORE Book Tells
Story of Movement

New York, N.Y., March 7: In his Foreward to CORE's book "Cracking The Color Line," Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. says, "I like what CORE is doing. The techniques so graphically described in 'Cracking The Color Line' should be read widely by all who work to achieve a just and democratic American."

"Cracking The Color Line" tells of CORE's nonviolent direct action approach to ending racial injustice from 1943 to present. Written by James Peck, author of the book Freedom Ride, "Cracking The Color Line" describes in words and pictures the various kinds of projects CORE has engaged in over the last twenty years. It tells of direct action to end discrimination in restaurants, department stores, parks, swimming pools, education, housing and other areas.

As Dr. King says, "CORE puts before people's eyes a new way of acting. You say and you show that feelings about segregation are silly, that customs can change without disaster following, and that this is the time to change them."

"Cracking The Color Line" is available at $1.00 a copy from CORE, 38 Park Row, New York 38, New York.

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MAR 18 1963

236/63

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

Police Beating In New Orleans
Sets-Off City-Wide Campaign

New Orleans, La., March 14: The merciless beating by police of Morris Rowe, resulting in 56 stitches in his head, has initiated a city-wide campaign by New Orleans CORE against police brutality.

The campaign will include demonstrations at Kirschmen's Department Store, where police first attacked Rowe, -- public meetings and leaflet distributions.

The beating occurred when Rowe returned to the store to collect his final pay check. He had been fired a week earlier after missing several days work because of the flu. When Rowe asked for his check, the foreman said: "No time to talk to you, boy." Rowe stated he would get a lawyer and the foreman summoned police.

"Don't I have a right to my back pay?" he asked one of the police officers. "Shut up, nigger!" was the retort and then the policeman administered a beating which lasted more than 10 minutes, in the sight of witnesses including Rowe's mother. He was then arrested and taken to the police station where he was beaten again.

Last year, Rowe was a student member of Southern University CORE in Baton Rouge and spent 20 days in jail as a consequence of the picketing. He had been employed at Kirschmen's ever since.

In a previous case of police brutality, 17 members of New Orleans CORE sat-in at the police station.

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237/63

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

Ice Cream Parlor Finally Dismantles Jim Crow Section

Durham, N.C., March 14: Following a campaign which started as far back as 1958 and was renewed with vigor last fall by local CORE and NAACP youth groups, the Royal Ice Cream Company has dismantled the Jim Crow, back room of its local ice cream parlor. The "white" and "colored" signs over the previously separate entrances have been removed and the renovation job has been completed.

Renewal of action last fall resulted in a lunch room boycott by Negro high school students which was so effective that the company agreed to negotiate. First, Royal offered to serve Negroes in both the front and back rooms. Realizing that mere maintenance of two rooms would perpetuate segregation, the CORE and NAACP youth groups rejected this offer and continued the boycott until the company finally decided on a renovation job eliminating the back room completely.

Theatre Desegregates

The local CORE and NAACP youth groups won a second significant victory recently when the Rialto Theatre signed an agreement to desegregate.

Under the agreement, the groups "agree to give special support in promoting patronage for the first 10 days following integration and continued normal support thereafter."

The agreement was signed at the Community Church office in Chapel Hill by Arthur Thomas and Issac Reynolds for the negotiating committee and by Maggie Dent, the theatre's owner.

####

WB

APR 8 1963

248/63

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

Three More Howard Johnson's Desegregate

New York, N.Y., April 3: Three additional Howard Johnson restaurants--all in the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia have desegregated. So reports Gordon Carey, CORE Program Director, after test teams were served without incident. The restaurants are located in Front Royal, Harrisonburg and Waynesboro.

All three are franchised--rather than company owned. It is with the franchised restaurants that CORE is having most difficult in completing its Desegregate-Howard-Johnson's campaign.

While the company adopted a clearcut desegregation policy regarding company-owned restaurants last December in negotiations with CORE and NAACP, it did not apply pressure to its franchised restaurants. Of 638 Howard Johnson restaurants across the country, 66 are still segregated of which 49 are franchised rather than company-owned.

CORE is still conducting periodic negotiations at Howard Johnson headquarters here.

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APR 8 1963

247/63

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

Sit-Ins Close Cafeterial Which Refused To Serve Medical Student

New Orleans, La., April 3: The cafeteria of Louisiana State University has been closed indefinitely as a result of two days of sit-ins initiated by New Orleans CORE.

Prompting the sit-ins was refusal of the manager to serve a Negro pre-medical student who had come, along with other students, to visit the university's medical school facilities.

When he pulled the Negro out of line, two of the cafeteria workers wanted to know why. "You two go out back!" the manager ordered. "You don't know how to be treated as human beings: I have to treat you like animals." The outcome was that 25 of the 26 cafeteria workers went ON STRIKE. They promptly received registered letters stating that they had been fired.

At this point, Marvin Robinson, CORE field secretary was contacted and he attempted to negotiate for an apology to the Negro pre-medical student, reinstatement of the strikers and issuance of a policy statement by both the university and Morrison Cafeterias Inc. of Mobile, operator of the cafeteria.

The manager rejected all of these requests. The sit-ins--bolstered by picketing--followed. Four white medical students from the university and from Tulane University joined the sit-in on its second day.

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APR 8 1963

246/63

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

Mass Stand-In At Registrar's Office

Kingstree, S.C., April 3: The biggest mass stand-in yet conducted at a registrar's office took place on April 1 at this seat of Williamsburg county. From 9 A.M. until 4:30 P.M., 230 Negro men and women lined the street leading to the registrar's office.

"They were not intimidated by the police cars, which kept driving up and down, keeping as close as possible to the waiting line," reports Frank Robinson, CORE field secretary. "During the entire day only 11 got inside the office, of whom 9 were arrested. It took 48 minutes to register the first person, 45 the second and from 18 to 35 minutes for each of the others."

At this period of the year, the registration office is open only once a month. On the previous registration day--March 4--only 14 Negroes were processed out of a total of 138. It took an hour and 10 minutes to process the first one.

The CORE field secretary reported that in addition to being required to read sections of the Constitution and write a perfectly-punctuated interpretation thereof, Negroes are asked a number of questions, some of which are of an obviously intimidating nature.

"We plan even bigger stand-ins and additional protest action until this deliberate slowdown on the registration process is ended and normal procedures are adopted," Robinson stated.

####

3-23-63

WABC
JM
RTB
File

239/63

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

Trespass Prosecution Fails For First Time

Baltimore, Md., March 21: The first instance in Maryland in which civil rights demonstrators were not convicted on trespass charges occurred in the case of two local CORE leaders arrested last summer for seeking admission to Gwynn Oak Amusement Park. They are the group's chairman, Walter Carter and its vice chairman, John Roemer, III.

Their case ended in a mistrial after the County Circuit Court jury which heard the evidence, became hopelessly deadlocked after deliberating for an hour and a half.

Decision of the CORE attorney, Fred Weisgal, to ask for a jury trial was a departure from current practice in civil rights cases locally. Later, he explained to reporters: "I have always felt that the people are far more advanced on this question that the legislature and the courts. That's why I've always believed in jury trials."

The state trespass law met another setback the previous week when a Baltimore grand jury declined to indict 413 students arrested while seeking admission to the Northwood Theatre.

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238/63

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

Durham Fair Job Drive Makes Fast Headway

Durham, N.C., March 21: The fair employment, action campaign being conducted by local CORE and NAACP youth groups has resulted within a month in local stores hiring 15 Negroes in non-menial jobs.

Within the past week, four stores have been removed from the groups' unfair list leaving only seven which are still being boycotted. These include Sears, Thom McAn, Roscoe-Griffin, Robbins, Walgreen's, Beverly Shop and Royal Clothing.

The successful campaign has involved many hours of picketing to arouse support of the Negro community. Issac Reynolds, CORE field worker, has been assigned to Durham to help coordinate the effort.

Supporting the drive editorially, The Carolina Times, a local weekly says: "Certainly if the young people who are doing the picketing can risk life, limb and endure the abuse and insults which go with such a task, those of us who are not actively engaged in it can at least contribute financially to the cause."

Picket City Hall on Jobs

Greensboro, N.C., March 21: CORE's first picket demonstration at City Hall took place here on March 12. A number of persons curiously peered out of the edifice's windows as some 30 pickets walked up and down with their placards bearing various freedom slogans.

"We've waited some time for the Mayor's Committee to make some recommendations as to the solution of better relationships between Negroes and whites and better jobs for Negroes in Greensboro," explained John Hatchett, CORE spokesman, who is a religion and philosophy teacher at Bennett College. "We called off picketing at the cafeterias in order to allow the Committee to study the situation and make specific recommendations. However, none have been forthcoming."

####

240/63

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

Fair Housing Drive Brings 36 Arrests

Long Beach, N.Y., March 21: A fair housing campaign by Long Island CORE in this community has resulted in 36 arrests withnn a 10-day period.

The first seven arrests, including Lincoln Lynch, the group's chairman and Willia Sherard, Jr., president of the local NAACP, occurred in the butcher shop of Charles Braun during a sit-in. Braun is owner of a number of Negro slum buildings. The CORE group is combatting rent-gouging as well as discrimination in rentals.

The remaining 29 arrests occurred during two sit-ins at the Commodore Apartments, where David Markbreiter fefused to rent to a Negro couple -- Mr. and Mrs. Ernest Saxon. The fair housing campaign is continuing. A meeting was held between CORE spokesmen and the City Council, to discuss the entire problem, but little resulted immediately.

Six Housing Sit-Inners Convicted

New York, N.Y., March 21: For the first time, fair housing sit-inners were convicted in New York. They are six members of New York CORE arrested February 14th for sitting-in at the real estate office of Robert Nieman, who had refused to rent an apartment to Joseph Lawson, a Negro.

The conviction came in a two-to-one decision by the criminal court. One judge upheld the contention of defense attorney Percy Sutton that the trespass law does not apply. Since February 14th thirteen more CORE members have been arrested for sitting-in at Nieman's office.

####

3-30-63

WB ✓
JM ✓
RB ✓

245/63

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

CORE Leader Called
In Mississippi Crisis

New York, N.Y., Mar. 28: Leaving New York City for Mississippi today, James Farmer, National Director of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) said that the Federal Government has "failed to live up to its responsibility to the Negro citizens of Mississippi."

Farmer received a telephone call from CORE's Mississippi field secretary David Dennis today telling of the latest in a series of harassments in the Delta region. Negroes there who have attempted to register for voting have been shot at recently. Today Dennis told of a Greenwood, Mississippi Negro minister being bitten by a police dog. The Rev. Tucker was leading a group of 50 Negroes to register.

Just before leaving, Farmer indicated that he felt that as the National Director of CORE he "had a responsibility to go to Mississippi in this time of crisis."

####

243/63

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

Probe Cop Playing "Both Sides Of The Street"

Torrance, Calif., Mar. 28: A policeman who, in uniform, has harassed CORE pickets and on his moonlighting job, works for a builder picketed by CORE, is presently under investigation.

"The Police Department is most surely and quickly looking into this matter," announced Lieutenant Commander Swayne Johnson after Los Angeles CORE brought the matter to his attention. "We knew that this officer's off-duty job is real estate salesman, but we did not know he is working for this particular Firm."

The builder is Don Wilson, whose segregated housing projects have been picketed by Los Angeles CORE for many months. The policeman's name also is Wilson -- though no relative. His first name is Philip.

Kennedy-style Health Walk

Applying President Kennedy's idea of a 50-mile, physical-fitness hike to a meaningful issue, Marc Pally, chairman of San Fernando Valley CORE initiated a 50-mile walk from the Valley to Don Wilson's segregated housing projects.

Expressing the idea poetically--the leaflet distributed along the way, said:

We are walking for our Freedom
We don't care if our feet are sore
We are walking for a healthy nation
We are members of LA and Valley CORE.

####

242/63

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

Fair Employment Picketing Cancels Dinner At Waldorf

New York, N.Y., Mar. 28: Picketing by CORE of New York's Waldorf-Astoria Hotel has resulted in cancellation of a dinner scheduled there on March 28th by the Urban League honoring former Parole Commissioner Samuel Battle.

In announcing transferal of the dinner to the Hotel Roosevelt, the League stated: "White the Urban League of Greater New York is not directly involved in this project, we too are concerned with equal employment for all and traditionally have not crossed picket lines where racial injustice is believed to be an issue."

Cancellation of a Department of Labor banquet scheduled at the hotel for April 8th has been urged by CORE National Director James Farmer in a wire to Secretary of Labor Willard Wirtz.

New York CORE established nightly picket lines at the Waldorf after an investigation which revealed that out of more than 400 food and beverage service workers, there are only four Negro waiters and no Negro waitresses. The City Commission on Human Rights on March 28th initiated negotiations.

####

244/63

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

Picket Lone Cab Company Refusing To Hire Negroes

Denver, Colo., Mar. 28: The Zone Cab Company, only local taxi firm still refusing to hire Negro drivers, is the object of an intensive picketing and boycott campaign by Denver CORE.

The group is conducting a city-wide drive urging people not to ride in Zone cabs. The owner of the company has stated publicly that she would rather have her business ruined than hire a Negro driver.

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APR 15 1963

WB ✓
JM ✓
RB ✓

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7 6270 April 1963

TO: CORE Contacts
FROM: Program Department

During the summer of 1963 CORE plans two challenging new programs for the Task Force. One will be a voter registration campaign in several Louisiana parishes. The other will be aimed at mobilizing community action against segregation and ghetto conditions in one of the vast eastern urban slums. These projects will run concurrently from July 14 to August 25. Applications must be received immediately and will be acted on very shortly.

* * * * * TASK FORCE * NORTH

We are in danger of losing the civil rights battle in the North. Integration gains in housing and education are at best token. Fundamental economic racial inequality spreads, and urban centers develop more and more black ghettos. Too often, slum conditions dominate these all-Negro areas. The problem is two-fold: 1) we must attack the discrimination in housing, schools and employment which cause the ghettos, and 2) we must attack the conditions within the ghettos which destroy the will and motivation to participate in an integrated and democratic society.

TASK FORCE * SOUTH * * * * *

Racial discrimination practiced by individuals and firms is destructive and degrading. When this discrimination becomes institutionalized as a part of governmental policy it is even more dangerous. The denial of the right to register and vote is supported and condoned by state and local governments to deprive Negroes the basic rights of democratic government. CORE's voter registration campaigns not only strike at the heart of the denial of political democracy -- these campaigns also give thousands of people the chance to emancipate themselves by their own actions. In rural areas of the deep South voter registration is the most likely way of involving masses of people in a movement to wipe out every kind of racial discrimination.

* * * * *

The Summer Task Force - North and South - will concentrate on stimulating community involvement. Neither of the projects can be done without substantial involvement of local residents. Volunteers on these projects must be dedicated to interracial nonviolent action and must be able to work well with others. Much of the work will involve knocking on doors and motivating people to take the destinies of their communities into their own hands. This is more difficult than sitting-in at a lunch counter.

Those interested in applying should do so immediately. Cost for the projects including room and board will be paid by CORE. Participants will need to supply their own personal pocket money. Participants will also be required to get to the project (probably either New Orleans or New York) at their own expense. CORE hopes to pay your bus fare home. Additional application blanks and other information is available from: Program Department, CORE, 38 Park Row, New York 38, New York.

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7 6270 1963

APPLICATION FOR SUMMER FIELD WORKER IN CORE TASK FORCE
(Please print. Answer all questions fully.)

1) Name_____ Telephone_____

2) Address_____ City_____ State_____

3) Age_____ Sex_____ Marital Status_____ Race_____

4) High School Attended_____ Graduated_____

5) Colleges_____ Degree_____

_____ _____

6) Employer_____ Dates_____ Position_____

_____ _____ _____

_____ _____ _____

7) What Civil Rights groups do you belong to?

_____ How long?_____

_____ _____

8) If accepted, I prefer to work with the Task Force in the ___North or___South.

9) I believe in CORE's program of nonviolent direct action against racism and hereby apply for participation in the Summer Task Force from July 14, 1963 to August 25, 1963. I understand that arrest or injury to me might result, and that by signing this application I waive all rights to damages against CORE - the Congress of Racial Equality, its directors, officers and all others in any way connected with the Task Force.

Signed_____
(Applicant)

Signed_____
(Parent or legal guardian if applicant is under 21 years of age)

Date_____

10) On another sheet please state why you want to join the Summer Task Force; give your previous experience with nonviolent action; and your experience in working with people and community organization.

11) Do you have a car you can use on the project?_____

12) List 4 references with full names, addresses and telephone numbers:
(List 2 personal and 2 professional - employers or teachers)

_____

_____

_____

_____

13) Return to: Gordon R. Carey, CORE, 38 Park Row, New York 38, New York.

WALDORF-ASTORIA PRACTICES DISCRIMINATION AND TOKENISM

An investigation by CORE (Congress of Racial Equality) shows that out of more than 400 Food and Beverage Service workers, there are only 4 Negro waiters and NO Negro waitresses.

REGISTER YOUR PROTEST AGAINST DISCRIMINATION

BY WRITING TO: Charles Chiusano
Director of Personnel
Waldorf-Astoria Hotel
301 Park Avenue
New York 22, New York

For further information contact:

New York CORE
239 West 125th Street
New York 27, New York
MO 6 0400

JOIN THE LINE !!

☆ ☆

APR 15 1963

WB ✓
JMV ✓
RB ✓

251/63

CORE - Congress Of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7-6270

FOR RELEASE APRIL 14:

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

Task Force To Mobilize For Voting In South, Community Action In North

New York, N.Y., April 11: CORE's recently organized Task Force of volunteers will be mobilized for two major projects this summer: a voter registration campaign in the deep south and a community action campaign in the north. This was announced April 14th by CORE National Director James Farmer.

The voter registration campaign will take place in several rural parishes of Louisiana. For some months, CORE has been concentrating in this area with its field secretary, Ronnie Moore, working in the parishes of Iberville, Pointe Coupee, and Cape Feliciana. In Iberville parish, the registrar resigned because of "illness" after a number of complaints had been filed with the Department of Justice. When Moore arrived in Cape Feliciana parish, he found that not a single Negro was registered there.

While the exact northern city in which the community action campaign will take place has not been designated, the prospect will be directed both against segregation and ghetto conditions and will concentrate on stimulating community involvement.

The two projects will run concurrently from July 14th to August 25th. CORE is receiving applications from prospective participants at its national office, 38 Park Row, New York City.

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249/63

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

New Orleans Merchants Promise Jobs On Eve Of Demonstration

New Orleans, La., April 11: On the eve of a major fair employment demonstration along Canal Street, a spokesman representing a number of the merchants, phoned Citizens Committee chairman Lolis Elie and promised immediate action on hiring Negroes in non-menial jobs. Elie is regional attorney for CORE.

The demonstration, thereupon, was called-off and the pickets who had already assembled with their placards, went home.

However, the selective buying campaign, which has been in progress for a couple of weeks, is continuing until the phoned agreement is formalized.

In the phone call, the merchants' spokesman made a concrete commitment from certain businessmen that "persons will be hired immediately in non-menial categories on the basis of skills and ability and not on race."

The Citizens Committee includes representatives of the New Orleans chapters of CORE and NAACP, the Negro Betterment Council and the Consumers League.

####

250/63

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

Picketing Brings Immediate Action By A & P On Employment

Seattle, Washington, April 11: Within less than an hour after the initial picket line at an A & P store here, the district manager came to CORE picketing headquarters at the First AME Church and announced that two Negroes had been hired that same day.

He had been notified by wire that the picketing would start at 5 P.M. and that a CORE negotiating committee would be available at the church. Because of his concrete demonstration of good faith, the group called-off the picketing pending negotiations of a city-wide agreement with A & P.

Negotiations had been in progress for a year prior to the picketing but the company had hired only one full-time Negro employee and two part-time ones during that period--making a total of 6 Negroes out of 400 in the Seattle area.

A humorous angle to the incident was that although the company insisted the two Negroes had bedn hired at random, it was later discovered that the morning the picketing was to start, A & P made a frantic phone call to the Urban League's employment secretary.

####

252/63

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

Pickets At City Hall Protest All American-City City Award To High Point

High Point, N.C., Arril 11: Presentation of LOOK Magazine's All-American-City Award to this North Carolina community resulted in a joint CORE-NAACP picket demonstration at City Hall.

"We picket and petition for complete racial equality in solidarity with the great American tradition of justice and liberty for all, Governor Sanford's plea for Negro employment and the world-wide revolution for freedom," said a leaflet which was distributed.

Specifically, the leaflet urged adoption of a 9-point program calling for abolition of all forms of segregation and discrimination and naming some of the stores where the two groups have been picketing and sitting-in. The mayor was urged "to appoint a Good Neighbor Council in line with Governor Sanford's merit employment program."

The picketing of City Hall--unusual, to say the least, in this community drew considerable newspaper, radio and TV publicity--and an irate letter to the local paper. Heading the picket line were Mrs. Andrew Mitchell, chairman of High Point CORE and Hunter Morey, CORE field worker.

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APR 20 1963

253/63

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

Vow Action If Hotels Segregate During Legion Convention

New Orleans, La., April 18: "If Negro delegates are segregated and the American Legion puts its stamp of approval on the unamerican practice of segregation, CORE will be forced to take nonviolent direct action on a major scale."

So stated James Farmer, CORE national director, in a wire to James Powers, commander of the Legion, following announcement that the Legion will hold its convention here this July.

Though hotel segregation is enforced by local law, the CORE group in New Orleans has been campaigning for a change of policy. The law is being challenged in a case brought by James McCain, CORE field director, after he was refused a room at the Hotel Orleans last November.

In January a dinner sponsored by the National Broadcasting Company at the Hotel Roosevelt was picketed by New Orleans CORE after the group's chairman and vice-chairman were refused service.

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APR 20 1963

254/63

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

High Court Grants Hearing In Second Freedom Ride Case

Washington, D.C., April 18: Second of the 1963 Freedom Ride cases to reach the U.S. Supreme Court resulted April 15th in the court's granting a hearing.

In preparation for the hearing, which probably will take place in early fall, Carl Rachlin, CORE general counsel, will join forces with Tobias Simon and Howard Dixon, attorneys of Miami, Florida, who had worked on the case's earlier stage.

Involved in the case are 10 ministers and rabbis arrested for seeking service in June, 1961 at the Tallahassee airport restaurant at the conclusion of the CORE-sponsored Interfaith-Interracial Freedom Ride. They claim their arrest was in violation of constitutional rights of free speech and assembly and due process. They were sentenced to 60 days in jail or $500 fines.

The first CORE Freedom Ride case to reach the Supreme Court--almost a year ago--in Shreveport, Louisiana, resulted in a favorable decision. Another CORE case presently before the court, one which involves "trespass" charges, is that of Rudolph Lombard, CORE vice-chairman, arrested for sitting-in at McCrory's in New Orleans.

####

APR 27 1963 WB JM

256/63

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

Negro Jailed For Entering Library

Ruleville, Miss., April, 23: For the :crime" of simply entering the local library, George Raymond, member of the CORE Task Force was arrested and jailed.

When he appeared inside the building, the librarian asked he whether he was conducting a "demonstration." He replied that he simply wanted to ask a few questions. Having done so, he left but later in the morning, he was approached on the street by Mayor Durrough and placed under arrest.

"By whoe authority?" Raymond inquired. This authority," replied the mayor, raising a big blackjack which he was carrying.

Asked later by CORE Field Secretary Dave Dennis about Raymond's arrest, the mayor said: "If you are concerned about his safety you should have told him about the local customs."

Dennis mobilized a group which circled the jail and sang freedom songs. Raymond was thereupon moved to Indianola county jail, which is located in Senator Eastland's district.

####

1 - agencies - CORE

APR 27 1963 WB

257/63

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

Arrest 25 At Carolina Theatre

High Point, N.C., April 24: Twenty-five members of High Point CORE were arrested April 20 while peacefully seeking admission to the Paramount Theatre. They were standing at the booth seeking to buy tickets.

In court, all were found guilty and fines of $1 were imposed. The group decided to appeal the case. They were defended by Attorney Langford.

Win Long Campaign

Rev. B. Elton Cox, CORE field secretary and Donald Lindsay were arrested at McDonald's in the last of a long series of demonstrations at the chain hamburger drive-in.

It was the last because a few days later, the store finally desegregated and management announced that the new policy will be permanent "unless there is trouble."

####

W B

APR 27 1963

255/63

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

CORE Member Murdered In Alabama

Keener, Alabama, April 24: A white native of Mississippi engaged in an individual walk for integration across the south was shot and killed on U.S. Highway 11 on the night of April 23rd.

One of his placards saying "Black or White Eat at Joe's" had the word "Black" ripped out when his body was found. His other placard said: "Equal Rights for All (Mississippi or Bust)." The latter referred to the fact that the ultimate destination of his walk was Jackson where he had planned to deliver a letter to Governor Barnett urging him to "be gracious and give more than is immediately demanded of you" on civil rights.

He chose to engage in this walk during vacation from his present job of mailman in Baltimore. In his spare time there, he was active in the CORE group. He participated in several of the Freedom Rides on U.S. Route 40 and on February 18, he was arrested with a group standing-in at the Northwood Theatre. Shortly thereafter, the theatre desegregated. Just prior to leaving Binghamton where he lived until last fall, he helped organize picketing of the local Howard Johnson on the day designated by CORE for nation-wide demonstrations at the company's restaurants.

But Moore engaged in individual action as well as group action and the ill-fated walk to Jackson was not his first. He had walked from Baltimore to Annapolis to deliver a civil rights letter to Governor Tawes and from Baltimore to Washington to deliver a message to President Kennedy.

In fact, prior to starting his walk to Jackson, he notified the President: "I am not making this walk to demonstrate either federal rights or state rights, but individual rights. I am doing it, among other things, I feel, for the south, and hopefully, to illustrate that the most basic of freedoms of peaceful protest is not altogether extinguished down there."

####

MAY 20 1963

WB✓
JM✓
RB✓

269/63

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

Camp-In On Property Condemned To Avert Integration

Deerfield, Ill., May 15: A novel variety of nonviolent action has been initiated in the 5-year-old struggle of Morris Milgrim's Modern Community Developers to build one of its integrated housing developments in this lily-white suburb.

An interracial two-man CORE team -- Rev. B. Elton Cox and Jack Harkins -- have pitched a tent on the property where the development was to have been built. They have been fasting. They may be joined by other CORE members. But they pledge that the camp-in will continue "until we have communicated positively with the citizens of Deerfield."

Their action started shortly after the U.S. Supreme Court refused to review a State Supreme Court decision upholding condemnation of the land, allegedly for park purposes. Milgram is presently seeking a rehearing by the U.S. Supreme Court and at the same time is campaigning to get the President and the Attorney General to intercede. CORE National Director James Farmer, A. Philip Randolph, Roy Wilkins and Whitney Young have sent a joint wire to the Attorney General on this issue.

In relation to the court's decision, James Wechsler, New York Post columnist, wrote recently: "In effect the Court granted a reprieve to all those citizens of every Suburbia who decry the racist outrages of Mississippi and Alabama but do not want any Negro neighbors shadowing their own landscape and imperiling (so they fear) their property values." Time Magazine, in a recent issue, aptly described Deerfield's action as "segregation by condemnation."

It was by the procedure of condemning the land that the city succeeded in halting construction of the integrated housing development.

####

270/63

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

Arrest 240 In Greensboro's Biggest Nonviolent Demonstration

Greensboro, N.C., May 16: The biggest nonviolent demonstration since the start of Greensboro CORE's campaign to desegregate the S & W and Mayfair cafeterias took place on May 15. Some 1500 Negro students and a few whites participated and 240 were arrested.

The greatest number of demonstrators were at the S & W cafeteria. Some had reached the serving lines. By 8 P.M., management closed the cafeteria and the demonstrators moved on to the Carolina and Center theatres. Paddy wagons and patrol cars took the arrested students to the police station as fast as police could load them.

Leaders of the CORE protest action made a special effort to avert any disorder and though crowds of whites gathered across the street from the demonstration sites, there were no incidents.

Demonstrations the previous night by some 400 had resulted in desegregation of three of the McDonald hamburger chain. Four of the demonstrators were arrested including William Thomas, chairman of Greensboro CORE. Released on his own recognizance, Thomas issued a statement calling on the S & W as well as other Greensboro businesses "to enter into meaningful negotiations with CORE and establish a policy of service to all, regardless of color."

Desegregation of McDonald's hamburger restaurants here was the second color-line break for the company in North Carolina. In late April, the McDonald's desegregated its restaurant in High Point following a long CORE campaign.

271/63

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

City Hall Sit-In Halts Philadelphia Construction Job

Philadelphia, Pa., May 16: A night-long sit-in by 20 Philadelphia CORE members in Mayor James Tate's reception room, prevailed upon the mayor to halt construction on the new Municipal Services Building until the Philadelphia Commission on Human Rights issues its findings on job discrimination charges.

In ordering a halt to the $18,000,000 construction job, the mayor publicly retracted a statement he had made a week ago that "nothing can be done to remove discrimination on current construction jobs."

When the sit-inners, including three women, arrived at 3 P.M., they announced their readiness to remain in City Hall indefinitely, until the mayor acted. At 1:30 AM City Representative Frederic Mann came to the reception room and discussed the issue with Louis Smith, chairman of Philadelphia CORE. At 10 AM, the mayor himself entered the reception room and conferred with the sit-inners. By this time, a sizable picket line had formed outside. The mayor's announcement followed.

During the night, the Commission on Human Relations had met with leaders of unions involved in the municipal job.

Halting of construction on the building, located in Reyburn Plaza, climaxed a vigorous CORE campaign. Two weeks ago, the CORE group had conducted a mass picket demonstration at City Hall together with picketing of the mayor's home.

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276/63

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7-6270

WB
JM
RTB

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

STRESS SPECIAL SIGNIFICANCE OF HIGH COURT DECISION
IN CORE CASE

MAY 24 1963

Greensboro, N.C. May 20.--James Farmer, national CORE director, who is here coordinating the mounting action campaign of North Carolina CORE groups, issued a public statement stressing the special significance of the May 20 Supreme Court decision in the New Orleans case.

"The Supreme Court ruling in the New Orleans case, which involved four CORE members, is particularly significant because it points out that, even in the absence of an actual ordinance, city officials cannot legally validate a policy of segregation," Farmer said.

Unlike the other four cases involved in the ruling, the New Orleans case did not involve actual city ordinances but included public statements by the then Mayor DeLesseps Morrison and police chief that sit-ins would not be permitted.

These statements, Justice Earl Warren ruled, amounted to serving notice "that the city would not permit Negroes to seek desegregated service in restaurants. Consequently, the city must be treated exactly as if it had an ordinance prohibiting such conduct. These convictions, commanded as they were by the voice of the state directing segregated service at the restaurants, cannot stand."

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1- Core - News Releases

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich, Jim Peck

Hotel Segregation Prompts Legion to Shift Convention

New Orleans, May 21 -- Last month, James Farmer, national CORE director, wired James Powers, national commander of the American Legion that if the hotels here continue to discriminate when the Legion holds its convention, CORE would resort to a major-scale nonviolent action campaign.

Today, Legion headquarters in Indianapolis announced that plans to hold the convention in New Orleans had been canceled because of the inability of local Legionnaires to guarantee unsegregated facilities for delegates.

The Legion announcement came after a meeting of local hotel owners which decided to continue segregating despite the decision of a special three-judge federal court invalidating the state's hotel segregation law. The case was initiated by James McCain, CORE organization director, after being refused a room at the Hotel Orleans last November.

At the hotel owners' meeting, there was some sentiment for adopting a new policy, but the viewpoint espoused most strongly by Mr. Goday, manager of the local Sheraton hotel, prevailed.

Following the hotel owners' meeting, Farmer wired the Sheraton Corporation headquarters in Boston: "This will certainly cost the Sheraton hotel chain patronage in every city in America. We in CORE will not stand idly by, while Sheraton hinders the progress of Negro Americans."

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From the archives of the Southern Regional Council. January, 1978.

1- Core - News Releases

MAY 27 1963

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279/63

CORE - CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

RESUME ACTION AGAINST MIAMI SUPERMARKET

Miami, May 23, 1963.--Shell's City Supermarket, where three years ago 18 CORE sit-inners were arrested during a summer Action Institute, is the target of a new campaign by Miami CORE.

This time the demands include, not only desegregation of the supermarket's restaurant, but adoption of a fair employment policy. At present Negroes are employed only as janitors and car washers. Particularly, the group is seeking to get Negroes hired as cashiers.

In negotiations, the manager denied that the company practices job discrimination but stated that no Negroes had applied. So, Miami CORE sent three qualified applicants. Two of them were told that Negroes are not hired as cashiers and one was permitted to fill an application blank, but never heard any-thing further

So, picketing started on a busy Saturday and some 30 persons participated. "The picketing will continue until Shell's City changes its policy," said A. D. Moore, chairman of Miami CORE.

The case of the 18 sit-inners arrested in 1960 has been appealed and is presently before the U.S. Supreme Court.

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1 - agencies - Core
News Releases

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CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich

CORE Art Sale Nets $17,000

New York, N.Y., May 23: Collectors of modern art and friends of CORE, thronged to the door of the Martha Jackson Gallery, 32 East 69th Street, at 6 o'clock Tuesday evening, May 22, to make the gala opening of the sale and exhibition a smashing success. By 11 o'clock that night, almost 500 persons had visited the three floors of pictures and sculpture. Purchasers of art, donations at the door and admission to the opening of $25 a couple netted close to $17,000.

Many artists whose works were purchased in the first minutes, were asked to send a second picture to satisfy disappointed purchasers, who will have a second chance for the artist's work of their choice until May 29, when the sale will end. The gallery will be open every day from noon till 7 P.M.

Mrs. August Heckscher, wife of the President's advisor on Cultural affairs, and honorary chairman of the Artists for CORE sale, brought a distinguished array of guests, whom she had entertained at dinner at her home. They were: Mr. and Mrs. Whitelaw Reid, Mr. and Mrs. Robert Graham, Mr. John Rewald, Mr. and Mrs. Rubin, and Mr. and Mrs. C. Ray Kerciu, whose controversial painting 'American The Beautiful' and five others are in the sale.

Mrs. Jean Kintner, also entertained at dinner before the sale, Mrs. Dorothy Hirshon, Mrs. Irene Selznick, Dr. and Mrs. James Robinson, Dr. and Mrs. Joseph Hazen, and Dr. and Mrs. Alfred Frankfurter.

Other distinguished visitors included Mr. and Mrs. Jackie Robinson, Judge and Mrs. Samuel Robinson, Mr. and Mrs. William vanden Heuval, Mrs. George Dockey, Mrs. de Passe, Mrs. Neal, Mrs. Vaughan Mason, who came with Mrs. James Rhone.

Mr. and Mrs. Leopold Godowsky's guests included Mr. and Mrs. Benjamin Pepper, Mr. and Mrs. Nortimer Levitt, Mr. and Mrs. Jack Poses, and Mr. and Mrs. Yale Nathanson.

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CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

Two Carolina Cities Name Bi-Racial Committees
Nine Durham Restaurants Desegregate

Greensboro, N.C., May 23: Following a week of mass, nonviolent CORE demonstrations here and in Durham marked by some 3,000 arrests, the mayors of both cities have appointed bi-racial committees which started functioning immediately.

In Durham, nine restaurants have desegregated within two days and Mayor Wense Grabarek promised "an almost daily report on progress." In Greensboro, the bi-racial committee, immediately following its appointment by Mayor David Schenck, met and urged that the City Council adopt a resolution to the effect that non-segregation is the city's official policy.

In both cities, demonstrations leading to arrest have been suspended, but, according to William Thomas, chairman of Greensboro CORE: "The students are prepared to fill the jails again if desegregation and job equality are not forthcoming."

Thomas is one of CORE's representatives on the Greensboro bi-racial committee. The other is Major High. The NAACP, Greensboro Citizens Association and Negro Ministerial Alliance are also represented. Delegates for the white businessmen include two representatives from the Chamber of Commerce, two from the Merchants Association and four others.

While the committee held its initial meeting, 2,000 adults and 3,000 students marched silently through the main business district. Despite a drizzling rain, this was the biggest of Greensboro's ever-growing demonstrations against segregation. Among those leading the march was James Farmer, national CORE director, who has been here for the past week coordinating CORE activities.

In the course of the mass jailings, over 700 students were incarcerated in a county farm and an abandoned polio hospital under conditions described by Greensboro CORE as "extremely dangerous to their health and safety." Most of them had to sleep on the floor and parents were not allowed to visit.

WBE

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MAY 29 1963

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

Seven Freedom Walkers Get Suspended Sentences

May 27:
Gadsden, Ala., Seven CORE Freedom Walkers who decided to plead their own cases received suspended sentences in Etowah County Court here. The whites -- Nelson Barr, Jr., Albert Uhrie and Bob Kachnowski -- got six months suspended sentences. The Negroes -- Claudia Edwards, Bennie Luchion, Arlean Wilkes and Vardwick Jackson got three months suspended sentences.

Three others -- Gordon Harris, Don Johnson and Jonny Jackson are still imprisoned. Madeleine Sherwood, a stage actress, had been previously released on bail.

The 11 attempted on May 19 to complete the walk to Jackson initiated by William Moore, the murdered postman. They started out after a memorial service at the murder site and were arrested immediately.

Twelve Freedom Walkers arrested May 2 and 3, including CORE Assistant National Director Richard Haley, are still jailed in Kilby State Prison, Montgomery, Alabama. Their trial is scheduled for June 10.

The 12 were on a three day fast in protest against the action of the Kilby warden in ordering Eric Weinberger dragged. Weinberger has been fasting since May 3. He has now been transferred to the prison infirmary.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

SET FIRE TO CORE NATIONAL OFFICE

New York City, May 27.-- A fire was started in the CORE National office on Saturday morning, May 25th. The office was locked at the time and nobody was inside. The fire-setting device apparently was inserted through the mail slot of one of the office doors.

Fortunately, the fire was promptly discovered by William Standard, an attorney with offices on the same floor. Immediately, Joseph Formosa, the superintendent, rushed up and put out the flames with fire extinguishers and buckets of water. However, the door, venetian blinds, the morning's mail, which had been deposited through the slot and a quantity of literature which was on a table nearby, were completely destroyed.

Those who wrote letters which may have been delivered at that time are urged to write CORE again.

MOORE'S FRIEND THREATENED

Jim Peck, editor of the CORElator, and personal friend of William Moore has been threatened twice since the postman was slain on his Freedom Walk on April 23. The first threatening phone call came at 2:30 a. m., two days after the murder when Peck had been quoted in the daily newspaper. The second one occurred at 1:30 a. m., two days before Peck was to leave for Alabama to conduct a memorial service May 19, at the murder site. Though there had been no advance publicity about Peck's trip, the caller, who identified himself as "Robert Shelton, head of the United Klans," told Peck: "We hear you're coming down to Alabama and if you do, we can give you some good publicity: we can make a martyr of you, too."

In June 1961, upon returning from a Freedom Ride during which he was beaten almost to death, Peck received several threats on his life. In August of that year, Marvin Rich, CORE Community Relations Director was beaten outside the CORE office just after he had dispatched a busload of Freedom Riders back to Jackson for their trials.

Mary Moore, the widow of the slain postman, who lives in Binghamton, New York, reports that she has received a number of both threatening phone calls and letters since her husband was murdered on April 23.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

Man of Action Talks With Robert Kennedy

New York, N.Y., May 27: A man, whom James Baldwin, noted author, characterized as "the most important man in the room" gave his views on the current desegregation struggle to Attorney General Robert Kennedy on May 24.

The man is Jerome Smith, CORE field secretary from New Orleans. The characterization was volunteered by Baldwin in explanation of Smith's heartfelt involvement in the informal discussion which was taking place between the Attorney General and a group of Negro cultural leaders including, along with Baldwin, Lorraine Hansbury, Harry Belafonte, Lena Horne and others.

Baldwin's characterization was based on the fact that Jerome Smith has been imprisoned and beaten more times while engaged in nonviolent action in the deep south than possibly any other single individual. He is still suffering foom a head injury he received when he and four other CORE Freedom Riders arrived in McComb, Mississippi in December, 1961.

When Kennedy boasted about what the federal government is doing "behind the scenes," Smith commented: "This is not enough. Power resides in the masses of people: they should be informed. You should talk to CORE Task Force members at the local level."

He was referring to CORE's recently organized corps of volunteers who are working at a subsistence level in key situations throughout the south.

As an example of what the federal government is doing, Robert Kennedy mentioned the recent sending of troops to Birmingham which brought from Belafonte the comment: "the federal government seems to act AFTER the fact."

Smith's comment was: "Your best is not enough. All these students on the march across the south, want to be respected as human beings--now." He then mentioned the murder of William Moore, the lone Freedom Walker on April 23 and the subsequent jailing of 29 others who tried to complete Moore's walk to Jackson.

In the course of the meeting, a proposal was presented which has been made by CORE in the past both to President Kennedy and to former President Eisenhower: namely, that the President go south, in person, and speak-out on these issues. The proposal was simply laughed-off by the Attorney General.

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MAY 31 1963

286/63

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

CORE Active In Jackson Movement

Jackson, Miss., May 29: CORE is playing an active role and is closely cooper- with the NAACP in the Jackson situation and the action campaign which started May 28th.

George Raymond, a member of the CORE Task Force, was one of the three Negroes who sat-in at Woolworth's on that date. Another of the sit-inners, Memphis Norman, was repeatedly kicked in the face by a former policeman, and John Salter, a white professor who joined the sit-in was cut on the cheek. All the sit-inners were pushed to the ground by a crowd of whites and doused with ketchup, mustard and sugar.

In preparation for the local action campaign, Dave Dennis, CORE field secretary, has conducted daily workshops in nonviolence to train the participants. Jerome Smith, another CORE field secretary has just arrived here to assist Dennis. In addition, CORE has assigned another of its Task Force members to Jackson -- Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer.

Mattie Dennis, wife of CORE field secretary Dave Dennis lead the demonstrators picketing the Woolworth store on the second day. All 11 were arrested. Thereafter the Woolworth and H.L. Green Company closed their stores and Walgreens closed its lunch counters.

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1- Core News Release

287/63

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtland 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

KIDS READY FOR STAND-IN, DESEGREGATE POOL

North Miami Beach, Fla.-- A group of 11 Negro children prepared to stand-in if necessary, desegregated the Victory Park swimming pool. They were accompanied by Weldon Rougeau, CORE field secretary and Mrs. Hazel Crawford, a member of Miami CORE.

In the past, Negroes seeking admission had been dispatched to a pool in the Washington Park, Negro section.

"When this matter was referred to me by Mrs. Crawford, we immediately contacted a sympathetic city councilman and told him that CORE would start action unless the pool changed its policy," Rougeau reports.

"Then, on May 24, Mrs. Crawford and I took 11 youngsters to seek entrance to the pool. Had they been refused, they were prepared to stand-in. The manager was summoned by the cashier at the ticket booth. He made a phone call and then told the children they would need identification as residents of North Miami Beach. When they replied they didn't have any, Mrs Crawford agreed to vouch for them and they were admitted.

"When the Negro children were preparing to leave, the manager asked several of them if they would like to be on the pool's swimming and diving teams. They accepted and said they would report for practice."

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28/63

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

White Gang Attacks CORE Theatre Pickets

High Point, N.C., May 29: A gang of whites armed with rocks, bricks and eggs attacked CORE pickets at the Paramount and Center theatres on May 28th. Two of the pickets -- Juanita Flowers and Brenda White were injured by flying rocks.

The picketing climaxed a silent march through town in which some 450 persons participated. High Point CORE's campaign to desegregate the Paramount started in mid-April. Nine pickets were arrested but their trial has been adjourned till fall.

The bi-racial committee, established recently here like in several other North Carolina cities as an outcome of recent mass CORE demonstrations, plans to discuss the theatre question immediately.

Stand-inners Undeterred by White Gang

Tallahassee, Florida -- A group of some 50 stand-inners at the State Theatre for the early evening show were undeterred by a threatening gang of whites armed with sticks, belt buckles and hammers.

When the stand-in was resumed for the next showing, the line had swelled to 300. The armed whites were still there. The stand-ins were conducted by Tallahassee CORE, which for some months has been campaigning to desegregate the Florida as well as the State Theatre.

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289/63

JUN 5 1963

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtland 7-6270

WB
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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

DESEGREGATE STATE-OWNED AMUSEMENT PARK IN NEW ORLEANS

New Orleans, La.-- Last December, following the arrest of two New Orleans CORE members in state-owned Audubon Park, Oretha Castle, the group's chairman, commented: "Neither Negroes nor animals may use benches, rest rooms or restaurant facilities."

On June 2, CORE members not only were able to sit on benches in the zoo area and use the rest rooms. They enjoyed the rides in the amusement section. There were 45 Negro CORE testers and a few whites who had come as observers.

It was the first day the Park was permitting use of its facilities to everybody, regardless of color. The agreement has been negotiated between Oretha Castle together with other CORE representatives and the Park commissioners.

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290/63

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

Win Right To Picket Following Mass Arrest

Tallahassee, Fla., Tallahassee CORE pickets were back in front of the State and Florida theatres on June 1 following a legal victory on picketing rights.

The court decision came following the arrest two days previous of 222 demonstrators charged with contempt of an anti-picketing injunction.

The same judge who had issued the injunction against CORE, Ben Willis, reversed himself following a conference with defense attorneys shortly after the trial started.

Following court adjournment, Defense Attorney Tobias Simon told the assembled students: "This is the first time in a southern state that the right of Negroes to picket has been defined and put into an order." The students stood and cheered. The pickets are limited to 10 at the State and 18 at the Florida.

Patricia Stephens Due, chairman of Tallahassee CORE and one of the arrested group, pointed out that in addition to picketing, and without violating the court ruling, Negro students in large numbers will continue to line-up and attempt to buy tickets at the booth.

"The theatres are our major project at present," she added. The theatre desegregation project has been in progress for several months.

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288/63

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

Fair Job Pact Ends Construction Halt At Municipal Building

Philadelphia, Pa., June 3: Construction on the new Municipal services Building, which has been halted following a 21 hour CORE sit-in in City Hall, was resumed under an agreement negotiated between Philadelphia CORE, the Philadelphia Commission on Human Rights and the building trades unions.

The agreement provides for employment of a definite number of Negroes on the project. A somewhat similar agreement was won subsequently by the Philadelphia NAACP at a school construction site following several days of mass picketing.

The night-long sit-in by 20 CORE members took place in Mayor James Tate's reception room. In ordering a halt to the $18,000,000 construction job, in Reyburn Plaza the mayor publicly retracted a statement he had made the previous week that "nothing can be done to remove discrimination on current construction jobs." The sit-in climaxed a vigorous CORE campaign including picketing of the mayor's home and a mass demonstration at City Hall.

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WBV
JM
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JUN 17 1963

299/63

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

CORE Dispatches Task Force To Danville

Danville, Va., June 13: At the request of Rev. A.I. Dunlap, and Rev. Lawrence Campbell, two of the Negro leaders arrested in recent demonstrations, CORE has dispatched three of its key Task Force workers here.

They are William Thomas, chairman of Greensboro CORE, which led the mass demonstrations in that city; Issac Reynolds, who directed mobilization of students in the big Birmingham protest action and Bruce Baines of Durham.

Meanhwile, leading white businessmen appealed to the city administration to take a more reasonable attitude and asked the mayor to set-up a bi-racial committee which functions. It was the existing bi-racial committee's failure to act, which set-off the nonviolent demonstrations.

Following the businessmen's appeal, 50 demonstrators who had been held three days in jail without bond, were released on $500 bond each. The demonstration which resulted in their arrest, was countered by local police with club-swinging and use of fire hoses.

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1- agencies -
Core News Releases

298/63

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

Pickets Change Hiring Policy At Montgomery Ward's

Oakland, Calif., June 13: Two weeks' picketing of Montgomery Ward stores here and in San Leandro has resulted in the company's hiring six additional Negroes in nonmenial positions and in resuming negotiations with Oakland and Berkeley CORE.

The picketing started following the collaspe of negotiations. The local store employs only four Negro salesmen out of a total of 250 and the San Leandro store employs none.

On one occasion, Dick Gregory stopped-by and joined the Oakland picket line. "I'm glad you are here pointing out to everybody that the trouble isn't just in the south but up here too," he commented.

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297/63

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

Demonstration Brings Pledge To Halt Construction If Bias Continues

New York, N.Y., June 13: A mass demonstration June 12th at the construction site of Harlem Hospital annex brought a pledge from Acting Mayor Paul Screvane that the city will halt the construction job unless the building trades unions involved act immediately to end job discrimination.

The Building & Construction Trades Council met the following day and prepared to report to the acting mayor what action it is taking.

"Following this discussion, if it is my judgment that the action does not insure the end of any discriminatory practices, I will then issue instructions to the contractor at Harlem Hospital to cease work," Screvane said in a press conference with CORE Assistant Program Director Norman Hill.

His announcement was made after conferring with representatives of the Joint Committee for Equal Employment Opportunity, which includes New York CORE, NAACP and Urgan League, the Negro American Labor Council, the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists and the Workers Defense League. New York CORE was represented by Velma Hill.

Prior to the demonstration, the Mayor's office had refused to meet with the Joint Committee.

Some 200 pickets turned out for the demonstration including James Farmer, CORE national director.

During the picketing; two groups of five sat-down to block the construction workers' entrances. They were pushed back by police and three were hospitalized with minor injuries.

During lunch hour, the site was picketed by some 400 members of Local 420, State County & Municipal Employees who work at Harlem Hospital.

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296/63

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

City-Wide Protest Movement Brings Negotiations

Gadsden, Ala., June 13: A city-wide nonviolent protest movement which started June 11, the day James Hood, a native of Gadsden entered the University of Alabama, resulted in negotiations two days later.

The negotiations were requested by Agri Cola, owner of the community's biggest shopping center. Heading the Negro negotiating team was Marvin Robinson, CORE field secretary, who has been coordinating the demonstrations here.

On June 12, the demonstrators marched, not only in front of the center but through the stores located inside. They also marched through the center of town, 1,000-strong. Pickets succeeded in closing-down lunch counters in the local variety stores. A group sat-down in front of the Pitman Theatre and another group stood-in in front of the Prince's theatre. Both closed down.

Two of the demonstrators were arrested. Upon emerging from the courthouse after inquiring about them, Marvin Robinson was assaulted by a gang of whites. Shortly thereafter, the CORE field secretary conferred with Police Chief Simmons, pledging that if the latter would keep the whites from practicing violence, he--Robinson--would do the same in the Negro community.

Carrying out this pledge, Robinson thereupon appealed--successfully--to those elements in the Negro community which were armed.

"Many of them gave-up the idea of using weapons and actually joined our nonviolent action," Robinson reported.

Among the demonstrators was Mrs. James Hood, mother of the Gadsden student who entered the University of Alabama, and Gwenda, her younger daughter. Mrs. Hood had stated at a meeting that she is proud of the position taken by her son and that she, herself, is ready to go to jail, if necessary.

On June 13, a rifle bullet shattered the window of a drugstore owned by Dr. Stewart, a leader of the protest movement and a Negro-owned filling station was set afire.

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301/63

JUN 19 1963

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

INTERRACIAL TEAM CHAINED-IN OHIO CAPITOL

Columbus, Ohio, June 17: For 10 hours on June 13 a Negro minister and a white student, members of Columbus CORE, remained chained-in in the gallery of the State Legislature. State Highway patrolmen finally cut the chains with which the two had attached themselves to seats.

The Negro minister is Rev. Arthur Zebbs, of Aldersgate Methodist Church and chairman of the local CORE chapter, the white student, David Clark, a history graduate at Ohio State University.

After cutting the chains, state police carried out three other CORE members sitting-in in the rotunda.

The chain-in was part of a continuing demonstration by Columbus CORE for passage of pending fair housing legislation.

Sit-Inners Carried Out of Senate Chamber

Sacramento, Calif., June 17: CORE sit-inners who moved their ongoing protest on June 13 from the rotunda of the State Capitol to the Senate Chamber were removed, bodily, by Capitol policemen.

Marlon Brando and Paul Newman had previously visited the sit-inners.

They, then resumed in the rotunda, the sit-in which started on May 29 and which has attracted CORE members from other parts of the state. Purpose of the demonstration is to protest a Senate committee's stalling on a fair housing bill which had passed the Assembly.

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1- Agencies - Core
News Releases

303/63

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

Arrested CORE Task Force Worker
Called "Professional Agitator"

Danville, Va., June 17: Bruce Baines, a CORE Task Force worker arrested June 12 during a sit-in which turned into a sit-out in front of the Charcoal Kitchen has been dubbed by the Danville Regisiter as a "professional agitator."

To prove it, the paper reproduced a photostatic copy of a $25 CORE expense check which Baines carried in his pocket. The caption said: "The check could have covered their (the sit-inners') meals at the restaurant, but it was far short of the $350 needed to bail Baines out of jail last night."

Baines was one of three Task Force workers whom CORE dispatched to Danville at the request of Rev. A.I. Dunlap and Rev. Lawrence Campbell. Since then, CORE has sent down its assistant community relations Director, Robert Gore, a Freedom Walker who just completed a month in Alabama State Prison.

Ignoring an appeal by leading white businessmen for a more reasonable attitude, the mayor has remained adamant and police have continued to ruthlessly suppress local demonstrations.

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300/63

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COrtland 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

CAPITAL'S BIGGEST LOCAL FREEDOM DEMONSTRATION

Washington, D. C. -- Over 5,000 Negroes and Whites participated on June 14 in the biggest locally-sponsored freedom demonstration ever held. It was initiated by the Washington CORE group.

Following a mass prayer meeting in Lafayette Park, the demonstrators, carrying placards, circled the White House. Opposite the park were a handfull of counterpickets from the American Nazi Party, two of them wearing gorilla suits. Julius Hobson, chairman of Washington CORE, cautioned the freedom demonstrators to simply ignore the Naziz.

From the White House, the freedom marchers proceeded down Pennsylvania Avenue to the District of Columbia Building. There, Commissioner Walter Tobriner told them: "Not later than this session of Congress, the District of Columbia will have a fair housing law. He added that the District commissioners will adopt such a law if Congress fails to act. He said that a D. C. fair employment law also is in immediate prospect.

The demonstrators then marched further down the Avenue to the Department of Justice building where Attorney General Robert Kennedy addressed them from a makeshift platform. Referring to some of the placards urging a fair employment policy within the Department, Kennedy asserted: "There is no discrimination here at Justice; any individual can come in here and get a job if he is gualified."

Observers agreed that the Freedom Demonstration was the biggest organized on a purely local basis.

302/63

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

Greensboro Becomes Open City

Greensboro, N.C., June 17: Within the week starting June 14, Greensboro became an open city as far as public facilities are concerned.

Hotels, motels, restaurants, theatres and bowling alleys--many of them not targets of Greensboro CORE's recent massive direct action campaign--became desegregated.

"At last Greensboro is really living up to its reputation as the most liberal city in the south's most liberal state," commented William Thomas, chairman of Greensboro CORE and a leader of the recent demonstrations.

Mayor David Schenck's initial attitude of indecisiveness had caused Greensboro to lag behind Durham and several other North Carolina cities in desegregating its public facilities. It was only following resumption of CORE mass action on June 6 that the mayor took a firm stand.

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306/63

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WBU
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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

Murder Threats Follow Televised CORE Meeting

Miami, Fla., June 19: Within three days of a televised Miami CORE meeting at which A.D. Moore, the group's chairman, asserted: "We want complete freedom this year," two threats were made on Moore's life--one by phone and one by mail.

"Evers wanted complete freedom too, and he got it: but do he like it?" said an anonymous letter received by Moore. The phone call also mentioned the NAACP leader slain in Mississippi and threatened Moore with same.

The following day, while Moore was at work, two carloads of white men came to his home and trampled over his lawn. Upon learning this, Moore had his wife move elsewhere for the night to ensure her safety.

Win Long Campaign

Two days prior to the meeting, Miami CORE won a desegregation campaign which started three years ago during CORE's summer Action Institute here.

Shell's City Supermarket finally desegregated its lunch counter and in addition agreed to invite a fair employment policy by hiring Negro cashiers within 30 days. On the first day of the policy change CORE test teams were served without incident.

The long campaign against Shell's City was reactivated in mid-May with mass picketing of the supermarket. Several influential members of the community participated in the negotiations leading to the settlement.

Since reactivation of the Shell's City campaign, other restaurants which previously refused to negotiate, have desegregated. They include Toby's Cafeteria, International House of Pancakes, Corky's Restaurant and the Not Shoppes chain.

WBV
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305/63

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

CORE Rejects Cooling-Off Period

New York, N.Y., June 19: CORE emphatically rejected on June 19 President Kennedy's proposal for a moratorium on anti-segregation demonstrations while Congress debates his proposed civil rights legislation.

"We do not intend to call off demonstrations, and we would not if we could," said James Farmer, national director of CORE. "We do not agree that demonstrations for freedom will damage the chances for passage of civil rights legislation. On the contrary, such peaceful demonstrations should help persuade the legislators of the urgency of the situation."

Farmer indicated that CORE supported the President's proposals as far as they went. Farmer has offered to testify before the appropriate Congressional committees in their behalf.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE ATTN: James Peck

New City Hall Sit-In Urges Halt
Of All Biased City Construction

Philadelphia, Pa., June 26: Philadelphia's City Hall, where a CORE sit-in in mid-May halted construction at the Municipal Services Building, is the scene of a new CORE sit-in. It started on June 24 immediately following a mass demonstration and half-day stoppage called by the local NAACP as a memorial to Medgar Evers.

The sit-in, involving 19 Negro and white members of Philadelphia CORE is taking place at two locations: the reception room of Managing Director Fred Corleto in City Hall and the conference room of the Commission on Human Relations in City Hall Annex. In addition to sitting-in, members of the group are refusing to eat.

They are demanding that the city administration halt work on all municipal construction jobs where job discrimination prevails. The mid-May CORE sit-in won a fair employment agreement on the Municipal Services Building job as did an NAACP mass demonstration at a school construction job. In early June, Philadelphia CORE and NAACP issued a joint statement agreeing to cooperate in campaigning for fair employment on city construction jobs.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

NEW CITY HALL SIT-IN URGES HALT OF ALL BIASED CITY CONSTRUCTION

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38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtland 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

POLICE STAND-BY AS YOUNG NEGROES ARE SHOT

Canton, Mississippi, June 26.-- Local policemen just stood and watched as a man in a passing car fired shotgun bullets at five young Negroes following a voter registration meeting here on June 24.

The man generally believed to have done the shooting -- Price Lewis -- is known in the community and, in fact, reported to work as usual the following day. The FBI is investigating the incident.

The five injured by the gunshot were taken to a hospital for treatment and were released next morning. They are Leo Carter, Levey Jones, Bernice McGruder and Shirley and Angie Dotson.

The local voting drive, led by Jerome Smith, CORE field secretary and George Raymond, a CORE Task Force worker, has resulted in registration of 12 Negroes to date. Previously not a single Negro was registered in this northern Mississippi town.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

EDITORS NOTE Kill story sent out yesterday and datelined Canton, Mississippi. Replace it with this story.

GAS STATION MAN ARRESTED FOR SHOOTING NEGROES

Canton, Mississippi, June 27: Ben Lewis, a white gas station attendant, was arrested on June 26 on charges of "unlawfully pointing and unlawfully discharging a firearm" at five young Negroes two days ago. He was released under $3500 bond.

Lewis was generally believed to have done the shooting, but he was not arrested at the time of the incident. Local policemen just stood and watched as the shots were fired from a passing car. The shooting occured following a voter registration meeting.

The five young Negroes injured by the pellets were taken to a hospital for treatment and were released next morning. They are Leo Carter, Levey Jones, Bernice MxGruder and Shirley and Angie Dotson.

The local voter registration campaign, led by Jerome Smith, CORE field secretary and George Raymond, a CORE Task Force worker, has resulted in the registration of 12 Negroes to date. Previously not a single Negro was registered in this northern Mississippi town.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

SIT-IN AT HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION

New York, New York, June 27: Members of Brooklyn CORE who have been sitting-in at the office of the State Commission on Human Rights since June 18, have decided to remain there until Leonard Morris, a Negro highschool student, wins a transfer to a school which is not substandard.

The sit-inners won a victory in the case of another Negro student, Elizabeth Weeks, when the Board of Education agreed to transfer her to a better school. But the Board refused to transfer Leonard Morris.

At night, the sit-inners sleep in the office of Commissioner George Fowler. During business hours, they move to an adjoining conference room. They bring in food from nearby restaurants. There have been up to 15 persons participating simultaneously in the round-the-clock sit-in.

This technique proved successful for Brooklyn CORE last January in winning transfers for the Bibuld children. While the present protest is based on two individual cases, it spotlights the racial imbalance in New York schools.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

HOUSING SIT-IN CONTINUES DESPITE MASS ARRESTS

Torrance, Calif., June 27: A round-the-clock sit-in in the sales office of Don Wilson's Southwood Rivera tract continues despite 39 arrests on June 16 and 23.

The arrests, on trespassing charges, were the first in Los Angeles CORE's 11 month old campaign against Don Wilson's discriminatory housing policy. Those arrested on June 23 at 2 a.m. were manhandled by local police.

By early afternoon, the sit-in was resumed with 30 persons in the sales office and 100 pickets outside. The CORE campaign is being supported by 96 organizations including unions, churches and community groups.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and Robert Gore

CORE Convention Draws 300

Dayton, Ohio, July 3: The Congress of Racial Equality closed its 21st Annual Convention here this week on a note of optimism for the coming year, yet noting the challenges to be faced.

CORE National Director James Farmer said at the close of the four-day meet that "We are facing more brutality than ever before but CORE has an obligation to the nation to see this fight to the finish." During his keynote address Farmer mentioned that CORE's nonviolent direct action methods had "seen many walls of segregation come down, but the job is far from over."

Attorney Wiley Branton, Executive Director of the Atlanta-based Voter Education Project was the main speaker at a banquet honoring CORE field workers in the South. Branton said to the 300 delegates and observers, "You should be proud of your workers in the South. Some of them are working in what are literally hell-holes."

Resolutions passed at the convention included one which called on CORE chapters to dissociate with bi-racial committees which have only those persons hand-picked by the "power structure" of the community. Another mentioned that "compensatory, preferential treatment" is required on the part of local, state and federal government as well as unions and management in order to get more Negroes and other minority groups hired in gainful employment.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and Robert Gore

CORE Members Roughed-Up Picketing For Jobs

Newark, N.J., July 3: CORE field worker Jon Schaeffer, along with several others including New Jersey's only Negro state legislature member, was roughed up this morning on a picket line in Newark.

The demonstration was at a school construction site which had been a target of Newark residents because of alleged discrimination in jobs. Schaeffer said he was sitting down in the street with others in an effort to halt the construction when some of the workers attempted to enter the site and police dragged the demonstrators away. Police Inspector Robert Donnelly reportedly said "These people have a right to picket and these workmen have a right to work. It is as simple as that."

According to an investigation by Newark-Essex CORE and others in the Newark Coordinating Committee, there are 200 men on the job, only 12 of whom are Negroes. There are no Puerto Ricans included. Schaeffer reported that Newark's Mayor has called for a halt to construction of the school until a fact-finding committee makes a report.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and Robert Gore

CORE Leader Released From Alabama Jail

Gadsden, Alabama, July 3: CORE field secretaries Marvin Robinson and Mary Hamilton were released from jail here yesterday along with CORE field workers William Douthard and Arleane Wilkes. They were arrested last month for participation in demonstrations which resulted in police brutality.

During Miss Hamilton's trial she was charged with contempt of court for refusnng to answer questions directed to her as "Mary." After insisting on being called "Miss Hamilton" she was fined fifty dollars and was given a five-day sentence.

Meanwhile, demonstrations in Gadsden have been called to a temporary halt because the city has met some of the demands of its Negro citizens. Bus drivers have been hired and other demands are in the process of negotiation.

According to CORE field secretary Marvin Robinson, "The demonstrations are stopped for right now while we see what the city will do. There is absolutely no guarantee, however, that we will stop. If the city does not act in good faith we will be right back out there."

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

America's Atomic City, Oak Ridge,
Scene Of CORE Sit-In

Oak Ridge, Tenn., July 12, 1963.....This historic city, created early in World War II to develop the atomic bomb, was the scene of a CORE sit-in yesterday (July 11). CORE demonstrators entered the Snow White Drive-In Restaurant in the afternoon and sat at the lunch counters. Restaurant manager Mr. Sparks announced that the price of coffee has risen to $50.00 a cup, payable in advance. Winston Lockett, CORE chairman in Oak Ridge agreed to the price but insisted that he would pay on leaving as any normal customer would, whereupon the demonstrators were forcibly ejected. They returned last night and were refused admission. Lockett announced that the sit-ins would continue daily until the restaurant integrates. He added that this restaurant was the last example of segregation in public accommodations in the city of Oak Ridge and that CORE's efforts would be directed toward ending discrimination in employment at the successful conclusion of this campaign.

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JUL 17 1963

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Bob Gore and Gene Tournour

New York, N.Y., July 15: CORE Task Force Workers, volunteers from various sections of the nation, will assemble today at Judson Memorial Church for a final orientation on their summer program. These volunteers will be working on a full time basis in the communities of Newark, New Jersey and Bedford-Stuyvesant, Brooklyn, New York, with the CORE chapters in these communities. The CORE summer program in both of these communities in which the task force will be involved concerns:

1. An attack on slum landlords with the aim of not only preventing rent gouging but also insisting on adequate building maintenance and upkeep. Through establishment and coordination of tenant councils and block units, a community structure will be advanced to pursue this community program.
2. The second phase of the community program will apply direct action techniques to situations of employment discrimination. The program will focus attention on the acute problem of the job shortage in Newark and Bedford-Stuyvesant which so far has fallen hardest on the shoulders of minority group workers. A special role in community protest will be provided for the numerous young people, Negro and White, who have been denied employment.

This effot to illuminate the critical job shortage in these communities should underscore the necessity for local participation in the national March on Washington for Jobs and Civil Rights, August 28, called by national civil rights and labor leaders.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and Bob Gore

CORE Members Begin Hunger Strike

Chicago, Ill., July 17: An inter-racial CORE team began its eighth day of a sit-in at the Board of Education here, protesting segregated schools. Yesterday, nine of the group went on a hunger strike to "intensify our involvement with the CORE cause."

CORE alleges that present neighborhood school zone lines in Chicago foster segregation. The members plan to continue the sit-in until the school board does something about this. A school board meeting is scheduled for August 14, but CORE is asking for a special session on what it considers "this highly important issue."

According to a CORE spokesman, the August 14 date is too late to make any meaningful changes for the coming school year. The spokesman, Jack Harkins, said that action by the school board is mandatory under a new Illinois law designed to prevent de facto segregation. He charged that zone changes made at a board meeting last Wednesday achieved the opposite result and called for a rescinding of those changes.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and Robert Gore

CORE Chapter Announces New Jobs, Upgrading At Montgomery Ward

Berkeley, Calif., July 17: Montgomery Ward Department Store has hired 43 Negroes and 9 other minority group members since May 18, according to a s check by Berkeley CORE. Duran Bell, the group's Employment Chairman said that negotiations with the personnel department at the store followed a 10-day picketing demonstration in May.

"We are especially pleased that over half of the 28 Negroes recently hired are in sales positions and that two Negroes have been upgraded to supervisory positions," he declared.

Alemeda County Superior Court Judge Caldecott called for talks between Montgomery Ward and CORE, set a monthly schedule for follow up negotiations for a three month period and thereafter as needed.

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ATTN: Marvin Rich and Robert Gore

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Michigan Group Moves Into Seventh Week
Of Picketing On Housing Discrimination

Ann Arbor, Mich., July 17: More than 200 strong members and friends of the Ann Arbor Area Fair Housing Association, an affiliate of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), picketed City Hall this week, urging a fair housing ordinance in this Michigan city.

For the seventh consecutive week, the group picketed "as an expression of our growing concern about the segregation in Ann Arbor's housing," according to AAAFHA-CORE Chairman LaMar Miller. He further stated, "If we do not express our disapproval of segregated housing, if we do not protest, then the status quo, the segregation will remain."

The weekly inter-racial demonstrations will continue, Miller indicated, until there is no longer an indication of "Failure to live up to the American ideal that all men have equal opportunities.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE ATTN: Marvin Rich and Bob Gore

New York CORE Chapters Step-Up Drive for Equality in Jobs

New York, N. Y., July 17: Accelerated action on the part of New York area CORE groups has resulted in larger picket lines but the city government thus far has made no viable attempt to stop construction at many construction sites throughout the city.

CORE chapters have urged Mayor Robert Wagner to halt construction until the building trades follow city fair employment laws. Earlier, Mayor Wagner empowered a panel of three persons to look into the matter.

Their recommendations were rejected by CORE because they did not allow for substantial increases in minority group employment. The recommendations were also rejected by unions and employers as "dictation."

On Friday, July 19, CORE members plan to begin a week-end fast and vigil at the Mayor's office where a continued sit-in has been in progress for the past week. Gladys Harrington, New York CORE Chairman said that beginning at 6 p.m. Friday, the chapter would fast and hold a vigil on City Hall steps and in the City Hall park throughout the week-end.

Brooklyn Sit-In

Meanwhile, in Brooklyn this week, 42 persons were arrested including 14 Negro clergymen led by CORE Advisory Board member Rev. Gardner Taylor. Dr. Taylor announced today that he is urging all 14 clergymen to hold a rally after this Sunday's morning service in support of the drive for equal opportunity in hiring.

White Castle Pickets Remain

Picketers from Bronx CORE are holding fast at the White Castle Restaurants at four different locations in the Bronx. According to Bronx CORE Chairman Herb Callender, only 4 Negro janitors are hired by White Castle in the Bronx out of a total work force of 126. Negotiations with White Castle to date have produced no results. Last week, however, the New York City Commission on Human Rights called in the manager of the chain restaurant for an investigation into the failure of the chain to live up to local laws on fair hiring.

Governor's Office

Governor Rockefeller's New York City office still has sit-in demonstrators waiting for him from several local CORE chapters. The Governor has given no indication that he plans to stop construction on state-financed buildings though CORE has insisted that this is necessary in order to halt widespread discrimination in the building trades here.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: MARVIN RICH AND BOB GORE

CORE "Task Force" Moves in Louisiana Parish

Plaquemine, La.--July 25: A week-long special clinic has been concluded here in Iberville Parish, designed to instruct local Negroes in what is necessary to become a registered voter. The clinic was the first phase of a six-weeks crash program instituted by CORE.

According to registration figures for Iberville Parish, there are 2,600 registered Negro voters and 6,797 whites. Negro registration has increased by 206 since December. White citizens are now starting their own drive to offset CORE's. CORE has offered to make an "integrated" drive but no reply has been received.

Gordon Carey, program director of CORE, said here that the following weeks will be spent by the special summer Task Force, in canvassing Negro and white families to determine who is registered. In addition, Negroes will be accompanied to the registrar's office to assure that people are able to register "within the framework of the state law."

In addition to Carey, several other national officers of CORE were on hand for the kick-off of the program. They included a national vice-president of the inter-racial organization, Rudolp Lombard; James T. McCain, organization director and CORE field secretary Ronnie Moore.

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WB

CORE-LATOR

Published bimonthly by the CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
38 Park Row, New York 38, N.Y. Subscription $2.00 a year
A National Organization with affiliated local groups working to abolish racial discrimination by direct nonviolent methods
James Farmer, *national director* Jim Peck, *editor*

252 JULY, 1963 No. 101

NONVIOLENT UPSURGE

Nonviolent action involving thousands of Negro young people, swept across the south in the brief two months since the last COREl ator went to press.

It started in Birmingham in early April with a few lunch counter sit-ins. A month later the jails were filled with more than 2000 nonviolent demonstrators, most of them teen-agers and some as young as 6 years old. Among those arrested, was Mary Hamilton, a CORE field secretary.

Isaac Reynolds, whom CORE had assigned to SCLC for the duration of the Birmingham action, was put in charge of mobilizing young people at the schools and training them in nonviolence.

"This was the most gratifying experience of my life," Reynolds told the COREl ator. "Never before have I witnessed, first-hand, such spirit and willingness on the part of youths to change a cruel and unjust social system. Still vivid in my mind is a 13-year-old girl who told a mass meeting one night: 'God is in my heart and freedom is on my lips.' This young girl and the other hundreds of Negro students achieved in a very short time what many of us have been struggling to attain for years."

What shocked the nation and the world about the Birmingham situation is how former Public Safety Commissioner "Bull" Connor countered the nonviolent demonstrations with police dogs and fire hoses. Fortunately, Connor, a stormtrooper-type who had held office for 23 years, was finally defeated at the polls along with the former, ultra-segregationist mayor. A city government of moderates has taken office. This will facilitate putting into effect the agreement reached between a committee of Negroes headed by Martin Luther King and a committee of white businessmen. This agreement, which ended the protest, calls for lunch counter desegregation within 90 days and equal employment opportunities.

Following the Birmingham protest, mass nonviolent action started in North Carolina under CORE leadership (see story in adjacent column). Other places where major protests took place during the past two months include Tallahassee (see story on page 4), Nashville and Atlanta.

As this issue goes to press a major campaign is under way in Jackson, Mississippi. Hundreds of Negro students have been arrested and herded into a stockade on the state fair grounds. On June 1, Roy Wilkins, na-

(Continued on page 2)

Mass Action Makes N.C. Live Up to Liberal Reputation

by James Farmer

At the request of William Thomas, chairman of our CORE group in Greensboro, I went to that North Carolina city on May 18 to lead demonstrations and to try to stimulate greater community involvement in the growing protest action.

From 2000 to 4000 students marched daily into town joined by hundreds of adults in peaceful but spirited demonstrations. More than 1500 arrestees jammed every available jail space. The polio rehabilitation center and the armory were converted into makeshift prisons. Jailed students had to sleep on floors and in baby cribs. The floors were carpeted, in Dick Gregory's words, with "wall to wall us."

With 1500 already imprisoned and four thousand clamoring to join them, the technique of arrest became an ineffective deterrant. The city's response to this crisis was to force prisoners to leave the jails on their own recognizance without bond. Those who refused were removed bodily into buses and transported back to the campuses. But the daily demonstrations continued and when arrests were made the defendants were merely booked and released.

With thousands of students in total revolt against segregation, the adults of the community could not remain inert. Twenty-five local ministers, meeting at my invitation, voted unanimously to launch a total boycott of the business community until Greensboro becomes a desegregated city. The boycott, nearly 100% effective, called upon Negroes to buy only such necessities as food and medicine and to make such purchases at neighborhood stores. The ministers then led a protest march of adults through the downtown area. Two thousand marched in silent and prayerful protest. Some adults joined their children in jail. One college professor commented, "My entire class is in jail so I might as well join them to give them their final examinations." A Negro Episcopal minister, Father Hicks, turned his church over to CORE as a headquarters and had food prepared there for the working committees, in session around the clock. The whole community was in this struggle and there could be no turning back.

With the A & T student body president Jesse Jackson, Bill Thomas and I

(Continued on page 2)

SET FIRE TO CORE NATIONAL OFFICE

A fire was started in the CORE national office on Saturday morning, May 25. The office was locked at the time and nobody was inside. The fire-setting device apparently was inserted through the mail slot of one of the office doors.

Fortunately, the fire was promptly discovered by William Standard, an attorney with offices on the same floor. Immediately, Joseph Formosa, the superintendent, rushed up and put out the flames with fire extinguishers and buckets of water. However, the door, venetian blinds, the morning's mail, which had been deposited through the slot and a quantity of literature which was on a table nearby, were completely destroyed.

Those who wrote letters or sent contributions which may have been delivered March 25 are urged to write CORE again.

NONVIOLENT UPSURGE ***continued***

tional secretary of NAACP, and a Negro investigator for the U.S. Justice Department were arrested on Capitol Street. For trying simply to picket, Wilkins, Medgar Evers, NAACP field secretary, and Mrs. Helen Wilcher were charged with a felony, conspiring to restrain trade.

Groundwork for the Jackson action was laid by Dave Dennis, CORE field secretary, who conducted a series of nonviolent workshops for the students. A feature story on one of these sessions by Jack Langguth appeared in the New York Times May 31. Jerome Smith, another CORE field secretary, is also in Jackson together with three CORE Task Force workers. One of these, George Raymond, was among the first sit-inners arrested on May 29. Next day Mattie Dennis, wife of Dave, was arrested while leading a group of pickets.

Hinds County Judge J. C. Stennett issued a temporary injunction against CORE and the NAACP banning civil rights demonstrations. The judge set no date for a hearing to determine whether the injunction should be made permanent.

Action is planned in other Mississippi communities.

Man of Action Talks with Robert Kennedy

A man, whom James Baldwin, noted author, characterized as "the most important man in the room" gave his views on the current desegregation struggle to Attorney General Robert Kennedy on May 24.

The man is Jerome Smith, CORE field secretary from New Orleans. The characterization was volunteered by Baldwin in explanation of Smith's heartfelt involvement in the informal discussion which was taking place between the Attorney General and a group of Negro cultural leaders including, along with Baldwin, Lorraine Hansberry, Harry Belafonte, Lena Horne, Kenneth Clark and others. Baldwin had just returned from a west coast tour for CORE in which he spoke at a number of colleges and, in Los Angeles, led a demonstration in support of the Birmingham action. The meeting grew out of a telegram sent to the attorney general at that time.

Baldwin's characterization was based on the fact that Jerome Smith has been imprisoned and beaten more times while engaged in nonviolent action in the deep south than possibly any other single individual. He is still suffering from a head injury he received when he and four other CORE Freedom Riders arrived in McComb, Mississippi in December, 1961.

When Kennedy boasted about what the federal government is doing "behind the scenes," Smith commented: "This is not enough. Power resides in the masses of people: they should be informed. You should talk to CORE Task Force members at the local level."

He was referring to CORE's recently organized corps of volunteers who are working at a subsistence level in key situations throughout the south.

As an example of what the federal government is doing, Robert Kennedy mentioned the recent sending of troops to Birmingham which brought from Belafonte the comment: "the federal government seems to act AFTER the fact."

In the course of the meeting, a proposal was presented which has been made by CORE in the past both to President Kennedy and to former President Eisenhower: namely, that the President go south, in person, and speak-out on these issues. The proposal was simply laughed-off by the Attorney General.

MASS ACTION IN NORTH CAROLINA ***continued***

led marches into town on six consecutive days. The Greensboro Chamber of Commerce adopted a resolution calling for immediate desegregation of all places serving the public. The Merchants Association followed with a similar stand. Two thousand local white citizens placed a full-page ad in the daily paper strongly urging that all businesses to immediately adopt a policy of non-discrimination. Further they pledged their own determination to patronize businesses which advanced such a policy and to urge others to do likewise. High level negotiations got underway involving some of North Carolina's most distinguished citizens, official and unofficial. A biracial committee was established.

In Durham under sponsorship of CORE and the NAACP and led by Attorney Floyd McKissick, thousands of students demonstrated and hundreds were jailed. A Durham biracial committee was established and good-faith negotiations started even before the same development occurred in Greensboro. Already the city's hotels, motels and 53 of its restaurants have desegregated.

In High Point on May 28, 450 persons joined in a silent march through town. The march climaxed with demonstrations at the Paramount and Center theaters during which a gang of whites armed with rocks, sticks and eggs attacked CORE pickets. Two of the pickets—Juanita Flowers and Brenda White—were injured by flying rocks. A bi-racial committee has been established here, also. Changes have been negotiated but not yet announced.

In Charlotte and in Winston-Salem most hotels, motels and restaurants have desegregated. In Greensboro as well as Charlotte, theater owners have agreed to a prompt policy change. There is reason to believe that theaters throughout the state will open their doors to all before Independence Day. Before the summer's end hotels and restaurants as well as bowling alleys and amusement parks will begin admitting everybody. The Tarheel State, finally, will be living up to its liberal reputation.

However, demonstrations were resumed in Greensboro when the Mayor and the bi-racial committee were unable to secure agreements to integrate from key restaurant owners. A settlement is expected momentarily.

This City Hall Sit-In . . .

. . . in the reception room of Philadelphia's Mayor James Tate halted construction on the new $18,000,000 Municipal Services Building and led to negotiation of a fair employment policy. Twenty Philadelphia CORE members sat-in for 21 hours.

The agreement negotiated between Philadelphia CORE, the Philadelphia Commission on Human Rights and the building trades unions, provides for employment of a definite number of Negroes on the construction project. A somewhat similar agreement was won subsequently by the Philadelphia NAACP at a school construction site following several days of mass picketing. On June 3, Louis Smith, chairman of Philadelphia CORE and Cecil Moore, president of the Philadelphia NAACP, issued a joint statement agreeing to cooperate in campaigning for fair employment on city construction jobs.

In ordering a halt to the Municipal Services Building job, following the sit-in, the mayor publicly retracted a statement he had made the previous week that "nothing can be done to remove discrimination on current construction jobs." The sit-in climaxed a vigorous CORE campaign including picketing of the mayor's home and a mass demonstration at City Hall.

In Brief

New York's famed Waldorf-Astoria Hotel reached a fair employment agreement with New York CORE following a campain marked by nightly picketing of the hotel.

* * *

A group of 11 Negro children prepared to stand-in if necessary, desegregated the Victory Park swimming pool in North Miami Beach. They were accompanied by Weldon Rougeau, CORE field secretary, and Mrs. Hazel Crawford, a member of Miami CORE.

* * *

Northern California CORE members started a sit-in at the California State Capitol in Sacramento on May 30 to protest delay by a Senate committee on an Assembly-enacted fair housing law.

* * *

Presentation of LOOK magazine's All-American City Award to High Point, North Carolina resulted in a joint CORE-NAACP picket demonstration at City Hall. Since then, and prior to the mass action throughout the state, High Point CORE won its campaign to desegregate McDonald's hamburger restaurant.

* * *

Within less than an hour after the initial picket line at an A & P store in Seattle, the district manager came to CORE picketing headquarters at the First AME Church and announced that two Negroes had been hired that same day. Seattle CORE is seeking a city-wide agreement with A & P.

* * *

Negotiations led by CORE Program Director Gordon Carey led to the integration of 60 southern Howard Johnson restaurants in a one week period. Five of the restaurants are in South Carolina. The Company has agreed to integrate all of its owned restaurants this summer. This climaxes a 14-month CORE campaign to secure for Negroes the right to travel with dignity. Some 155 Howard Johnson restaurants have integrated.

NEW ORLEANS ACTION BRINGS TWO KEY RULINGS

Two important court decisions have resulted from CORE action in New Orleans.

The more important is the May 20 U.S. Supreme Court ruling that neither cities nor states can legally enforce a policy of segregation. Four cases other than the CORE one were involved but in those, the respective cities had segregation ordinances. The New Orleans case involving four CORE sit-inners did not involve ordinances but simply public statements by the then-mayor, DeLesseps Morrison and by the police chief that sit-ins would not be permitted.

These statements, Justice Earl Warren ruled, amounted to serving notice "that the city would not permit Negroes to seek desegregated service in restaurants. Consequently, the city must be treated exactly as if it had an ordinance prohibiting such conduct. These convictions commanded as they were by the voice of the state directing segregated service at the restaurants, cannot stand."

The second significant decision, by a special three-judge federal court, invalidated Louisiana's hotel segregation law. The case was initiated by James McCain, CORE organization director, after being refused a room at the Hotel Royal Orleans last November.

Following the decision, the local hotel owners met and though there was some sentiment for adopting a new policy, the majority viewpoint was to continue segregating. Since then, however, three of the major hotels have desegregated. But New Orleans has lost the money which would have been spent there during the forthcoming American Legion convention. Because of the continued hotel segregation, the convention site was shifted to Miami Beach.

When New Orleans had been first chosen, James Farmer, CORE national director, wired James Powers, national commander of the Legion that if New Orleans hotels continued to discriminate at the time of the convention, CORE would resort to a major-scale nonviolent action campaign.

New Orleans CORE has been taking concentrated action on the employment issue and within the past couple of months has won 59 new sales and office jobs for Negroes.

Most recent gain is the desegregation of state-owned Audubon Park, which includes a zoo as well as an amusement park area. The facilities were opened to all, following negotiations between New Orleans CORE and the park commissioners.

Special CORElator Supplement

IN COMMEMORATION OF WILLIAM MOORE

A MAILMAN'S LAST DELIVERY

William Moore was a 35-year-old mailman, married and with three children. His final mail delivery will become a landmark in the history of the U.S. civil rights struggle, though he never got the letter to its destinee. He was unable to complete the delivery because he was murdered—shot in the back—at night on an Alabama highway April 23, 1963.

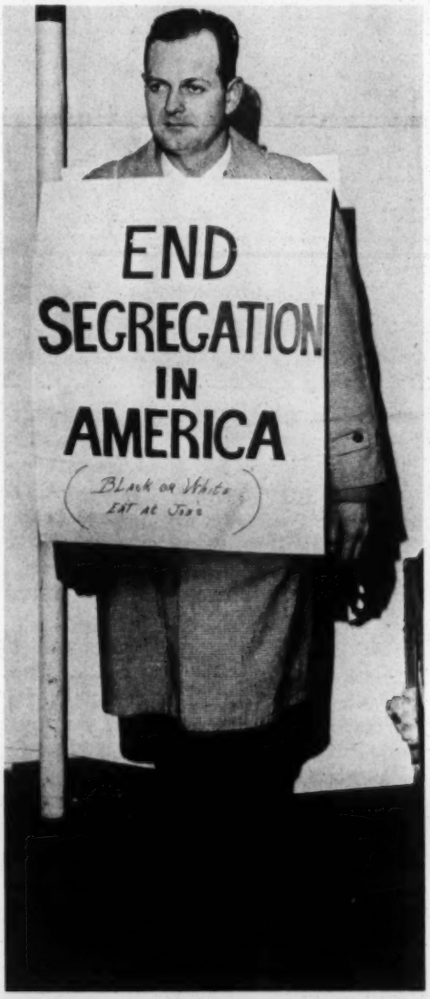
The delivery was not a commonplace one and in fact was not for the U.S. post office. Moore was on vacation and devoting his free time to delivering a letter might be termed a busman's holiday, except for the fact that it was not a holiday in any sense of the word.

He had decided to spend his vacation delivering, personally, a letter to Governor Ross Barnett of Mississippi pleading for greater understanding on the question of racial justice. He resolved to start at Chattanooga, Tennessee and to walk all the way—400 miles — to Jackson, Mississippi. Tennessee was the state of his birth and Mississippi is where he spent his youth until his family moved north to Binghamton, New York. He was a white southerner who abhorred bigotry. He had been an ardent advocate of brotherhood and world peace since his teen-age years.

The two placards which he chose to carry on his one-man Freedom Walk said: "Equal Rights for All (Mississippi or Bust)" and "Black and White Eat at Joe's." The word "black" had been ripped away when his dead body was found on the Alabama roadside.

Prior to starting the walk, he wrote President Kennedy: "I am not making this walk to demonstrate either federal rights or state rights, but individual rights. I am doing it, among other things, I feel, for the south and hopefully to illustrate that the most basic of freedoms of peaceful protest is not altogether extinguished down there."

Last fall, Moore moved from Binghamton to Baltimore, partly to become more deeply involved in the civil rights struggle. He participated in a number of Baltimore CORE actions including Freedom Rides on U.S. Route 40. Just before leaving Binghamton, he helped organize picketing of the local Howard Johnson's on the day designated by CORE for nationwide demonstrations urging desegregation of the company's southern restaurants.



William Moore is the first CORE member to die in nonviolent action.

Desegregation of a Theater —and My First Walk

by William Moore

(Editor's Note: This is probably William Moore's last article. He sent it to me from Baltimore shortly before he left on his ill-fated walk across the deep south. He had written considerably in his lifetime and had had one book published, "The Mind in Chains.")

Exactly 413 persons were arrested in 6 days in the campaign to desegregate the Northwood Theater. I was one of them. The theater is located in a white, middle-class neighborhood with a Negro college—Morgan—only a few blocks away. For eight years, students at this college had demonstrated periodically against this conveniently located movie which refused to admit them.

On February 15, 26 students attempted to enter the lobby and were stopped by the manager. The state trespass act was read and they were arrested. Next day, continuous picketing began and mass arrests occurred nightly. Bail was set at $100 and some students would get out of jail only to be rearrested.

A couple of days later, I happened to pass by, entered the lobby and saw 25 students standing peacefully near the ticket booth. The manager suddenly appeared and started to read the trespass act. Not a student moved. I was no less willing than they were to sacrifice for human rights. So, I decided to stand with them.

A police officer asked each student: "Do you understand that if you do not leave you will be arrested?" When he reached me at the end of the line he repeated the question. Even before we were placed under arrest more students entered the lobby. That night police arrested 150 Negroes and one white—myself. My bail was set at $200. The Negroes were packed two and three to a cell. I had a private cell with a board for a bed. Next morning, the Baltimore CORE group bailed me out, though the campaign at this particular theater was not a CORE-sponsored project.

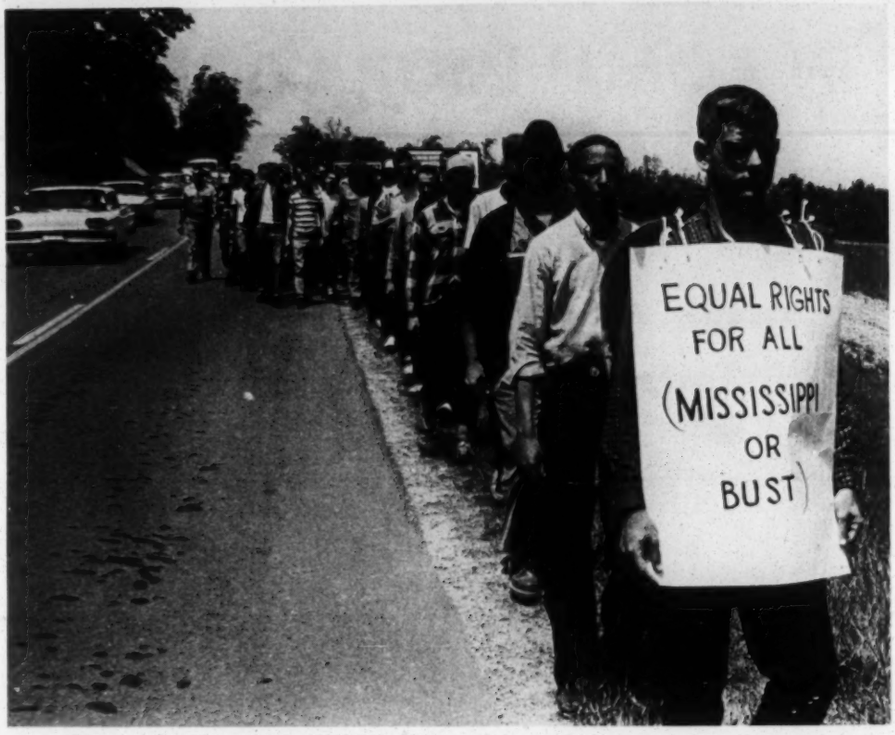
Picketing spread from the theater to the police station and city hall. Neighborhood residents and college professors joined the picket line at the theater. White students from Johns Hopkins University and Goucher College joined Negro students of Morgan College in picketing. For

(OVER)

FREEDOM MARCHERS RESUME MOORE'S WALK

Starting at the identical spot in Chattanooga where William Moore set out on his ill-fated Freedom Walk, ten members of CORE and SNCC, including CORE Assistant National Director Richard Haley, tried to complete the walk to Jackson.

This photo shows them approaching the Alabama state line line on May 3. Leading the walkers and bearing placards identical to those carried by Moore, is Sam Shirah, a white native of Alabama.



Behind the walkers, is a gang of white teen-agers who, on occasion pelted them with rocks and eggs. During the lunch stop that day, Winston Lockett was hit hard in the neck and fell to the ground. As the walkers prepared to proceed, Robert Gore was struck in the head by a flying rock.

At the Alabama border, the group was blocked by a contingent of state troopers directed by Alfred Lingo, state commissioner of public safety. First, Lingo over a loudspeaker, ordered the walkers to disperse. When they refused, he had them arrested.

Police used long electric prod poles in arresting three of the walkers who laid down on the road and decided to non-cooperate. Newspaper reporters who had been following the walkers were halted at the state line.

Meanwhile, from a mob of whites assembled in a nearby field came shouts of "Get the goddam communists!" "Throw them niggers in the river!" One woman kept yelling: "Kill 'em." "Kill 'em."

The arrests were not entirely unexpected. Eight others who had started from Birmingham to join the Freedom Walk had been seized in Attala two days earlier and Alabama officials had announced this as their policy in the situation.

The walkers decided to remain jailed-in and a hearing in circuit court was set for June 3. They were imprisoned at Fort Payne until a group of CORE members from various parts of the country assembled for a protest vigil at the jail. The jailed walkers were then transferred to Gadsden but on the first day of the protest vigil there, they were transferred to Kilby State Prison in Montgomery. Eric Weinberger went on a hunger strike and finally was force-fed. He lost 30 pounds.

Eleven of the vigilers decided to try to complete Moore's walk. They started on May 19 immediately following a memorial service at the murder site.

As soon as Jim Peck, editor of the COREator and a personal friend of Moore's, had concluded the service by laying a wreath at the spot of the assassination, the 11 walkers donned their placards and started to walk. Before they had proceded two steps, they were arrested by state troopers who had been scrutinizing the memorial service and on occasion harassing a number of the 125 persons attending. Ten of the walkers were tried and received suspended sentences. One is still to be tried as this COREator goes to press. The ten arrested May 3 were tried June 3 after being jailed-in for a month. They were fined $200 and the case is being appealed.

GROUP IN MOORE'S HONOR

At a meeting in Binghamton, N.Y., on June 5 addressed by Jim Peck, some 60 persons voted to form a CORE group in honor of William Moore. The new group will succeed the William Moore Committee for Human Rights which was set up by Binghamton residents shortly after the murder.

DESEGREGATION OF A THEATER *continued*

two more nights, the arrests continued. Then on February 21, the owner decided to desegregate the theater and the pickets gleefully tore-up their placards. Those still in jail were released without bail.

Next day, I decided to follow-through this victory by walking to the state capital in Annapolis—a distance of about 35 miles—and deliver a letter to Governor Tawes. I would wear two placards: one saying "End Segregation in Maryland," the other "Equal Rights for All Men." I was unable to deliver my letter to the governor, personally, because he was out, sick. However, I had a long talk with one of his assistants and spoke with leaders of the state assembly. My own state assemblyman, Joe O'Connell, bought me dinner and drove me back to Baltimore.

Perhaps it was this walk which gave me the idea for my forthcoming walk in the south. When I wrote my friend, Jim Peck, about the southern walk, he replied that possibly this would be more effective as a group action and that, furthermore, it would be extremely dangerous for a lone individual. However, I had made up my mind. I felt that a white mailman, born in the south, delivering a letter to Governor Barnett, would have a certain impact. I definitely plan to take this walk during my vacation.

CORE Wins Right to Picket Following Mass Arrest

Tallahassee CORE pickets were back in front of the State and Florida theaters on June 1 following a legal victory on picketing rights.

The court decision came following the arrest two days previous of 222 demonstrators charged with contempt of an anti-picketing injunction.

The same judge who had issued the injunction, Ben Willis, reversed himself following a conference with defense attorneys shortly after the trial started.

Following court adjournment, Defense Attorney Tobias Simon told the assembled students: "This is the first time in a southern state that the right of Negroes to picket has been defined and put into an order." The students stood and cheered. The pickets are limited to 10 at the State and 18 at the Florida.

Patricia Stephens Due, chairman of Tallahassee CORE and one of the arrested group, pointed out that in addition to picketing, and without violating the court ruling, Negro students in large numbers will continue to line-up and attempt to buy tickets at the booths. "The theaters are our major project at present," she added. The theater desegregation project has been in progress for several months.

FILE 318 VOTER COMPLAINTS IN 5 LOUISIANA PARISHES

CORE has filed 318 complaints of voter discrimination in five parishes in the sixth Congressional district of Louisiana. So reports Ronnie Moore, CORE field secretary, who has been working in this area since last fall.

As a consequence of these complaints, Moore says, the federal government has started a photostatic inspection of all records in the five parishes, starting with Pointe Coupée where three public school teachers and a large number of high school graduates were refused the right to register.

Next parish slated for federal inspection is St. Helena, whose registrar, Quitman Crouch, told Moore: "Negroes can't register because they're stupid."

The other three parishes are West Feliciana, where not a single Negro is registered; Tangipahoa and Iberville. In Iberville, Ella Billings, recently appointed with the approval of the Louisiana State Sovereignty Commission, has reportedly said: "Niggers ain't gonna run this parish." Nevertheless, of the Negro voting potential only 2,500 remain to be registered in the CORE drive. The former registrar, Milton Dardenne, resigned last fall because of "ill health" after CORE started initiating the filing of voter-bias complaints.

It is in these five parishes that CORE is planning a voter registration project this summer. Gordon Carey, CORE Program Director, was recently in the area making housing arrangements for the 35 persons who will participate.

CORE is a national organization with affiliated groups, committed to the goal of erasing the color line through methods of interracial direct nonviolent action.

The nonviolent direct action approach to racial discrimination assumes that a lasting resolution of problems can best be obtained through a spirit of good will and understanding. This spirit must be combined with a determination to end discrimination through action programs directed to specific problems. The ultimate goal is an integrated society where each member is judged solely on the basis of his individual worth.

National CORE is financed largely by contributions from interested individuals. Churches, unions and local CORE groups also contribute to its financial support.

CORELATOR
38 Park Row
New York 38, N. Y.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: BOB GORE AND MARVIN RICH

YOUNGS SEEK SERVICE,
ARRESTED BY CITY

WInston-Salem, N. C., July 30: Eight young people ranging in ages from 16 to 21 were arrested here this week for "blocking the sidewalk." They were seeking service at the K & W Restaurant when they were arrested on warrants signed by officials of the city.

According to CORE Field Secretary William Thomas, the eight were preparing to enter the store when they were arrested. He said their trial is scheduled for August 5, 1963 and they will be defended by CORE National Chairman R. B. McKissick. McKissick has handled numerous similar cases in North Carolina and Thomas said that CORE is "optimistic about the outcome of the trials."

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: MARVIN RICH & BOB GORE

CORE Arrests Up to 69: Marlon Brando Joins Line

Torrance, Calif., July 30: Actor Marlon Brando joined a CORE housing picket line here this week. The well-known star has appeared several times at CORE demonstrations on the West Coast. Also appearing with the more than 125 pickets was actor Pernell Roberts who plays the part of "Adam" on the Bonanza TV series.

The picket line was held at a development site where CORE alleges that builder Don Wilson refuses to sell to Negroes. Wilson has been approached by CORE for a year to get him to change his policy but thus far they have been rebuffed. In a letter to California's Attorney General Stanley Mosk, CORE said that several complaints had already been forwarded to the state official and that "as citizens we feel it is not too much to expect that the Attorney General see to it that the state law is enforced." California recently passed a fair housing law.

69 persons were arrested in Torrance over the week-end. Of these, 64 were arrested on trespass charges and 5 for "aiding and abetting the commission of a misdemeanor." West Coast CORE officials allege that police brutality and malpractice has occurred in connection with the arrests.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Bob Gore and Marvin Rich

AGREEMENT REACHED ON JOBS; DETROIT CORE AND KROGERS

Detroit, Mich., July 30: An agreement calling for 31 jobs within 90 days was reached here between the Kroger Company and Detroit CORE concerning employment at the company. A joint announcement from Ralph Rosenfeld, Detroit CORE Chairman, and H. A. Gifford of Krogers, said that "The Kroger Company has hired two Negro Management Trainees, Three Negro truck drivers and three Negroes at the central office."

It stated that "within the next 90 days Kroger will hire three more Negro Management Trainees, four more Negroes in the central office, and sixteen or more Negro store employees." Continuation of upgrading of Negroes was also promised.

Detroit CORE has been negotiating for some time with the Kroger Company and they have had picket lines at the local store also. In accordance with the agreement signed this week, "CORE has agreed to cease demonstrations and cooperate with the Kroger Company."

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ATTN: MARVIN RICH AND JIM PECK

MEMPHIS CAMPAIGN BRINGS 41 ARRESTS

Memphis, Tenn., Aug. 1: CORE-initiated action campaign here resulted in 41 arrests. The arrests occurred at the Rexall and Wexler drugstores where interracial groups were sitting-in at the lunch counters.

Eight of those arrested are still in jail, where they are fasting. Clarence Wright, CORE field worker who is a Negro was prohibited from visiting those of the arrested sit-inners who are white. Youths under 18 among the group were released on probation. The trial is set for August 14.

In addition to opening the lunch counters, the group is seeking to desegregate the movie theaters. On one occasion they marched to the theaters, and the theaters closed.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: MARVIN RICH AND JAMES PECK

MAHALIA JACKSON TO SING AT RALLY, JOIN PICKET LINE

Dayton, Ohio, Aug. 1: Mahalia Jackson will sing on August 7 at a mass rally to mobilize support for Dayton CORE's fair employment campaign at Rikes Department Store here.

Recently 13 of the pickets were arrested when they entered the store to inform customers of the existing discriminatory hiring policy. The local group has launched a statewide boycott of the Federated Department Stores, with which Rikes is affiliated.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: MARVIN RICH AND JIM PECK

ARREST 52 MARCHERS IN MISSISSIPPI TOWN

Clarksdale, Miss., Aug. 1: Resumption of mass protest here resulted in 52 arrests July 30. The action was an attempted march on City Hall to dramatize demands for lunch counter desegregation, fair employment and establishment of a bi-racial committee. It was jointly sponsored by CORE and NAACP.

Like in a similar demonstration two months ago in which 37 were arrested, the 52 marchers were charged with parading without a permit. Police Chief Ben Collins had refused to grant a permit.

"We are appealing to the merchants of downtown Clarksdale to meet the challenge of this hour by desegregating all public facilities and by extending across-the-board, equal treatment to all persons regardless of race," said a statement issued by Thomas Gaither, CORE field secretary. The statement also called for strengthening of a boycott of downtown stores which has been in progress for two years.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

First 9 Arrested In Fair
Job Drive Win Acquittal

Lexington, Ky., Aug. 5: The first nine Lexington CORE members to be arrested in the group's recently initiated fair employment campaign were acquitted on August 3 by Judge Frank Henry.

The nine had been accused of violating a city fire ordinance when they sat in the aisles recently at Sears Roebuck. The judge ruled that the sit-inners were not permanently obstructing the aisles and could have moved easily and quickly had a fire broken out.

He added: "You have every right to seek equal rights. It is a pitiful situation when you have to fight for your rights."

The campaign for equal employment started with a rally July 22 at which a boycott of downtown stores was initiated. CORE National Director James Farmer, who came here to address the rally, said: "We expect you'll see very few dark faces on Main Street until there is fair employment.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and Jim Peck

Arrest 685 In Gadsden's Biggest Demonstration

Gadsden, Ala., Mass action was resumed here August 3, following a month-and-a-half truce, with the biggest protest march to be held in this city.

More than 1,000 persons participated of whom 685 were arrested. Leading the march, which started shortly after noon, were four local ministers. Then came the men, followed by the women and children and, finally, the women with babies in their arms. The procession stretched for over a half mile.

Upon reaching the business district, the marchers were halted by police and ordered to disperse. They stood firm for their rights and the mass arrests started.

Electric prod rods were used by police to hasten the process. A group of arrested men were prod-rodden into running--not walking--barefoot from the overcrowded county jail to the coliseum, where the overflow of prisoners was held. Yet, Deputy Sheriff A. E. Lockwood told the press he "hadn't seen" any electric prod rods.

The prod rods were again in evidence, though not used, the following day when over 200 protestors assembled at the jail in 95-degree heat to sing freedom songs and pray. The youths and women with babies had been released but the others remained in prison.

Plant Closes

The Republic Steel plant shut down completely on August 3 because a substantial number of its 2,000 Negro workers had quit to join the march.

The march was co-sponsored by CORE and SCLC. Mary Hamilton, Marvin Robinson and William Douthard, who were jailed for several weeks following the June protest actions, and Catherine Patterson represent the CORE staff here. Last week James Farmer, national CORE director, was in Gadsden to mobilize community support.

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New York 38, New York

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Arrest 60 Sit-Downers In Mud At Construction Site

Chicago, Ill., Aug. 5: Sixty persons sitting down in thick mud at the construction site of mobile classrooms in a Negro area were arrested on August 2. Half buried in the mud left by heavy rain they had halted trucks and earth-moving equipment.

The demonstrators, members of Chicago CORE and a neighborhood parents committee, believe that Negro children should be transferred to schools in other neighborhoods rather than placed in temporary edifices in segregated areas.

Chicago CORE has been active in campaigning against de facto school segregation. At a Board of Education hearing on July 30, CORE renewed its accusation that existing attendance boundaries in several instances actually promote segregation of Negro children and in one case, segregation of Jewish children. A plea was made for an open enrollment policy starting this fall. Earlier in July, CORE conducted several street rallies and a sit-in at the Board of Education.

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Courtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE ATTN: MARVIN RICH AND JAMES PECK

TEAR GAS, POLICE DOG USED TO BREAK FIRST HAYWOOD COUNTY DEMONSTRATION

Brownsville, Tenn., August 5: Police used teargas and a police dog to break up the first civil rights demonstration in this seat of Haywood County, which has become famed for eviction of sharecroppers exercising their voting rights.

Twenty youths, headed by Eric Weinberger, winner of the 1962 CORE Ghandhi award, sought to picket the courthouse following refusal of local officials to discuss overall desegregation demands. When the local CORE-NAACP group applied for a permit for the demonstration, they were told there is "no such thing."

Upon arrival at the courthouse, the demonstrators were met by police with teargas bombs and a police dog. Several of the participants were burned and bitten. Most severely injured was Eric Weinberger, the only white participant and the only demonstrator to be arrested. The police let the dog loose on his face as he lay on the ground. His body was severely burned.

Police allowed a doctor to examine Weinberger, but refused to give him medicine prescribed by the doctor.

Authorities have so far refused to indicate the charge on which Weinberger is being held.

CORE National Director, James Farmer, protested the brutal treatment to President Kennedy.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

First Arrests In Sumter

Sumter, S.C., Aug., 8: The first arrests since the start of the Sumter Movement's 2-week-old mass action campaign occurred on August 6. Fifty-five persons were taken into custody for "parading without a permit" as they marched down the main street. Heading the march was Rev. Fred C. James, chairman of the Sumter Movement, which includes CORE, NAACP and local ministers. Rev. James headed the first CORE group in Sumter in 1958.

What prompted the August 6 arrests was not clear. Possibly it was the singing of freedom songs. For the August 6 march was actually smaller in numbers of participants than the previous ones, in which there were from 250 to 400 marchers. The first march occurred on July 25 following approval by the Sumter Movement of a broad campaign to end segregation in public places and discrimination in employment.

Prior to establishment of the Sumter Movement, a city-county steering committee on civil rights had asked the city government to form a biracial committee. The Mayor promised this would be done, but instead, he appointed a 4-man committee of whites which would act as liaison between the city government and the Negro community. This was rejected by one of the first mass meetings of the Sumter Movement.

In preparation for the mass action campaign, CORE Field Director James McCain, who is a native of Sumter and a pioneer in the local civil rights movement, returned here to conduct one workshop on nonviolence.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Jim Peck & Marvin Rich

City Hall Sit-In Demands Halt In Construction

Newark, N. J. , August 8 -- A city hall sit-in began August 6 in this major northern New Jersey industrial center. At 4:30 P.M., ten members of Newark CORE entered the building and sat on the floor of a hallway leading to the office of Mayor Hugh Addonizio.

"They will stay overnight and the sit-in will continue thereafter until the mayor acts," announced Robert Curvin, president of Newark CORE.

Specifically, the group wants the mayor to halt construction at Barringer High School, which has been picketed for the past week by Newark Coordinating Council, a city-wide civil rights group with which CORE is affiliated.

An anti-picketing injunction is being sought by the contractor and unions at the school construction site. When the case comes up in court August 14, CORE general counsel Carl Rachlin and Leo Pfeffer, counsel for the American Jewish Congress, will argue against the injunction.

In nearby Elizabeth, twelve persons were arrested August 6 and 7 for sitting down in front of trucks at the county courthouse construction job, which has been the scene of mass picketing by Union County CORE.

The number of such arrests at construction jobs in the New York area now totals well over 700.

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

Lunch Counter Desegregation Marks End of Dramatic Campaign

Baton Rouge, La., Aug., 8: Lunch counter desegregation here on August 6 marked the successful conclusion of one of the most dramatic campaigns in the present day civil rights struggle. Negroes were served without incident at 12 lunch counters downtown and in shopping centers.

It was just 40 months since the first local lunch counter sit-inners were arrested setting-off a series of events which included many arrests, a mass exodus of students, temporary closing of Southern University, and, finally, the indictment of local CORE leaders for "criminal anarchy."

Specifically, it all started on March 28 and 29, 1960 with the arrest of 16 sit-inners at Kress's, Sitman's and the Greyhound bus station. The all-white-State Board of Education, which administers Southern University, warned that any student participating in a sit-in would be subject to "stern disciplinary action."

On March 30, 3500 students marched through the center of town to the State Capitol. In retaliation, 17 students were expelled including Marvin Robinson, who is now a CORE field secretary. The student body then voted to boycott all classes. Attempts to negotiate reinstatement of the 17 students failed, when Dr. Felton G. Clark, president of the Negro university, failed to support them. In protest, several thousand students quite the university.

The sit-inners cases were appealed to the Supreme Court, which reversed their conviction on December 11, 1961 in a precedent-setting decision to the effect that a peaceful sit-in for equal rights does not constitute disorderly conduct. On the day of the Supreme Court decision, Baton Rouge CORE led sit-ins at Kress's and McCrory's.

More-More-More

Three days later a mass picket demonstration at the stores resulted in 23 arrests. In protest over these arrests, some 4,000 demonstrators, most of them Southern University students, assembled at the courthouse.

Tear gas bombs and police dogs were used to break up the peaceful demonstration and 50 more students were arrested. Dr. Clark closed the university for Christmas vacation four days ahead of schedule. Because of excessive bail totaling $116,000 the CORE students had to spend the Christmas holiday in jail. Though Dr. Clark had pledged he would resign this time before suspending any student demonstrators, he accepted orders from the Board of Education to expel seven of them.

On January 17, 1,000 students marched to his residence in protest. Dr. Clark again closed the university, this time for a week. Five leaders of CORE and SNCC were indicted for "criminal anarchy." A nation-wide protest campaign was started by CORE and the charges were finally dropped against four. Charges are still pending against CORE field secretary Ronnie Moore. Also, still being appealed is the case of Rev. B. Elton Cox, a CORE field secretary who was prosecuted on a number of charges.

Finally in April Charles Oldham, former CORE national chairman, initiated negotiations which resulted in the agreement to desegregate the lunch counters on August 6.

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AUG 14 1963

WB

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38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COurtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE ATTN: MARVIN RICH AND JAMES PECK

FIRST PLEA FOR CITY TO BE RULED OFF-LIMITS BECAUSE OF SEGREGATION

Fort Smith, Ark., Aug. 12: Fort Smith CORE has filed the first request for action under Defense Secretary McNamara's recent edict that segregation can be the basis for declaring a community off limits for military personnel.

Following a survey conducted in Fort Smith, which revealed "discriminatory practices in housing, education and public accomodations toward Negro military personnel stationed at Fort Chaffee," Reginal Watson, chairman of Fort Smith CORE, wired McNamara urging "that the base commander at Fort Chaffee declare Fort Smith off limits to all military personnel stationed there.

"Not being permitted to use recreational facilities such as bowling, skating and other public accomodations in Fort Smith creates an atmosphere not conducive to a highly efficient and effective soldier."

The Fort Chaffee base is only a few miles outside the city of Fort Smith.

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AUG 14 1963

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COurtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: MARVIN RICH AND JAMES PECK

WIN JOB DRIVE DESPITE NAZI-INCITED VIOLENCE

New York, New York, Aug, 10:. A five-week fair employment campaign, during which CORE pickets were assaulted by members of the Nazi-style American Renaissance Party and by neighborhood hoodlums, ended on August 10,with the signing of an agreement.

The pact, negotiated with the aid of the City Commission on Human Rights, is between the Bronx borough's CORE group and the White Castle hamburger chain. It covers the entire White Castle operation in the New York-New Jersey metropolitan area, including the district office.

"White Castle has agreed to launch an immediate program for recruiting Negro and Puerto Rican employes and to revise its recruitment techniques," said a release issued by the City Commission at the conclusion of negotiations. Specifically, the company will place ads in local Negro and Spanish-language newspapers and will open two recruiting offices. The Commission will make periodic inspections. When CORE initiated its campaign, the chain employed only 4 Negroes out of 126 employes in the Bronx.

The agreement covers some 500 jobs in stores in Brooklyn and Newark, which were picketed in sympathy with the Bronx CORE campaign. On August 3 seven members of Newark-Essex County CORE were arrested for singing freedom songs in the early morning hours in front of a White Castle.

The following day, nine members of Bronx CORE, including its president, Herbert Callender, were arrested while sitting-down in the drive-in section of a White Castle on Boston Road. It was at this branch, three weeks earlier, that CORE members had been assaulted by the Nazi youths. Eight of the Nazis were subsequently arrested and a stockpile of weapons was discovered in one of their homes.

AUG 14 1963

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE ATTN: MARVIN RICH AND JAMES PECK

FARMER LEADS SCHOOL MARCH IN L. A.

Los Angeles, Aug. 11: CORE National Director James Farmer and SNCC Executive Secretary James Forman on August 8 led the biggest local civil rights march since June. Specific target of the protest was de facto school segregation.

The two-mile march through the downtown area ended at the offices of the Board of Education, where the Board was in session. Both Farmer and Forman presented statements at the Board meeting. Outside, two members of the American Nazi Party and five members of the newly-formed Committee Against Integration and Intermarriage, picketed.

Their numbers contrasted sharply with the civil rights marchers, who totaled over 400. One of the marchers was Rita Moreno, the actress.

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AUG 19 1963

WBJ
JMV
RTB

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38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

23 Voter Registration Workers Jailed-In

Plaquemine, La., Twenty-three persons engaged in CORE's crash program of voter registration in this area remain jailed-in rather than be released on bond, which ranges from $500 to $2,000 each.

The $2,000 bond was set on Michael Lesser, first of the group to be arrested, in early August. He is accused of "disturbing the peace." A few days later, Robert Brown was arrested for "speeding" on the front porch in Clinton.

The other 21 were seized August 11 aboard a ferry boat crossing the Mississippi River. Some are accused of "disturbing the peace," others with "resisting arrest." Some 300 residents have been subpoenaed for their trials. Four young people in the group were released as juveniles.

Meanwhile, the CORE summer task force continues to register Negroes to vote in eight south Louisiana parishes.

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38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

Actress On Freedom Walk Gets 6-Month Sentence

Gadsden, Ala., Aug. 15: Madeleine Sherwood, an actress and one of 11 CORE Freedom Walkers arrested May 19 when they set out from the city of William Moore's murder, received a 6-month prison sentence on August 12. Her attorney vowed to appeal the decision to the U.S. Supreme Court if necessary.

Her case was tried separately from the 10 others because she had to be bonded-out immediately to fill a theater engagement. The others remained in jail a week, pleaded their own cases and received suspended sentences. Ten Freedom Walkers arrested two weeks earlier at the Alabama border, were tried after being jailed for a month, and were fined $200. Those cases also are being appealed.

Miss Sherwood's most recent appearance on Broadway was in "Hey You Light Man." Other shows in which she has acted are "The Crucible," "Cat on a Hot Tin Roof" and "Sweet Bird of Youth."

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: MARVIN RICH AND JAMES PECK

LEVITT STICKS TO WHITES-ONLY POLICY DESPITE NEW CAMPAIGN

Belair, Md., Aug. 15: Faced with a major nonviolent action campaign at his Belair housing development, William Levitt, the country's biggest home builder, who has resisted desegregation over the years at each of his giant projects, vowed to pursue the same policy here. In a public statement on August 14, he said he would continue to turn away Negro home buyers until housing desegregation prevails in the entire suburban Washington area.

The action campaign was started by Prince George County CORE after Dr. Karl Gregory had been refused a home here. The campaign has been joined by CORE groups in Washington and Baltimore, the District Action for Racial Equality and the National Council of the Episcopal Church.

An official spokesman for the latter organization, Rev. Reinhart Gutmann, accompanied Dr. Gregory and immediately registered a strong protest. The two were joined by Rev. Robert Pierce, a representative of the National Council of Churches, who later joined a picket line.

Immediately after Dr. Gregory was rejected, he and 10 CORE members sat-in at the sales office. Salesmen then moved onto the porch and a picket line was formed at the stoop. At closing time, the sit-in became a sleep-in.

Next day, the picket line was augmented and Levitt closed the sales office. The salesmen then tried to conduct business in the five neighboring model homes, so a sit-in was initiated at each of these homes. The five homes were then closed for the day.

"Demonstrations will be held every weekend until Levitt capitulates," said a statement issued jointly by the project's sponsors. "Are we going to stand by and let the capital of the free world become the most shameful example of a segregated society?"

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38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

Week's Picketing And Sit-Ins Brings Fair Employment In Biggest Hotel

Syracuse, N.Y., Aug. 15: A week of intensive outside picketing and sit-ins in the lobby and dining rooms brought a fair employment policy to the Hotel Syracuse, this upstate city's biggest hotel.

A 5-point agreement was negotiated August 14 by Syracuse CORE under which management pledges "to cooperate with CORE to locate and interview qualified Negroes with the objective of increasing the total number of Negroes in each job category." Local 150, Hotel and Restaurant Employees Union, also has agreed to cooperate. The hotel will place the words "equal opportunity" in its future want ads.

When the CORE action started the hotel employed on its staff of 450, only 26 Negroes--all of them in non-front, non-tipping jobs.

"The agreement will mean a breakthrough for Syracuse hotels in view of the fact that the Hotel Syracuse's general manager is head of the local hotel association," said Brunce Thomas, chairman of Syracuse CORE.

The week-long campaign was marked by daily picketing from 7 A.M. to 10 P.M. On some occasions, the pickets marched through the lobby with their signs and on others, they sat-in in the various public rooms on the main floor.

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SEP 3 1963

WB
JM
RTB

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38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

68 Released On Day Of March--But Not Farmer

Plaquemine, La., Aug. 29: Sixty-eight of the 230 jailed-in demonstrators were released on their own recognizance on August 28, date of the March on Washington--but not James Farmer, national CORE director.

He was arraigned the following day along with 16 other leaders on charges of "disturbing the peace" and "inciting to riot." He pleaded not guilty and returned to jail. Trial will be September 3. He was arrested for leading a peaceful march to City Hall. Arraignment for 213 others will follow soon.

While expressing deep regret at missing such a historic event as the March, Farmer stated: "I know that my action will be understood by the marchers as one of conscience. For many years, I have felt and CORE as an organization has felt that this kind of personal witnessing can help end both the terrors and the indignities of racial discrimination."

The CORE national action council, at a special meeting on the eve of the March, issued a statement saying: "We believe that his decision is in keeping with the philisophy of CORE and the ideals of the March itself."

Release of the 68 on August 28 was prompted by a shortage of jail facilities. They had been held in an old warehouse.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

City Hall Sit-Inners Arrested In Michigan

Ann Arbor, Mich., Aug. 28: Twelve CORE sit-inners in the City Hall council chambers were arrested on August 28th when they refused to leave at the Building's closing time.

It was the second arrest of sit-inners demanding adoption of a meaningful fair housing ordinance. The first demonstrators arrested were merely reprimanded, but these were accused of "loitering" with the trial set for September 11.

The campaign for the housing ordinance has resulted in 15 weeks of demonstrations. The CORE group has been working on individual housing complaints for several years.

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38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

Win 8-Year Campaign At Baltimore Amusement Park

Baltimore, Md., Aug. 28: August 28, 1963, which will be long remembered for the mammoth March on Washington, was marked here by a significant civil rights victory. Gwynn Oak Amusement Park for the first time admitted Negroes, ending a Baltimore CORE campaign which started exactly eight years ago when the owners--the Price brothers--flatly refused to negotiate.

One of the brothers, James Price, told reporters on August 28 that he is "bowing to pressure" and hopes that the policy change will be peaceful. It certainly was on the first day. Small Groups of Negroes used the Park's facilities without incident.

The "pressure" to which Price referred were two mass demonstrations this past July led by ministers of all faiths in which 383 persons were arrested for seeking to use the Park's facilities.

First major CORE demonstration at the Park occurred on September 5, 1955 when over 40 persons picketed. The occasion was the Park's annual "All Nations Day," which, ironically, was as all-white as any other day on the premises. Each year, CORE selected "All Nations Day" as the occasion for its biggest demonstration at the Park.

In 1957, women dressed in the costumes of various nations led the picket line. CORE succeeded in getting some of the participating nations to withdraw. On "All Nations Day" in 1959, five CORE members were arrested for seeking to use the Park's facilities. Walk-ins, stand-ins at ticket windows and picketing marked the 8-year campaign.

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WB

SEP 5 1963

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

Win Construction Jpb Pact In Newark

Newark, N.J., Sept. 3: An agreement for fair employment in municipal construction reached on August 27, went into effect following its approval by four local civil rights groups including Newark CORE.

The agreement resulted in an action campaign marked by picketing of the Barrington High School construction job and climaxed by a sit-in at City Hall.

A safeguard clause negotiated for the first time in this type of agreement is included, points out Robert Curvin, president of Newark CORE. It provides that the city conduct pre-employment conferences with all contractors under consideration for municipal contracts "to make sure there is no racial discrimination in the initial hiring pattern and that Negroes and Puerto Ricans have a fair chance at these jobs."

As for the Barrington High School job, wiich is already under way, the contracts with the city can be cancelled if job discrimination prevails. Another provision of the pact permits the State Civil Rights Division to move more rapidly on both discrimination in employment and in apprenticeship.

Final terms were negotiated at a 3-hour session between representatives of the civil rights groups and of the building trades unions, with Mayor Hugh Addonizio presiding.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

Mounted Troopers Attack Peaceful Demonstrators

Plaquemine, La., Sept. 3: On two successive nights--August 31 and September 1, mounted police armed with electric prod-rods charged into peaceful Negro demonstrators and hurled teargas bombs. A number of persons, including children, were hospitalized and at least two were injured seriously.

The first attack occurred as some 150 persons marched toward the home of Sheriff C.A. Griffin, Jr. to urge that he indorse formation of a biracial committee. About two blocks away, Police Chief Dennis Songy blocked the way and ordered the marchers to disperse. When they refused, he ordered the troopers to charge and they galloped headlong into the crowd.

The second onslaught occurred following a march by over 1,000 persons in which participants carried such placards as "Christians Deplore Police Brutality--Ebenezer Baptist Church" and "Police Brutality is Cruel."

As the march ended in front of Plymouth Rock Baptist Church, which also serves as local CORE headquarters, mounted police charged into the crowd hurling teargas bombs. They pursued the demonstrators across lawns and into Negro homes, breaking down doors. The church, in which many of the marchers were resting became filled with teargas forcing a number of them to climb out of the windows.

James Farmer, national CORE director, who was at the church, expressed outrage "that horses were allowed to trample, kick and hospitalize children."

Following the attack, six Negro ministers were arrested. The previous day 69 persons were arrested, some of them for sitting-in at the Colonial House Cafe, others for standing in front of the City Cafe.

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CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

Four Jailed in In Bank Campaign

St. Louis, Sept., 3: Four persons including Charles Oldham, former national chairman of CORE, remained jailed-in following their arrest for violating an injunction against "physical interference" in St. Louis CORE's campaign for fair employment at the Jefferson Bank & Trust Company. The other three are Robert Curtis, who like Oldham is an attorney, Rev. Perkins and Lucien Richards.

Five others also arrested including Alderman William Clay are out on bond.

On August 30, nine CORE members were beaten by deputies as they tried to enter the bank, which is located in a Negro section. Later, 80 persons entered by side doors and stood-in at the tellers' windows for 20 minutes.

St. Louis CORE has been conducting a city-wide campaign for fair employment in banks. Several banks already have changed policy as a result but Jefferson Bank & Trust Company is holding-out.

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SEP 1963

SEP 9 1963

WDV
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CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

Arrests Mark Drive To Make
High Point An Open City

High Point, N.C., Sept. 5: Fifty persons including CORE field secretary B. Elton Cox were arrested on September 3 for "trespassing" at the A & W Drive-in. During the previous week, 20 were arrested for standing-out at the ticket window of the Center Theater and 5 for standing-in at the counter of the K & W Cafeteria. Seven arrested previously outside the cafeteria were convicted and their cases are being appealed.

The arrests result from a campaign by the local CORE group to make High Point as much of an open city as the bigger North Carolina communities which desegregated this spring as a consequence of mass CORE demonstrations.

The day after the arrests at the drive-in, some 300 persons marched there in protest. Confronted by a white mob and 100 helmeted policemen, the marchers were unable to gain access to the drive-in. However, they stood on a nearby curb and sang freedom songs. A white man, who came over under pretense of shaking hands with Cox, and then struck him, was arrested.

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CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

Appeals Court Frees Five Jailed-In In Bank Campaign

(Note To Editors: This story updates the one sent-out two days ago. Also, that story erroneously gave the number of jail-ins as 4 instead of 5)

St. Louis, Mo., Sept. 5: Holding that five CORE members arrested for violating an injunction against "physical interference" had been improperly jailed, the St. Louis court of appeals ordered them released on habeas corpus writs. They will be tried on September 9.

The five, including Charles Oldham, former national chairman of CORE, had been jailed-in four days. Four others arrested at the time were released on bond. The arrests were in connection with St. Louis CORE's campaign for fair employment at the Jefferson Bank & Trust Company, which even though located in a Negro section refuses to hire Negroes in nonmenial positions.

The day after the five were released from jail, the bank was mass-picketed by up to 100 persons. Among the pickets were 15 ministers, members of the Ministers & Laymen's Association for Equal Opportunities. Mass picketing is continuing daily.

St. Louis CORE has been conducting a city-wide campaign for fair employment in banks. Several banks already have hired some Negroes but Jefferson Bank & Trust Company is holding-out.

####

SEP 16 1963

WB
JMR
RTB

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
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COrtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

Biggest March Follows Mass Arrests

High Point, N.C., Sept. 12: Over 700 persons participated in a mass march to the Center Theatre on September 11, two days after the arrest of 363 at the same spot.

The marchers were met by a mob of some 3,000 whites who pelted them with rocks, eggs and tomatoes. Police hurled teargas bombs along a two-block section of the main street.

Most of the 363 arrests on September 9 were made in the last of three successive marches as deomonstrators stood silently in front of the Center Theatre and nearby Everett's Cafe. Police rushed to the site with loaded teargas guns and summoned a fire truck equipped with high-pressure nozzles. The arrested demonstrators quietly marched, two-by-two, to the city jail.

The mass marches are part of High Point CORE's campaign to make the community as much of an open city as the bigger North Carolina communities which desegregated this spring following CORE-initiated mass demonstrations.

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CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
Courtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: MARVIN RICH AND JAMES PECK

KLANSMEN PASTE STICKERS AS CORE MEMBERS VIGIL

Oak Ridge, Tenn., Sept. 12, 1963---Stickers saying "A Ku Klux Klansman Was Here" were glued on posts around the Multimatic Laundry on Sept. 8 as members of Oak Ridge CORE started the final hours of their 2-day vigil protesting the laundry's discriminatory policy.

Glueing the stickers, were three Klansmen who arrived in a car with a license plate from nearby Blount county, hotspot of recent Klan activity and site of Highlander's Smoky Mountain Workcamp, which was destroyed by a mysterious fire following a raid by sheriff's deputies.

One of the three Klansmen spent an hour and a half inside the laundry, returning to the car only once for his white robe, which he donned as he reentered the building. Joe Young, owner of the laundry, has refused to negotiate and has obtained an injunction against picketing on his property.

However, the picketing, which started July 27, has continued on a city right-of-way adjoining the laundry. It was on this spot that the 2-day vigil was held. Fifty-six CORE members participated. To explain the protest action, the vigilers carried laundry bundles as well as placards.

In early July, Oak Ridge CORE succeeded in desegregating 16 local eating places.

WB✓
JM✓
RTB✓

SEP 23 1963

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38 Park Row, New York, New York 10038
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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: MARVIN RICH AND JAMES PECK

MOORE MURDER SUSPECT FREED

New York City, Sept. 20: An Etowah county grand jury refused on September 13 to indict Floyd Simpson for the murder on April 23 of William Moore, Baltimore CORE member, on his one-man Freedom Walk across the south.

Simpson had been arrested two days after the Alabama roadside murder following an FBI ballistics test indicating that the bullets in Moore's body came from a gun belonging to Simpson.

Moore had walked past Simpson's grocery store and had reportedly talked to him. Simpson was still in jail when the first group of Freedom Walkers resuming Moore's walk were arrested. On that day he was heard telling other prisoners: "I'd kill them too." Soon thereafter, he was released in $5000 bail.

The county grand jury's action, setting Simpson free, came just a month after Madeleine Sherwood, an actress who was among the third group of CORE Freedom Walkers was sentenced to six months in jail. She is appealing the decision, as are the other Freedom Walkers who received lesser sentences.

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CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

Arrest 354 In Tallahassee

Tallahassee, Fla., Sept. 19: Peaceful mass demonstrations culminating Tallahassee CORE's 3 1/2-month-old theatre desegregation campaign resulted in 354 arrests over the September 13-15 weekend.

All but 100 were still in jail the following weekend. They are being defended by Tobias Simon, a Miami attorney.

The first 240 arrests were made Friday evening. Next day some 2,000 persons engaged in a protest march and many of them vigiled all Saturday night outside the jail. The remainder of the arrests followed a second mass demonstration on Sunday.

Tallahassee CORE's drive to desegregate the Florida Theatre, site of the demonstrations, and the State Theatre has been in progress all summer.

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38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

Louisiana Town Sets Up Biracial Committee

Hammond, La., Sept. 19: This town is establishing a 16-man-bi-racial committee patterned after the one in Baton Rouge, which was the first Louisiana city to set-up such a body. McReynolds Wells will be the CORE spokesman on the committee.

After meeting with two CORE representatives Mayor John Morrison told the Baton Rouge State-Times he was convinced that the CORE men "were sincere in their desire to see that Hammond doesn't turn into another Plaquemine."

It was in Plaquemine that mounted police armed with electric prod rods charged into peaceful Negro demonstrators and hurled teargas bombs on the nights of August 31 and September 1.

The mayor's agreement to establish a bi-racial committee came a week after a demonstration in which 200 students marched into the downtown area and sat-in at a number of eating places. The parish in which Hammond is located is one of the eight in which CORE conducted its concentrated voter registration drive this summer.

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CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York, New York 10038
COurtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: MARVIN RICH AND JAMES PECK

FAIR-HOUSING-BEFORE-URBAN-RENEWAL DRIVE NETS 38 ARRESTS

Syracuse, N. Y., Sept. 19: "All urban renewal projects should be halted until arrangements can be made to insure fair housing for Negro relocatees."

This quote from a Syracuse CORE leaflet summarizes the objectives of protest demonstrations which started September 13 at four urban renewal construction sites.

In the first five days of the demonstrations, 38 persons including two Syracuse University professors were arrested for "illegal intrusion." One of the professors is George Wiley, former chairman of Syracuse CORE.

On the first day, two of the demonstrators climbed 50 feet up a 70 foot crane at one of the construction sites.

In urging Mayor William Walsh to shut down the urban renewal jobs, Syracuse CORE Chairman Bruce Thomas points out that "all but a small number of the 300 Negroes relocated in the past two years have been placed in a small, run-down, ghetto area near the center of the city.

No Negroes should be relocated within the segregated portion of the city or in any block having more than 30% Negro residents, unless they specifically request to be relocated in such areas.

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SEP 30 1963

WB
JM
RTB

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38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

Stevenson Partner To Defend Man Jailed On Death Penalty Charge

Americus, Ga., Sept. 25: Morris Abrams, a member of Adlai Stevenson's former law firm, will defend Zev Aelony, CORE field secretary who has been imprisoned here since August 17 on a charge of "attempted insurrection."

Since this is a crime carrying the death penalty under state law, no bail has been set. Jailed on similar charges since August 8 are Donald Harris, SNCC field secretary, Ralph Allen and John Perdew.

These three were arrested during a peaceful protest march broken-up by club-swinging state and local police. Aelony was arrested on the street during a protest march nine days later -- in which he was not even participating. He had been working with the Sumter County Movement, sponsor of the local actions. However, his main task in Americus was to help the Koinonia cooperative establish a system of coordination with similar-type cooperatives in Ruleville, Mississippi and Brownsville, Tennessee.

The district attorney has intimated that if Aelony would plead guilty to more minor charges, the "attempted insurrection" charge would be dropped. Aelony has rejected any such deal.

Announcement that Aelony would have Abrams as his defense counsel was made by CORE Chief Counsel Carl Rachlin. In making the announcement, he said, "we will attack the validity of the Goergia insurrection statute as well as the inhuman manner in which the defendants are being held."

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CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and Jim Peck

Minister Arrested For Trying To Vote
Seeks $100,000 Damages

Mun Letter

Baton Rouge, La., Sept. 26: A Negro minister arrested when he sought to register in West Feliciana Parish where no Negro has ever registered has brought a $100,000 damage suit in U.S. district court under the 1960 Civil Rights act.

He is Rev. Joseph Clark. When, during CORE's summer registration campaign, he and Rev. Rudolph Davis tried to register, he was arrested and jailed overnight. Rev. Davis also was denied the right to register, but was not arrested.

Named in the suit are the parish registrar, Fletcher Harvey and the sheriff, William Percy, Jr.

Full Negro Slate Qualified in Iberville

Plaquemine, La., Sept. 26: A full Negro slate of 12 have qualified as Democratic candidates for public office in Iberville parish. They have posted their fees and filed their qualification papers with the parish's Democratic executive committee.

Among the candidates are Spiver Gordon, a CORE Task Force worker and Major Johns, a former CORE staff member who is presently a field secretary of SCLC. Just a year ago, CORE launched a voter registration drive in Iberville parish directed by CORE field secretary Ronnie Moore. Main city in the parish is Plaquemine, where in late August and early September mounted police brutally dispersed peaceful mass demonstrations and arrested over 400.

####

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

Picket Biggest Baptist Church

Houston, Texas, Sept., 26: Houston's First Baptist Church, one of the biggest Baptist churches in the south, is the site each Sunday of a CORE picket line.

Persons attending both the morning and evening services are greeted with placards saying: "How Can A Christian Church Be Segregated?" "Is God Black or White?" and "Don't Worship God in a Segregated Church."

Among the pickets each Sunday are some of the five Negroes who formally applied for membership in the church and were not accepted. Before initiating the picketing, Houston CORE had requested that the church admit all, regardless of color. The pastor is Rev. K. Owen White, president of the Southern Baptist Convention.

While there have been many kneel-ins protesting church segregation across the south, this is believed to be the first church picket line.

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OCT 3 1963

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10/1/63

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38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

Alabama High Court Upholds Southern "Courtesy"

Montgomery, Ala., The deep-south, double-standard of courtesy under which a white is addressed as Mr. Mrs. or Miss whereas a Negro is called by the first name, has been upheld by the Alabama Supreme Court.

The case involved CORE Field Secretary Mary Hamilton, who last June served five days in jail for contempt of court. She had refused to testify in regard to mass demonstrations in Gadsden so long as the court continued to address her as "Mary".

The case was appealed to the state's highest court by Attorney Charles Conley.

####

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

Biggest Protest March In South

New Orleans, La., Oct., 1: The biggest civil rights march to be held in the south took place on September 30th under the sponsorship of the Citizens Committee, a joint group whose chairman is Lolis Elie, CORE's chief southern counsel.

Over 15,000 Negroes and whites participated. The New Orleans CORE contingent carried a large banner saying "Freedom Now--CORE." CORE National Associate Director Richard Haley and New Orleans CORE Chairman Oretha Castle led the contingent. Over 300 white students were among the marchers.

Another banner in the march said: "We March in Dignity for Human Dignity Now." A banner proclaiming the march's chief objective said: "We Want Equal Employment and Equal Training Now."

Another objective of the march was desegregation of those public accommodations which still refuse to serve Negroes and repeal of a local ordinance imposing segregation in public places selling alcoholic beverages.

The marchers started at Shakespeare Park, proceeded up LaSalle Street, then up Simon Bolivar to City Hall. There, they listened to a number of speakers including Oretha Castle of CORE, Ernest Morial of NAACP, Rev. Avery Alexander of the Consumers League, Rev. G.L. Hayden of St. James AME Church, A. Horowitz of the Hillel Foundation, Monsignor Clauche and Rev. A.L. Davis.

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OCT 7 1963

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WBJ
JM
RTB

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

Four Decisions Expose Anti-Civil Rights Role Of United States Judges

New Orleans, La., Oct. 3-- Four recent decisions by the Fifth U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals here have focused attention on the key role played by Kennedy-appointed federal judges in thwarting the civil rights struggle in the deep south.

The most recent of these decisions reversed injunctions by U.S. Judge E. Gordon West prohibiting peaceful demonstrations in Plaquemine, where mounted police armed with teargas assaulted CORE demonstrators in late August and early September. Then Judge West, who is a Kennedy appointee, proceeded to issue a temporary restraining order. Faced with an appeals court ruling, Judge West referred the issue to the state courts.

Another recent decision by the appeals court reversed a similar injunction issued by Judge West in December, 1961 at the height of a CORE lunch counter desegregation campaign in Baton Rouge. Ironically, the ruling came a month after the lunch counter campaign was finally won and a year and three quarters after the illegal injunction was issued originally.

The fourth ruling by the appeals court, which also took a year and three quarters, voided an injunction prohibiting CORE members and supporters from using the bus station at McComb, Mississippi. Issuing the injunction was U.S. Judge Harold Cox, a boyhood friend of Senator Eastland, who was appointed to the bench by President Kennedy a few months earlier at the height of the Freedom Rides. Occasion for the injunction was the arrival in McComb of some CORE Freedom Riders testing the then-recently-enacted I.C.C. regulations against bus segregation.

CORE defense attorneys in all four cases were CORE general counsel Carl Rachlin, of New York and Robert Collins and Lolis Elie of New Orleans.

More-More-More

"We can thank these attorneys for helping to right what obviously was a legal wrong but we cannot thank the federal government," said CORE National Director James Farmer. "We requested the Department of Justice to at least file an amicus brief in these cases, but none was forthcoming. It is truly a shame that the federal government, by means of such judges as Judge West and Cox, should become a party to the enforcement of segregation. Injunctions such as these judges issued have the effect of--illegally--halting peaceful demonstrations or, at the very least, of postponing them unduly. Even though an injunction is obviously illegal, until it is reversed anybody violating it can be jailed for contempt. In the McComb and Baton Rouge cases, this meant that legal demonstrations were outlawed for 21 months."

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

CORE Expands Staff To Step Up Program

New York, N.Y., Oct. 3: CORE National Director James Farmer announced an expansion of staff and increased responsibilities for three staff members. The changes approved by the national steering committee are designed to capitalize upon the momentum of the summer demonstrations to make new breakthroughs.

Three new field secretaries, Issac Reynolds, Winston Lockett, and Jon Schaeffer were hired. Reynolds is assigned to Louisiana, Lockett to Tennessee and Schaeffer to New York. All three had previously been working as volunteers. CORE now has a staff of 47 professional workers.

Richard Haley, was promoted to associate national director. He will help coordinate the work of CORE with other civil rights organizations in an effort to extend the unity developed in the March On Washington.

Gordon Carey has been promoted to assistant to the national director and will be responsible for much of the administration of CORE activities.

Norman Hill is the new program director. Hill will develop nonviolent direct action programs for CORE chapters in jobs, housing, schools and community organizations.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

Win Bank Jobs In Boston And Columbus

Boston, Mass., Oct. 3-- The National Shawmut Bank has "now increased the number of Negro staff members substantially," as a result of negotiations with Boston CORE. So stated the bank's president, Lawrence Martin in a public statement.

"Last summer, Alan Gartner, chairman of Boston CORE asked us to increase and accelerate our Negro employment," the statement continues. "Because of the approach exhibited by the representatives of CORE in their relationships with us, it was possible to conduct these joint discussion in an amicable and completely businesslike manner."

Gartner's comment on the statement was: "The successful course of our discussions over a 2-month period indicates the opportunity of civil rights groups working with members of the business community."

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Columbus, Ohio-- Picketing of the Lincoln branch of the Ohio National Bank ended when the bank president announced the placing of two Negro women as teller trainees at the branch and the posting of a Negro in the payroll cage at the main branch. The bank president also stated that recruiting, training and upgrading will be on a nondiscriminatory basis.

Conducting the picketing were Columbus CORE, the local NAACP Youth Council, the Modroes Association and the Columbus Coordinating Committee for Action.

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OCT 14 1963

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CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE ATTN: MARVIN RICH AND JAMES PECK

CORE FILES SUIT IN AMERICUS

Americus, Ga., Oct. 9: A Federal District court was asked to halt a "conspiracy" of' state and local officials against a desegregation campaign in Americus.

A suit files with Judge J. Robert Elliot accused the officials of discouraging participation in the campaign by misusing the law in "a willful, unlawful, and openly avowed scheme, plan and conspiracy."

CORE leaders believe that if the action succeeds, it would establish a legal precedent that would be used throughout the South against repression by officials of civil rights activity.

The suit seeks the release of Zev Aelony, a CORE field worker.

He and three workers for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee are being held in the Sumter County Jail at Americus on charges of inciting an insurrection. The charge carries a maximum penalty of death in the electric chair.

The defendants named in the suit include Col. Lowell Connor, chief of the state highway patrol; Stephen Pace Jr., the Circuit Court Prosecutor; Sheriff Fred D. Chappell; Mayor T. Griffin Walker and members of the city council, and Chief of Police Ross Chambliss.

Judge Elliott, a Kennedy appointee was asked to convene a three-judge constitutional panel to consider the case. Any appeal from its findings would go directly to the United States Supreme Court.

Mr. Aelony was arrested last Aug. 17 by the police and charged with inciting an insurrection and unlawful assembly. At a closed hearing before Justice of the Peace M. Cooper Bradley, he was bound over without bail to the Superior Court grand jury.

MORE - MORE - MORE

It does not convene until November 25.

The suit contended that the statutes under which he was charged had been applied unconstitutionally. It said the action had violated his rights of freedom of speech and assembly, exposed him to criminal prosecution without providing sufficiently ascertainable standards of guilt, threatened him with cruel and unusual punishment and denied him the right to bail.

The suit was brought on behalf of CORE by Morris B. Abram Jr., a former Atlanta lawyer now associated with the New York firm of Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton and Garrison. He led the legal attack that overturned Georgia's county unit election system.

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38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

Bank Campaign Continues Despite Injunction

St. Louis, Mo., Oct. 11 -- Despite an injunction grated on Agusut 30th by Circuit Judge Michael Scott, St. Louis CORE's nonviolent action campaign for fair employment at the Jefferson Bank & Trust Company is continuing, unabated.

A mass demonstration, both inside and outside the bank took place on October 7th. Twnety-one of the demonstrators were arrested. Following the arrests, several of the demonstrators lay down in front of a police truck, delaying its departure. Later, some 45 pickets assembled at police headquarters and applauded Lucien Richards of St. Louis CORE as he pledged that the protest action will continue.

In anticipation of the demonstration, the bank, in the words of the St. Louis Globe Democrat, "was transformed into something resembling an Army physical examination center."

Some placards were headed "Warning All Demonstrators," and quoted at length from the court injunction. Others said "Change Made At This Window Only--Minimum Service Charge 25¢, "Deposits and Withdrawals Only--No Change Made" and "Service Charge If Account Is Closed Before Six Months."

The latter signs were aimed at thwarting CORE's tactic of keeping the windows tied-up by seeking change or by opening new accounts which would be promptly closed. While this kind of protest action went on inside the bank more than 100 pickets marched outside.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: MARVIN RICH AND JAMES PECK

POLICE CHIEF'S THREAT TO DESTROY CHURCH BRINGS PLEA FOR U.S. ACTION

Plaquemine, La. Oct. 10: If striking students continue to hold meetings in Freedom Rock Baptist, "I'm going to break it up." So threatened Police Chief Dennis Songy after police invaded the church and jurled teargas bombs inside. CORE field secretary Ronnie Moore, who has been working in this area, has asked the U.S. Justice Department to intercede immediately.

The police chief added, "If they want to use that church to serve God, that's OK, but they're not going to use it as a fort."

The word "fort" is ill-chosen for the peaceful strike which the students have been conducting since October 4. At the time of the teargas attack on the church, they were taking refuge from an earlier teargas onslaught which occurred as they marched in groups of 10 to one of the white high schools. The students have been picketing the two white schools.

The three Negro schools closed down the day the strike started. When they reopened four days later, according to the Associated Press: "The police nearly outnumbered students." This gives an indication of the support the strike is receiving.

The students' demands include desegregation of Iberville parish schools by next year, equal job opportunities for Negroes in Plaquemine and reinstatement of Mrs. Stella Grant, a school cafeteria worker who was fired following recent CORE mass demonstrations. It was during these demonstrations that the church suffered its first teargas attack. The church's name has been changed from Plymouth Rock Baptist Church to Freedom Baptist Church.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

Pickets Halt Loading Of South African Ship

Brooklyn, N.Y., Oct. 10 -- Pickets of CORE and the American Committee on Africa halted loading of the South African ship "African Pioneer" on October 10th.

Seventy Longshoremen, members of Local 1814, International Longshoremen's Association, refused to cross the picket line. Anthony Scotto, the local's president and a member of the CORE Trade Union Committee expressed complete support of the demonstration.

Some forty pickets, many of them with placards saying "End Apartheid!" were in front of Pier #6 at 7:30 A.M., a half-hour prior to shaping-up time. Picketing continued throughout the day.

Since at this particular pier, the ship can be seen from the gate, pickets were able to observe first-hand that no cargo was being loaded or unloaded.

The one-day demonstration was the first against a South African ship on the east coast. Further protest actions are planned. A similar demonstration was conducted by CORE in San Francisco some months ago. In several other countries, including Denmark, Norway and Australia, longshoremen have periodically refused to unload South African ships in protest over that country's racist policy.

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OCT 16 1963

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RTB

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38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

Register Over 5500 In Two Weeks

Miami, Fla., Oct. 14 -- With registration for the November 5 election in Dade county just closed, Weldon Rougeau, CORE field secretary, reports that 5,567 Negroes were registered during the final two weeks of September.

Rougeau is in charge of the national Voter Education Project in this area. Since he arrived here 14 months ago, Negro registration has increased by 33%.

A key factor was the county's establishment of sub-stations in eleven predominantly Negro areas.

The task of getting the sub-stations was not an easy one," the CORE leader reports. "Initially there was considerable opposition because of the nature of the registration drive which was supposed to be in the Negro areas only. Only after I raised the matter at a meeting with the Catholic Bishop of the Diocese of South Florida did the leadership of the county begin to seriously consider rendering this service to the community.

"When we were officially notified that the sub-stations would be in the areas we had selected, we had leaflets, posters and placards printed with the 11 locations, times for registering, qualifications and reasons why one should register. We distributed over 125,000 leaflets, 1,000 posters and 1,550 placards. This proved to be very effective in notifying the people we had contacted while canvassing."

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

Sit-Inners Urge Board Accept Willis Resignation

Chicago, ILL., Oct. 14 -- The Board of Education's refusal to accept the resignation of School Superintendent Benjamin Willis resulted in a sit-in October 11 at the Board's office which ended with the arrest of 17 Chicago CORE members.

Twenty other persons sat down on the lobby stairs leading to the Board's office while pickets marched outside.

Willis, an adherent of the traditional neighborhood school policy, had resigned when the Board adopted a limited transfer plan. His resignation was hailed by CORE and neighborhood groups which have demonstrated against de facto school segregation throughout the summer. But the Board declined to accept his resignation. The summer demonstrations marked by many arrests, were conducted both at the Board's headquarters and at ghetto area mobile classrooms, which have been dubbed "Willis Wagons."

####

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38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

State Of Picketing Brings 38 Arrests, 50 Contempt Citations

Clinton, La., Oct. 14 -- The start of picketing in the downtown business section here resulted in the arrest of 38 pickets and of a CORE field worker.

The pickets were arrested as they marched in front of the downtown stores with placards urging desegregation and equal job opportunities. The CORE field worker, Edgar Vickery, was seized during a raid on CORE headquarters by the sheriff's deputies. All 39 were accused of violating a state district judge's injunction prohibiting mass demonstrations.

In addition, 50 persons including Ronnie Moore, CORE field secretary and Currie Collins, chairman of Clinton CORE were served with contempt citations. The local CORE group was formed two months ago.

In that period, 237 Negroes have attempted to register to vote but only 36 succeeded.

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OCT 23 1963

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38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

Stay State Injunction Proceedings

Atlanta, Ga., Oct. 21 -- In a precedent-setting ruling, a 3-judge panel of the U.S. circuit court of appeals stayed state proceedings in Clinton, Louisiana which were aimed at obtaining an injunction against CORE activity. The proceedings were stayed pending a decision by the U.S. circuit court of appeals on the legality of such an injunction.

It was the first time that the appeals court agreed to review a case of this kind after a lower federal court had declined to act. In this instance, U.S. Judge E. Gordon West, who himself had granted two major injunctions against CORE activities, had refused to stay the state proceedings.

The other unprecedented aspect is that the appeals court stayed the Louisiana proceedings, even before the actual injunction was issued. The appeals court judges told the attorney for Louisiana that while they do not want to interfere with state law enforcement, they are determined not to give the state a means of interfering with CORE's right to conduct legal civil rights demonstrations. Attorneys for CORE were William Kunstler of New York and Nils Douglas of New Orleans.

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38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

Eight-Mile March Climaxes Week's Picketing Of U.S. Construction Site

New York, Oct., 21 -- An 8-mile march from the heart of Harlem to City Hall climaxed a week's mass picketing by New York CORE of the construction site of the new federal building on Foley Square.

The ranks swelled to some 700 by the time the marchers circled city hall and started a mass rally in an adjoining street. Among the speakers were Richard Haley, associate director of CORE and John Lewis, chairman of SNCC. Purpose of the demonstration was to mobilize new support for the summer-long campaign by CORE groups in the New York area for job opportunities in the construction industry and to bring increased pressure on Mayor Wagner and Governor Rockefeller.

On the fist day's mass picketing the new federal building, four New York CORE members were arrested for sitting down in front of a truck entering the site. On the final day of the week, three others, including Gladys Harrington, chairman of New York CORE, were arrested after climbing onto one of the cranes.

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38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

Parish Registers First Negro Since Reconstruction

St. Francisville, La., Oct. 21 -- Rev. Joseph Carter on October 17th became the first Negro to register to vote in West Feliciana parish since reconstructions -- specifically, since the year 1902.

Circumventing a line of white men, one of whom threatened to emasculate him, Rev. Carter entered the courthouse by a side door. The charred remains of a KKK burned cross were still in evidence in front of the nearby office of Aldero Stevenson, a Negro businessman.

Rev. Carter, along with 43 Negroes arrived by bus. They were accompanied by CORE field secretary Ronnie Moore, who heads the CORE voter registration drive in this area. Frank Dunbar of the U.S. Justice Department's Civil Rights Division was present as well as a number of F.B.I. men.

The Negroes were told by the assistant registrar that they would have to wait since nine whites were ahead of them and each would have to take a test lasting 40 minutes. However, the whites were processed before closing time and Rev. Carter entered the office. Thirty-five minutes later, he emerged waving his registration form.

The following day, three more Negroes registered: Nathaniel Smith and Ernest Morgan--both farmers--and Handy Berry, an unemployed hod carrier. As Smith came out of the office, Ronnie Moore pinned on him a button saying: "I Am A Registered Voter: Are You?"

Assault Follows

After the second day of registration, James Payne, one of those attempting to register, was beaten brutally. Three white men approached him: one of them hit him with the barrel of a shot gun while another held a gun on him.

Payne also reports that a white man told Johnnie Hamilton that "you're enrolled to be killed." Payne said that the incidents were reported to the F.B.I. and "they took down what I told 'em."

When Rev. Carter first tried to register on August 10, he was arrested and jailed overnight. As a consequence, he filed a $100,000 damage suit in federal court. West Feliciana parish has a population of 8,500 of which 68% are Negroes. CORE has been conducting a voter registration campaign there since July 15.

####

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OCT 26 1963

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38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

County Official Urges Removal Of Judge
Who Ruled Demonstrators "Insane"

Towson, Md., Oct. 24 -- To avoid further embarrassment to Baltimore county, County Executive Spiro Agnew has asked Governor J. Millard Tawes to remove a magistrate who asserted that anyone who "deliberately violates the law is insane."

In so ruling, on October 21 the magistrate--Howard Muhl, Jr. committed to Spring Grove State Hospital two Baltimore county CORE members arrested for picketing a segregated roller rink. Noting that the two--Keith Kern and David Smith--had been arrested previously on a CORE demonstration, he concluded that this repeat "violation of the law" proves they must be "insane" and should be committed.

Next day, Magistrate Ruh's ruling was reversed by Circuit Judge John Raine, Jr. who characterized it as "a gross abuse and perversion of justice" issued "out of rancor and with express malice." He ordered the two CORE demonstrators released immediately from the mental hospital. Handling their defense was Attorney Fred Weisgal.

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10/24/63

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York, New York 10038
COurtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: MARVIN RICH AND JAMES PECK

TWO ARRESTED WHILE SITTING-IN AT NEGRO'S PADLOCKED APARTMENT

Columbus, Ohio, Oct. 24: Rev. Arthur Zebbs of Columbus CORE and David McConnell of Students for Human Rights were arrested on October 3 as they sat-in at a pad-locked apartment from which a Negro student had been evicted.

Pretext for evicting the Negro was that the housing development, Northwest Gardens, does not accept undergraduate students as tenants. But spokesmen for Columbus CORE and the Ohio State University student group point out that seven white undergraduates are presently residing there.

Following the arrests, the two groups picketed the home of the owner of Northwest Gardens, Leo Yasinov.

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10/24/63

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York, New York 10038
COurtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: MARVIN RICH AND JAMES TECK

CORE PLAYED KEY ROLE IN FREEDOM DAY SCHOOL BOYCOTT

Chicago, Oct. 24: Local CORE groups played a leading part in the detailed organizational work which made the October 22 Freedom Day school boycott a success generally acclaimed by civil rights leaders.

"What the CORE groups did was the type of organizational groundwork in the neighborhoods which is essential for the success of a demonstration of this magnitude, but which is rarely mentioned in the newspapers," said Faith Rich, chairman of Chicago CORE's education committee. "Also, it was the Chicago CORE groups which led the sit-ins at the Board of Education and the many other nonviolent protest demonstrations which led up to Freedom Day."

On Freedom Day, over 225,000 students, nearly half the total enrollment, stayed away from classes, while over 10,000 demonstrators marched on City Hall and the Board of Education demanding the resignation of School Superintendent Benjamin Willis. An adherent of the traditional neighborhood school policy, Willis had resigned when the Board adopted a limited transfer plan, but the Board then refused to accept his resignation.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

Americus Four Still Jailed On Death Penalty Charge

Americus, Ga., Oct. 24 -- One CORE member and three SNCC members imprisoned since August on a capital charge, remained in jail as the State Supreme Court in Atlanta rejected their appeal for release on bond and a Senate Constitutional Rights subcommittee in Washington rejected their plea for an investigation.

"Inciting to insurrection," the charge under which the four are being held, is a crime carrying the death penalty under state law and therefore, no bail has been set. Arguing before the State Supreme Court, attorneys for the four contended that the denial of bail is a denial of constitutional rights.

The Senate subcommittee investigation had been requested by CORE National Director James Farmer. The subcommittee's chairman, Senator Sam Ervin, Jr. of North Carolina said the investigation request had been rejected because the "inciting to insurrection" law is presently being challenged in federal court.

The reference was to a suit filed October 8 in federal district court against Americus officials by Attorney Morris Abram, Jr., attorney for CORE man Zev Aelony. The Americus four are Zev Aelony, and Donald Harris, Ralph Allen and John Ferdew of SNCC.

Addressing an emergency mass meeting here on October 17, James Peck, COREIator editor, pledged that "CORE and SNCC will publicize this outrageous miscarriage of justice from coast to coast, with the aim of arousing the conscience of America, as they did in the 1961 Baton Rouge 'criminal anarchy' case." In that case, nationwide protest helped bring about dropping of the "criminal anarchy" charges against the five CORE and SNCC members who were involved.

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NOV 4 1963

CORE - CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: MARVIN RICH AND JAMES PECK

PROTEST HARSH JAIL TERMS FOR LEADERS OF BANK CAMPAIGN

St. Louis, Mo., Oct. 31: The imposing of prison sentences of up to a year on 19 leaders of St. Louis CORE's fair employment campaign at the Jefferson Bank and Trust Co. has resulted in several major protest demonstrations here.

On October 28, over 1,000 persons marched on City Hall. That evening more than 250 Catholics, many of them priests and nuns held a protest rally. John Dunsford, associate law professor at St. Louis University, said the rally was "a public confession that we have sinned in the pride of race."

The 19 were sentenced by State Circuit Judge Michael Scott for violating his August 30 injunction against "physical interference" at the Jefferson Bank & Trust Co. Among those sentenced were Charles Oldham, former national chairman of CORE and Alderman William Clay, a long-time leader of St. Louis CORE. Alderman Clay was sentenced to 270 days in jail. Fines ranged from $500 to $1000 against each of the defendants. The cases are being appealed.

Meanwhile, the bank is still being picketed. Intercession by Mayor Raymond Tucker and a 2-week truce failed to prevail on management to adopt a fair hiring policy.

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CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

Over 12,000 March On Trenton

Trenton, N.J., Oct. 31 -- More than 12,000 persons from all parts of New Jersey converged on the state capital October 26th in a Statewide March on Trenton for Jobs and Freedom.

Arriving in special buses and by train, they started marching at City Hall, proceeded to the State House and then to the War Memorial Building, where a giant rally was held.

Addressing the rally, CORE National Director James Farmer pointed out: "You will find a lot of Georgia in southern New Jersey and, at times, a lot of Mississippi in northern New Jersey."

Bishop Stephen Gill Spottswood, Chairman of the NAACP national board of directors, said: "We marched today because negotiations have failed: patience is runnnng out."

Another speaker, Rev. Bernard Kowalski, representing the Bishop of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Trenton asserted that Catholics had joined the March because "we believe your demands are just and reasonable and demand sincere consideration."

One of the specific demands was for an order from the education commissioner requiring all local education boards to submit by next May 17, 10th anniversary of the Supreme Court decision, plans to eliminate de facto school segregation. The school issue has been a major one in a number of New Jersey communities. Another major demand was that any contract involving state funds be withheld or canceled where there is proof of racial discrimination.

Participating in the March were a large number of unions and religious bodies in addition to the New Jersey chapters of CORE and the New Jersey Conference of NAACP. Directing the March was Robert Gore of CORE. Honorary chairman and director were A. Philip Randolph and Bayard Rustin, who led the August 28th March On Washington.

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CORE - CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
38 Park Row, New York, New York 10038
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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: MARVIN RICH AND JAMES PECK

SUSPENSION OF TWO STUDENT LEADERS PROMPTS CAMPUS PROTEST

Tallahassee, Fla., Oct. 31: The suspension of Patricia Stephens Due and Ruben Kenon from Florida A & M University has resulted in several student protest actions and one mass rally on campus.

The two students received the heaviest prison sentences--six months--as a consequence of Tallahassee CORE's mid-September mass demonstrations at the Florida Theater, in which 354 demonstrators were arrested. The cases are presently being appealed.

Following the suspensions, CORE has taken Patricia Due on its staff to lead a voter registration campaign in the Tallahassee area. She is a long-time leader of Tallahassee CORE and was a participant in the first jail-in of the 1960 lunch counter sit-in movement.

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CORE - CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
38 Park Row, New York, New York 10038
COurtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE ATTN: MARVIN RICH AND JAMES PECK

U.S. SUES REGISTRAR IN PARISH WHERE NO NEGRO REGISTERED UNTIL OCT. 17

St. Francisville, La., Oct. 31: Fletcher Harvey, the registrar of West Feliciana Parish, where no Negro had registered from 1902 until this October 17, is the target of a suit filed by the U.S. Department of Justice. The suit seeks to end discriminatory practices against Negro registrants.

On October 17, Rev. Joseph Carter became the first Negro to register in the parish since reconstruction. Three more Negroes registered the following day. But one Negro who attempted to register was beaten brutally and another was threatened with death.

West Feliciana is one of eight southeastern Louisiana parishes where CORE has been conducting an intensive voter registration drive, led by Field Secretary Ronnie Moore.

Seek Release of Two Student Leader

Plaquemine, La., Oct. 31: Core attorneys are seeking a habeas corpus writ for the release of two high school leaders committed to the State Industrial Detention House for Juvenile Delinquents because of their role in the recent strike against segregation here.

One of them--Kenneth Johnson--faces up to five years. He is only 16 and the indefinite commitment would detain him until he is of age. He was a member of the CORE Task Force. The other student is Willie Mellien.

WBV
JM
RTB

NOV 6 1963

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38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

Arrest 25 Sit-Inners At City Hall

New Orleans, La., Nov. 4 -- Twenty-five persons including two ministers who led the big September 30 civil rights march were arrested on October 31 while sitting-in at three different parts of City Hall.

Ten, including Rev. A.L. Davis, Jr., were ousted from the City Council chamber shortly after the building had closed for the day. Rev. Davis had pledged to "stay here and sit for 30 days hence until we get some word" on demands for complete desegregation and equal job opportunities.

Rev. Avery Alexander was dragged by the heels by two policemen from City Hall cafeteria, where he was sitting-in with six others. Two of them, women, were carried out in the chairs upon which they were sitting.

The remaining eight were arrested in the mayor's waiting room. The demonstration was sponsored by the same Citizens Committee which organized the September 30 march. Its chairman is Lolis Elie, CORE's chief southern counsel, and New Orleans CORE is one of the participating groups.

####

agencies - Core

He reaffirmed the correctness of his statement quoted by UPI that "the basic reason for bringing these charges was to deny the defendants, or to ask the court to deny them bond."

Pointing this out in his argument to the court, Morris Abram, CORE's attorney, said: "Defendant Pace has admitted that prior to the commencement of this action, he did not even intend to call plaintiff's case to trial. He has in fact indicated that if plaintiff would agree to leave the state of Georgia, he would consent to his admission to bail."

The SNCC members were defended by attorneys for the NAACP Legal Defense & Educational Fund.

The defense lawyers pointed out that the court decision marks the first time the federal judiciary has halted a state court civil rights proceeding at the request of private individuals--the imprisoned men. Filed on their behalf, the suit seeks to restrain state and county officials from conspiring to suppress the civil rights movement in Americus. The court gave these officials until January to prepare their defense against this charge.

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COrtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

Georgia Insurrection Law Voided
Four Men Freed

Americus, Ga., Nov. 4 -- Georgia's 1871 insurrection law and a state law against unlawful assembly were declared "unconstitutional and void" by a special 3-judge federal court on November 1. Reasonable bail was ordered set immediately for a CORE field secretary and three SNCC field workers who since August had been imprisoned without bail on the grounds that this law carries the death penalty. Also the court demanded reasonable bail for two other SNCC workers who had been held on other miscellaneous charges.

The six were thereupon released on bail totaling $11,150 and were greeted enthusiastically by a group of over 150 friends and supporters. They want to remain in Americus and continue the civil rights struggle from where they left-off. The four held on the death penalty charge were Zev Aelony of CORE and Donald Harris, Ralph Allen and John Perdew of SNCC. The two held on miscellaneous charges were Thomas McDaniel and Sallie Mae Durham.

The court decision, which was two-to-one, came after a-day-and-a-half hearing marked by testimony of extreme police brutality against civil rights demonstrators last August. Witnesses related how they had been clubbed mercilessly and jabbed with electric prod rods.

Sallie Mae Durham told how, upon requesting medical aid following her arrest, she was thrown into a five-by-five "dungeon." James Williams, a laborer, testified that his leg had been broken by a state trooper wielding a baseball bat.

The state prosecutor, Stephen Pace, Jr., admitted to the court that the main purpose of invoking the insurrection law which he admitted is unconstitutional -- was to halt the demonstrations.

More-More-More

Rec'd 12-9-63

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

Count Basie Joins CORE Pickets

Tallahassee, Fla., Dec. 5: Count Basie, the noted bandleader, joined members of Tallahassee CORE and students from all-white Florida State University on a picket line December 4 in front of the Mecca Restaurant, whose doorman had barred him from entering. Accompanying him at the time were two whites including a sociology professor at the university.

The restaurant, which refuses to serve Negroes, has been picketed by Tallahassee CORE for several weeks. It is located at the corner of Park and Copeland Streets, directly opposite the university's main entrance. Basie's band was in town to play on campus at a fraternity dance.

The university's professors recently have been raising funds to pay the fines of Negro and white students arrested in CORE demonstrations in September at the Florida Theater. Seven of the students are whites, who attend Florida State University and the University of Florida. Thirty are Negroes, who attend Florida A & M University.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: MARVIN RICH AND JAMES PECK

WEST FELICIANA NEGROES VOTE FOR FIRST TIME SINCE 1902

St. Francisville, La., Dec. 9: Unmentioned in most December 8 newspaper accounts of the Louisiana primaries, was the fact that Negroes in West Feliciana parish voted for the first time since 1902.

The total number of Negroes who came to the courthouse here to cast their votes was only 13. But the precedent established was significant, in a parish where Negroes faced intimidation by both threats and actual acts of violence in the course of CORE's voter registration campaign.

Among those who voted was Rev. Joseph Carter, who was threatened with castration as he approached the courthouse on October 17 to become the first Negro to register since 1902. Another voter was James Payne, who had been hit across the face with a rifle butt in an attempt to stop him from registering.

When Rev. Carter first attempted to register in August, he was arrested for "disturbing the peace" and jailed overnight. He thereupon file a $100,000 damage suit in federal court accusing both the registrar and the sheriff of violating his civil rights.

The CORE registration campaign is directed by Ronnie Moore.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: MARVIN RICH AND JAMES PECK

JAIL 12 LEADERS OF BOYCOTT, 3 PICKETS

Clinton, La., Dec. 9: Twelve leaders of a CORE boycott campaign against downtown stores and three persons recently arrested for picketing have been jailed.

Bail for the boycott leaders, who are charged with "conspiracy to commit public intimidation" and "public intimidation" has been set at $4000 each. Bail for the pickets, who are accused of "disturbing the peace" has been set at $3000 each.

Among the imprisoned boycott leaders are Currie Collins, chairman of Clinton CORE; Herbert Bell, operator of a gas station patronized by persons boycotting the downtown gas stations; Hazel Matthews, a teacher; Rev. Roger Transper and Rev. Robert Washington.

When picketing of the downtown business section first started in early October, 39 pickets were arrested. Proceedings by the state to issue an injunction against CORE demonstrations in Clinton were halted on October 20 through a precedent-setting decision by a three-judge panel of the 5th Circuit Court of Appeals. The judges told the attorney for Louisiana that while they do not want to interfere with state law enforcement, they are determined not to give the state a means of interfering with CORE's right to conduct legal civil rights demonstrations.

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38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 706270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: MARVIN RICH AND JAMES PECK

PRESIDENT JOHNSON AND CORE'S JAMES FARMER MEET AT WHITE HOUSE: DISCUSS CORE'S PROPOSAL FOR MASSIVE RE-EDUCATION PROGRAM

Washington, D.C., Dec. 9: President Lyndon B. Johnson and James Farmer, National Director of CORE met in Washington in an effort to clarify and make plans for the successful implementation of the struggle for civil and human rights in America. In their discussion, Mr. Farmer made a historic proposal in regard to "completing the revolution" in the vast area of education.

Farmer, emphasizing the need to continue the struggle on every possible level in the area of direct action, proposed that the Federal Government subsidize a massive program of remedial education throughout the nation in which students who have suffered from sub-standard and discriminatory school systems, be given extra years of high-load remedial teaching to "undo 300 years of damage that have made schools in some parts of our nation wholly inadequate."

Farmer said that "winning freedom is not enough.....even if we end outright discrimination quickly, there is a backlog of inadequate schools, teachers and curricula that must be dealt with and dealt with now in order to complete the revolution." Turning to the specifics of the plan, Farmer estimated that close to 1,000,000 primary and secondary school students are needful of this kind of program immediately. The program, as envisioned by the CORE leader, would use existing plants, recruiting teachers especially trained in remedial work, salaried by the government and teaching students, both white and Negro, in the North as well as the South.

Farmer suggested three major sources of teachers for the program: one, those recruited from colleges and taught through a special curriculum on remedial teaching in their final two years of college; two, teachers presently in public and private school systems who would surrender their sabbaticals or take leaves of absence to participate and three,

MORE--MORE--MORE

married women with adult children who would take specially prepared courses in remedial teaching before entering the program.

Mr. Farmer's estimate of cost, based on a figure of $3,000 per student per years was some three billion dollars per years. He also suggested that early elementary school students would require at least one year of such remedial work and that graduates of the eighth grade in sub-standard schools would require as much as two years of special training. Farmer felt that much of this could be accomplished by special classes added to the yearly schoolwork load and not necessarily slowing down the completion of their education.

President Johnson responded warmly to the plan and asked that CORE prepare a memoranda on the proposal in the fullest detail. Farmer's analysis was based on a study CORE has been conducting in this field for some time.

Regarding the Civil Rights legislation, President Johnson asked for and got unequivocal CORE support for the legislation and a committment to use all its resources to help enact a strong and viable bill.

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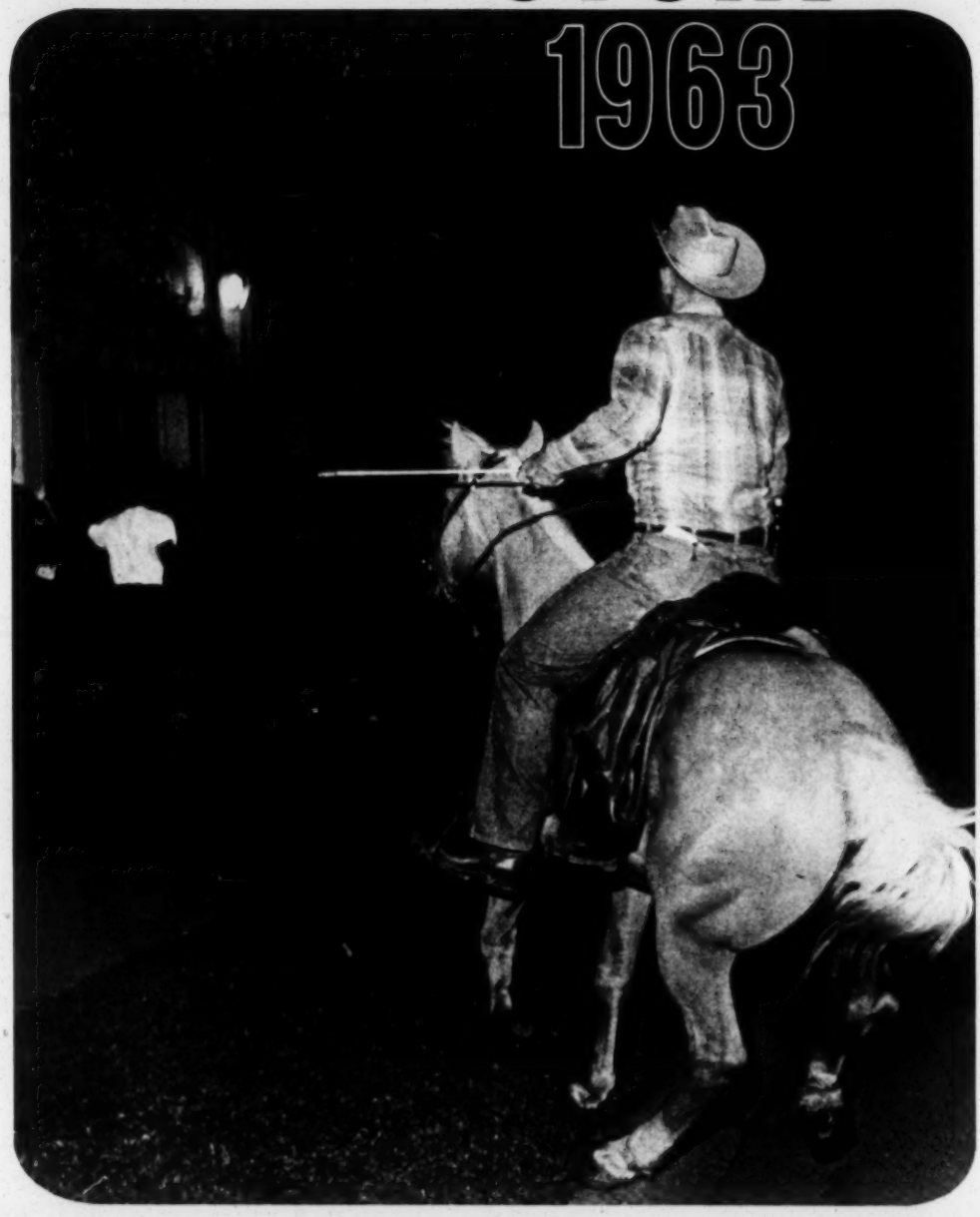
WB

LOUISIANA STORY 1963



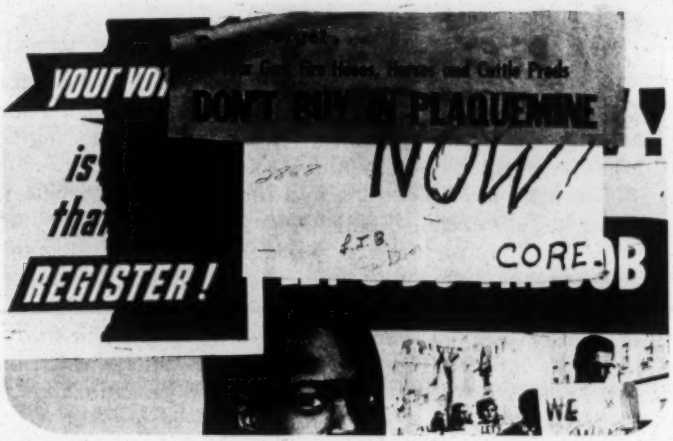
by James Farmer

Eagleney-
CORE

ON OCTOBER 17, 1963, Rev. Joseph Carter became the first Negro to register in West Feliciana parish since 1902. In the photograph below, Rev. Carter is in the center. At left is CORE field secretary Mary Hamilton, and at right, Ronnie Moore.

West Feliciana is one of eight southeastern parishes in Louisiana's 6th Congressional district where CORE, since the fall of 1962, has been conducting a voter registration campaign. Leading the campaign is CORE Field Secretary Ronnie Moore, who in 1961 was expelled from Southern University and jailed on a "criminal anarchy" charge as a consequence of his leadership in mass demonstrations to desegregate lunch counters in Baton Rouge (A campaign which ended successfully on August 6, 1963). Over the summer his staff was augmented by a group of 50 CORE Task Force workers from all over the country as well as Rudy Lombard and Gordon Carey from national CORE. Over 450 Negroes were registered during the drive. In the same period over 200 discrimination complaints were filed with the Department of Justice.

Above: CORE task force worker Daniel Mitchell interviews a prospective registrant. Below: CORE Vice-chairman Rudy Lombard (at left) speaks to another potential voter.



drive starts in Iberville parish

Iberville parish was the initial target of the voter registration drive. Its success is indicated by the fact that for the 1963 Democratic primaries, a full slate of 12 Negroes qualified for public office. Among the candidates are Spiver Gordon, a CORE Task Force worker, and Dr. Bertrand Tyson and W. W. Harleaux, community leaders.

A year earlier, shortly after the drive started and voter-bias complaints began to be filed with the Department of Justice, the registrar, Milton Dardenne, resigned because of "ill-health." In reporting his resignation, TV Station WDSU in New Orleans stated that friends of Dardenne had attributed his "ill health" to the Negro registration drive.

His resignation, however, did not usher-in an era of voting justice in Iberville parish. To replace him, the police jury named Mrs. Ella Billings, who has reportedly said: "Niggers ain't gonna run this parish!" Nevertheless, Negroes continued to register in large numbers and more complaints were filed with the Department of Justice.

Plaquemine is the largest town in Iberville parish. Its Negroes live primarily in two communities, Dupont Annex and Seymourville. Dupont Annex has been gerrymandered so as to be outside the city limits but surrounded by the city. The city provides no sewer facilities and no street lights for these sections.

Negroes in Dupont Annex and Seymourville came to the unshakable conclusion that since their dollars help to support Plaquemine, and their labor helps to build it and to keep its wheels turning, they should be able to enjoy the benefits and fulfill the duties of citizenship by being a part of the city. Dupont Annex petitioned the Plaquemine City Council for annexation several times beginning many years ago. Seymourville has prepared its petition and is getting the required signatures.

city officials adamant

The City Council of Plaquemine has refused to consider annexation, and the Mayor has declined to set up a bi-racial committee to consider these and other grievances. Public accommodations and schools remain segregated. Negroes are largely confined to menial jobs.

The town of Plaquemine and the parish of Iberville refused to believe that "their" Negroes were not happy and satisfied. They had had a "good" relationship all along, with Negroes "staying in their place" and asking no questions.

But the town and parish were wrong. Negro citizens, inspired by the revolutionary freedom movement which has swept the country, took to the streets in peaceful demonstrations, demanding the incorporation of Dupont Annex and Seymourville into the town and establishment of a bi-racial committee to work on employment opportunities and other grievances.

first protest march

On August 19, with Dr. Tyson, Mr. Harleaux, and Rev. J. W. Davis, I led 500 persons on a protest march to City Hall. Upon reaching the building, several of the marchers began singing "We Shall Overcome." The three local leaders and I were arrested. The others were dispersed by a teargas attack.

Returning to the church, they regrouped and marched again into another barrage of the nauseating gas. In the next two days 232 persons were jailed. There was not

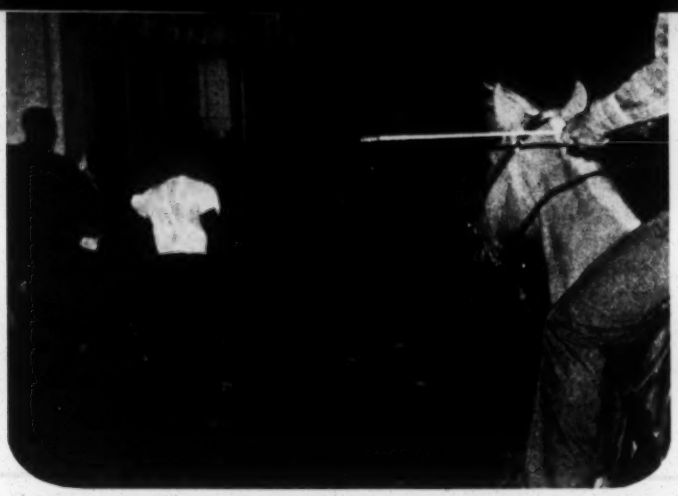
enough room in the parish jail, so some of us were sent to adjoining parishes, while others were placed in an improvised stockade.

I had planned to be in Louisiana only three days on a brief speaking trip, but the town of Plaquemine had other plans for me. I had wanted to join the March on Washington, but instead I was in jail. Many of those jailed with me had planned to make the trek to Washington, but they chose to remain in jail. Their "crime" was the same as mine — asking for Freedom Now, or, as Plaquemine called it, "disturbing the peace." I had no real choice but to remain behind bars with those incarcerated with me. The historic March on Washington would go on beautifully without us; the historic struggle of Plaquemine Negroes might not.

The magnificent demonstration in Washington inspired Plaquemine's freedom fighters to redouble their efforts. They marched and they sat-in. They were tear gassed, stuck with electric prod rods and trampled by state troopers' horses. Children and adults were injured.

police brutality prompts bigger march

With most of us just out of jail—we had been jailed-in for 10 days—even bigger marches were planned. The Negroes had achieved a unity such as never existed before. On September 1, they marched in the largest demonstration of all. The mounted troopers with their prod rods, rode-down the marchers like cowboys on a fearsome round-up. The demonstrators again took refuge in Freedom Rock Baptist Church. Troopers pursued them into the church,



hurling round after round of teargas canisters. The demonstrators were driven from the church, carrying the wounded, the faint and the hysterical. They retreated to the parsonage.

Not content with this desecration of a place of worship, the troopers turned high pressure fire hoses into the church, overturning benches and breaking windows. Bibles and hymnals floated in the pews. The troopers then hurled a volley of teargas canisters into the parsonage, driving the demonstrators into the yard. Further volleys of the gas drove them back into the parsonage. Many were overcome by the gas and artificial respiration was administered.

"we're going to lynch him!"

Meanwhile, other state troopers rode through the town, pursuing and brutalizing any Negroes in sight. Doors were kicked-in and houses invaded as the troopers loudly proclaimed, "We want Farmer!" Negroes beaten in the streets were told, "We'll let you go if you'll tell us where Farmer is." Two Negro girls heard troopers say, "When we catch Farmer we're going to lynch him!"

Hearing these bloodthirsty threats, I started to walk over and turn myself in. I was stopped by local citizens who insisted that if I surrendered, I would not be alive in the morning. They persuaded me to take refuge in a hearse. With another hearse as a decoy, I thus escaped from the frenzied lynch mob composed of law enforcement officers.

In New Orleans next day I called a press conference and described what had transpired in Plaquemine. I announced I would return on the morrow for trial of my "disturbing the peace" charge.

Back in Plaquemine I was tried and convicted on earlier charges. The sentence on each charge was $100 fine or 30 days in jail. Through my lawyers, Murphy, Bell, Collins, Douglas and Elie, I immediately served notice of appeal.

Curiously, there was no warrant for my arrest awaiting me. The frenzied house-to-house manhunt two days before had been without warrant and without charges.

the struggle goes on

The Plaquemine struggle goes on. Negroes have launched a tight economic boycott of local stores. They have arranged to buy their food and clothing elsewhere on weekends. The school principal, Mr. Harleaux, has been threatened with his job. A worker in the Negro school lunchroom has been fired because her children were in the demonstration. The school's students are replying with a lunchroom boycott. Instead of eating lunch they sing freedom songs.

On October 7, the Negro students went on strike forcing a four-day shutdown of the high school. In addition to demanding reinstatement of the fired lunchroom worker, they sought reinstatement of 35 of their fellow-students who had been suspended, desegregation of Iberville parish schools by 1964 and equal job opportunities for Negroes in Plaquemine.

Police teargassed the striking students, first as they marched in groups of 10 to the white high schools, which they were picketing and again as they assembled in Freedom Rock Baptist Church.

It was on this occasion that Police Chief Dennis Songy threatened to destroy the church asserting: "If they want to use that church to serve God, that's OK, but they're not going to use it as a fort." The word "fort" was ill-chosen for the student protest action remained peaceful throughout. Evidently the police chief does not believe the parishioners have the right to use their church as they see fit.

Two of the student leaders—Kenneth Johnson and Willie Mellien—have been committed to the State Industrial Detention House for Juvenile Delinquents for an indefinite period. This means up to five years for Johnson, who is only 16 and was a CORE Task Force member. Attorneys are seeking a habeas corpus writ to secure their release.

in other communities

In Hammond, following a student demonstration, Mayor John Morrison agreed to set up a 16-man bi-racial committee patterned after the one in Baton Rouge, which was the first Louisiana city to establish such a body. After meeting with two CORE representatives, the mayor told the Baton Rouge State-Times he was convinced that the CORE men "were sincere in their desire to see that Hammond doesn't turn into another Plaquemine."

In Clinton, the start of picketing in the downtown business section on October 14 resulted in the arrest of 38 pickets and a CORE field worker. Attempts by the state to enjoin all CORE activity were halted pending a ruling by the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals on the validity of the state court hearing.

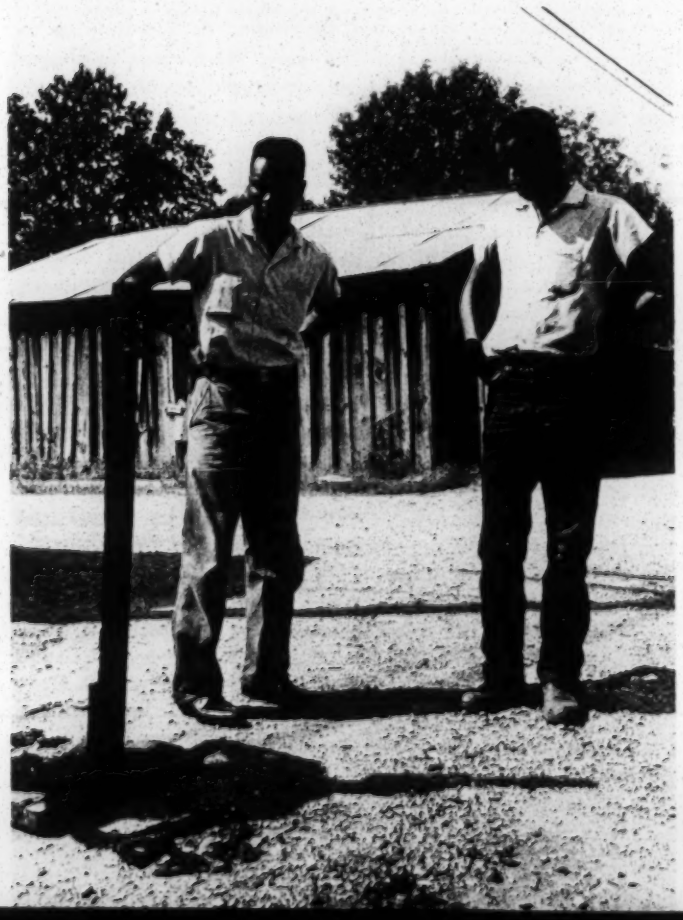
register first negro since reconstruction

It was at St. Francisville, that Rev. Joseph Carter finally succeeded in registering on October 17. He is the first Negro since 1902 to register in West Feliciana parish, which has a population of 12,000 of which 68% is Negro.

Circumventing a line of white men, one of whom threatened to emasculate him, Rev. Carter entered the courthouse by a side door. The charred remains of a KKK burned cross were still in evidence in front of the nearby office of Aldero Stevenson, a Negro businessman.

Rev. Carter, along with 43 Negroes arrived by bus. They were accompanied by Ronnie Moore, leader of the CORE voter registration drive. Frank Dunbar of the U.S. Justice Department's Civil Rights Division was present as well as a number of FBI men.

After waiting several hours, Rev. Carter entered the office and emerged 35 minutes later waving his registration form. When he first tried to register on August 10, he was arrested and jailed overnight. As a consequence, he filed a $100,000 damage suit in federal court. A federal suit has been filed to stop the registrar from continuing discriminatory practices.



more negroes register

The day after Rev. Carter registered, three more Negroes registered: Nathaniel Smith and Ernest Morgan—both farmers—and Handy Berry, an unemployed hod carrier. As Smith came out of the office, Ronnie Moore pinned on him a button saying: "I Am A Registered Voter: Are You?"

But the threat of violence demonstrated on the day Rev. Carter registered continues. James Payne, a prospective Negro registrant, was without provocation assaulted by three white men. Payne reports that another prospective registrant, Johnnie Hamilton, was told by a white man: "You're enrolled to be killed."

Despite such threats, our voter registration drive will continue unabated—not just in West Feliciana, but in the other parishes in which we have become involved. At the same time, though we have been hampered by court injunctions, we plan to resume our massive protest demonstrations for desegregation of public facilities and equal job opportunities in the towns of these parishes. It may be a long struggle, but we shall certainly overcome.

The photograph on the opposite page shows the remains of the burning cross in St. Francisville. Above: Nathaniel Smith leaves the St. Francisville courthouse after becoming the second Negro to vote there. Behind him is Ernest Morgan, who became the third.

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WB

JAN 18 1964

Dear Brother Attorney,

The legal conference of the Congress of Racial Equality entitled "The Changing Role of the Lawyer in an Era of Non-Violent Action" of which you have received previous notice, will be held at the Belmont Plaza Hotel, 49th Street and Lexington Avenue, New York City beginning at seven-thirty P.M. Friday, January 31st, 1964 with the session discussing,

> "Affirmative steps to protect non-violent action demonstrators (viz. Americus, Georgia type of injunction); with exploration of the limits of Shelley v. Kramer."

Saturday morning, February 1, 1964, at 9:30 A.M., our seminar will consider,

> "Defenses available in Court Suits for Damages (with or without accompanying Injunctions) resulting from Picketing and Boycott."

After lunch Saturday at 2:00 P.M. the subject will be,

> "De Facto Segregation and Discrimination in employment and housing, (a) Court Action; (b) Administrative proceedings; (c) Negotiations will be considered"

Saturday evening we will have a cocktail party and dinner at the Belmont Plaza with Father Drinan, S.J. as our guest of honor. Father Drinan is the Dean of Boston College Law School. He will address himself to the theme of our conference, "The Changing Role

agency - CORE

of the Lawyer in the Era of Non-Violent Action."

Sunday morning at 10:00 A.M., the subject for discussion will be,

> "Limitations on the free expression of demonstrators, as the result of mass arrests, high bail, injunctions, with consideration of the special problems of minors."

There will be no registration fees for the conference but the cost of the dinner Saturday night will be $6.00. We are enclosing a card which we ask that you return to us, indicating (1) whether or not you will attend the conference, and (2) if you will attend the dinner. One, of course, does not depend on the other.

Discussion papers are being prepared on a large number of subjects. We hope to have these mimeographed and distributed to all present.

Some of the well-known lawyers and community leaders who will lead and participate in discussions are:

Leo Pfeffer, author and well known civil rights attorney.
John Pratt, Counsel, National Council of Churches, Commission on Religion & Race.
Prof. Norman Dorsen, Director of the NYU Arthur Garfield Hays Center.
Floyd McKissick, National Chairman of CORE and Trial Counsel in numerous civil rights cases.
William Kuntzler, one of the most active civil rights attorneys.
Melvin Wulf, Staff Counsel, American Civil Liberties Union.
Prof. David Haber, well known legal scholar and teacher.
Marvin Karpatkin, active in Civil Liberties matters for many years.
Joseph Robinson, who has handled some of the important Civil Liberties cases.
Irving Lesnick, who has worked out many of the defenses in tenant rent strike situations.
Nils Douglas and Robert Collins, of New Orleans, who have handled dozens of civil rights cases in Louisiana including Lombard v. Louisiana.
William O. Valentine, Chief Inter-group Relations Division, New York City Housing Authority.

We hope you can be with us. Please let us know.

Sincerely yours,

CARL RACHLIN

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CORE MISSISSIPPI BOOK DRIVE TOPS 25,000
Project Now to Collect Funds, Equipment for Centers

The CORE BOOKS FOR MISSISSIPPI PROJECT announced this week that they have shipped over 25,000 books to Mississippi for the setting up of educational centers in that state for Negroes and Whites. With the last shipment of 15,000 books, for which transportation cost was paid for by Local 210 of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, the book drive came to an end. "CORE expresses its profound thanks to the many churches, schools, trade unions , civic groups, CORE chapters and individuals for helping to make our book drive successful". said Benjamin A. Brown, Chairman of the Book Project. "The response indicated that civil rights advocates and supporters are sensitive to the educational needs, as well as the necessity for direct, non violent action in the struggle for equal rights. The Committee ask that all future book collections be shipped direct to David Dennis, CORE Field Secretary, 313 Franklin Street. Canton, Mississippi, postage paid. We now turn our efforts to the task of collecting funds, mimeograph machines, movie projectors and screens , typewriters, etc. to equip the Mississippi educational centers, and we ask the support of churches, synagogues, trade unions, social and fraternal organizations, and local businesses to fulfill our needs".

"VOLUME II" a program of drama, songs, dances, and a speech by the Reverend Dr. Milton A. Galamison, Chairman of the Citywide Committee for Integrated Schools will be presented on Friday January 24th, at the First Unitarian Church of Brooklyn, 50 MonroePlace, Brooklyn Heights, to raise funds for the Project. (See enclosure for details.)

CORE BOOKS FOR MISSISSIPPI COMMITTEE includes: Benjamin A. Brown, Chairman; Robert Daniels, Vice Chairman; Mary Buckley, Secretary; Kathryn Lissack, Corresponding Secretary; Ann Bardacke, June Corbett, Carol Goslin, Miriam Levensohn, Betty Morgan, Sarah Morgan, John R. Patterson, Peter Windsor.

CORE BOOKS FOR MISSISSIPPI PROJECT PRESENTS

"VOLUME II"

FIRST UNITARIAN CHURCH OF BROOKLYN, 50 MONROE PLACE, BROOKLYN HEIGHTS

Programme

Greetings & Introductory Remafks - Rev. Donald McKinney, Minister
First Unitarian Church

Master of Ceremonies - Kenneth N. Whitlock, CORE Member

Freedom Songs - Phil Ochs, Vanguard Recording Artist

"Books in the Battle for Men's Minds" - Benjamin A. Brown, Chairman
CORE Books For Mississippi Project

"For My People", poem by Margaret Walker - read by Kenneth N. Whitlock, Actor

"A Dance for Freedom" - performed by Miss Ilene Goldberg

" A Litany at Atlanta", a classic by W. E. B. DuBois - read by John Patterson, Actor

A scene from "Richard III" - by Kenneth N. Whitlock and Jane Blackburn

"Walt Whitman On Liberty" - read by Jane Blackburn, Actress

"Racism in Our own Backyard" - Miss Frances Crayton, Vice Chairman, Brooklyn CORE

"Songs of the Freedom Movement" - sung by Jimmy Mc Donald, Actor and Singer

"Future of Books for Mississippi Project" - Bob Daniels, Vice Chairman

"The Northern Struggle for School Integration" - Rev. Milton A. Galamison, Pator, Siloam Presbyterian Church; President, Parents Workshop For Equality

A dramatized scene from "Othello" - Jane Blackburn, Kenneth N. Whitlock, and John Patterson

CONTRIBUTION.....$1.00

CORE BOOKS FOR MISSISSPPI PROJECT PROGRESS REPORT II:

As of January 15, 1964, the CORE BOOKS FOR MISSISSIPPI PROJECT Committee had shipped over 25,000 books to Mississippi, and with this report the book campaign draws to a close. In the future the Project will center on collecting mimeograph machines, movie projectors and screens, tape recorders, phonographs and records, typewriters, mimeograph paper, etc.

The Committee expresses its profound gratitude to all of our members and friends who have joined to make this project a success. We ask that all further book collections be shipped direct to: David Dennis
313 Franklin Street, Canton, Mississippi

CORE BOOKS FOR MISSISSIPPI COMMITTE: Benjamin A. Brown, Chairman; Robert Daniels, Vice Chairman; Mary Buckley, Secretary; Kathryn Lissack, Corresponding Secretary; Ann Bardacke, June Corbett, Carol Goslin, Miriam Levensohn, Sarah Morgan, Betty Morgan, John R. Patterson, Peter Windsor.

CORE BOOKS FOR MISSISSIPPI PROJECT - 38 Park Row, New York 38, N. Y. - CO 7-6270

Agencies

WBV
RTB
BW

JAN 27 1964

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

Win Freedom For Two Juveniles Facing Up To 6 Years Jail

Plaquemine, La., Jan. 23-- Two students confined to the State Industrial Detention House for Juvenile Delinquents because of their role in a high school students' strike against school segregation last October, have been freed. Their release is the result of a habeas corpus writ obtained by Lolis Elic, CORE's chief southern attorney.

The two had received indefinite commitments, which would have detained them in the juveniles' jail until they are of age. This would have menat a 6-year sentence for Willie Mellien, who is only 15 and a 5-year sentence for Kenneth Johnson who is 16. Johnson was a member of CORE's Task Force working in this area.

Cross Burnings Won't Halt Voter Drive

Clinton, La.--The burning of 150 Klan crosses in five Louisiana parishes at early dawn on January 19 will in no way deter CORE's voter registration drive which has been in progress for over a year. So stated CORE Field Secretary Ronnie Moore, coordinator of the campaign.

He pointed out that the cross-burning came just a week after Negroes in Tensas parish exercised their voting rights in the Democratic primaries. It was the first time that any Negro in Tensas had voted since 1902. Registration of Negroes in Tensas ended an era in which some Louisiana parished had no Negro registrants since reconstruction.

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CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

IMPRISONED CORE ATTORNEYS DESEGREGATE
CITY JAIL

St. Louis, Mo., Jan 23--A longstanding policy of segregation in the city jail and workhouse has ended with a public announcement by Public Welfare Director Chester Stovall.

The policy change is the result of complaints filed with the Council On Human Relations by two CORE attorneys who, themselves, were city prisoners. They are Charles Oldham, former CORE national chairman and Raymond Howard. The two, along with 17 other CORE leaders, were jailed in for eight days during December on contempt charges arising from the campaign to end discrimination in hiring at the Jefferson Bank and Company.

Prison officials started to put the white CORE prisoners in separate cells from the Negro CORE prisoners, but this drew an immediate protest. So, the 19 CORE prisoners were integrated but the other prisoners remained segregated. Following their release, Oldham and Howard filed their complaint with the Council On Human Relations.

Oldham and Howard were among four whose contempt convictions recently were reversed by the St. Louis Court of Appeals. The court upheld the convictions of the 15 others.

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JAN 30 1964

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CORE-Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York, N.Y. 10038
Phone: CO 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and Val Coleman

JAILINGS, HARRASSMENTS MARK CANTON MISSISSIPPI
VOTER REGISTRATION DRIVE

Canton, Miss., Jan. 27 - Seventeen voter registration workers have been arrested in Canton, Mississippi in the past week in efforts by civil rights groups to mount a voter registration drive in this southern Mississippi community. Efforts of CORE (the Congress of Racial Equality) to establish a community center in Canton have also been challenged by local authorities with various legal devices including the condemnation (later revoked) of the CORE building which will house libraries, classrooms and voter education projects.

In the period from January 21 through January 27, arrests have been virtually continuous on a series of charges ranging from the burning of leaves on a sidewalk to littering. The Canton City Council has passed a new local statute making it illegal to pass out literature in the city unless approved by the mayor and chief of police. CORE field secretary David Dennis has wired Robert Kennedy protesting the random arrests and challenging the legality of the new law.

The largest group involved four CORE task force workers and six community leaders on January 23. The entire group has elected to remain in jail rather than post bond which was set at $500 per person.

In a related development, all of the homes of civil rights leaders were searched.

Texts of the telegrams sent to Robert Kennedy and Burke C. Marshall at the Justice Department follow:

"DEMAND IMMEDIATE INVESTIGATION BY FEDERAL GOVERNMENT OF UNCONSTITUTIONAL ARRESTS OF VOTER REGISTRATION WORKERS JAMES COLLIER AND CLARENCE CHINN IN CANTON, MISS. ARRESTED FOR DISTRIBUTING VOTER REGISTRATION LITERATURE WITHOUT A PERMIT, THIRD ARREST OF VOTER REGISTRATION WORKERS IN 24 HOURS. (SIGNED) DAVID DENNIS, CORE FIELD SECRETARY"

"WE PROTEST UNCONSTITUTIONAL ARRESTS OF VOTER REGISTRATION WORKERS ALMA BOSLEY, RICHARD JEWETT, JOE LEE WATTS, PETE HEWITT, PATRICIA MYERS, MILTON ESCO, MARTHA JONES, LEVI JACKSON IN CANTON, MISS. APPARENTLY ON CHARGES OF DISTRIBUTING HANDBILLS WITHOUT A PERMIT. FURTHER PROTEST HARRASSMENT, MALTREATMENT OF VOTER REGISTRATION WORKERS JAMES COLLIER, CLARENCE CHINN, THEODIS HEWITT ARRESTED AND HELD INCOMMUNICADO EARLIER TODAY, CONDEMNATION OF VOTER REGISTRATION OFFICES. DEMAND FEDERAL PROTECTION IMMEDIATELY AND IMMEDIATE, UNCONDITIONAL RELEASE OF THESE INDIVIDUALS. (SIGNED) DAVID DENNIS, CORE FIELD SECRETARY".

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Agnes

FEB 3 1964

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CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

FOUR VOTER-WORKERS ARRESTED IN FLORIDA

Quincy, Fla., Jan. 30--Four CORE voter registration workers were arrested during the January 25-26 weekend in this seat of Gadsden Connty, which Patricia Stephens Due describes as "medieval in its race relations and an area where many Negroes are still virtual-slaves on the tobacco farms." Mrs. Due is heading CORE's voter registration drive in this county and in adjacent Leon County, whose seat is the city of Tallahassee.

CORE Task Force Workers Judy Bennington and Rosemary Dudley--both white--were arrested when they came to address a meeting at the 40 Club, which is patronized by Negroes. Shortly after their arrival at the club, several county law officers arrived and took them to jail.

Since the officers refused to name the charges, Mrs. Due, her husband, who is an attorney and Tallahassee CORE chairman Julius Hamilton went to the county jail to find-out. Hamilton, was thereupon arrested for "open profanity."

The following day, Mr. and Mrs. Due, accompanied by Dennis Flood, a white student, went to visit the three in jail--whereupon Flood was arrested for "trespassing." The three whites have been released on their own recognizance and Hamilton has been freed in $50 bond.

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38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

JAILED CORE LEADERS URGE JOHNSON
SHUN ST. LOUIS ANNIVERSARY

St. Louis, M., Jan. 30--Fifteen local CORE leaders imprisoned for contempt, with sentences ranging from 60 days to a year, have written President Johnson urging that he cancel his visit to St. Louis on February 14th, the city's 200th anniversary.

In addition, over 1,000 persons have signed a petition to this effect which has been forwarded to the President and more signatures are being collected, reports CORE Vice President Richard Daly.

The pleas to the President cite the present racial climate in St. Louis and the failure of city officials to help resolve the situation at the Jefferson Bank & Trust Company, which has resulted in hundreds of arrests and the present heavy prison sentences for the CORE leaders. The bank adamantly refuses to adopt a fair employment policy.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

SEEK TO OUTLAW SOUTHERN CUSTOM OF
CALLING NEGROES BY FIRST NAME

Washington, D.C., Jan. 30--When CORE Field Secretary Mary Hamilton refused in a southern court to answer when the prosecutor addressed her as MARY, "She was responding to one of the most distinct indicia of the racial caste system...the refusal of whites to address Negroes with titles of respect such as MISS, MRS. or MR. and to refer to them as BOY OR GIRL."

So stated a petition asking the U.S. Supreme Court to reverse her contempt conviction last June in Gadsden, Alabama, for insisting that the prosecutor call her MISS HAMILTON. She was sentenced to five days in jail as a result.

Quoting from various anthropologists, historians and sociologists, the petition points out that "the literature of race relations abounds with recognition of the key role played by this difference in modes of address."

The petition was filed by Jack Greenberg, chief counsel of the NAACP Legal Defense & Educational Fund, which has undertaken the legal defense in Gadsden in cases arising from a CORE-initiated mass protest movement in that city last summer. At present, Miss Hamilton is working on CORE's voter registration campaign in southeastern Louisiana.

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FEB 24 1964

Agnes

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COrtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

CORE SET FOR MASSIVE DEMONSTRATIONS IN MISSISSIPPI

By Robert Gore

Canton, Miss., Feb. 19--Leaving this small city yesterday after working for four days on voter education, I am impressed. Not so much because of palpable gains, but because of the immense sense of dedication CORE workers have imbued throughout Madison County.

Plans are being completed for what may be the biggest civil rights demonstration to take place in this town located some 20 miles north of the capitol city of Jackson.

On February 28, which has been designated as "Freedom Day" in Canton, thousands of Negroes will march to the registrar's office to attempt to register for voting. Heretofore, there has been reluctance to have Negroes register even in small numbers. Local Negroes will be escorted by a group of leading church, civic and labor leaders from various parts of the country who plan to come to Canton for the occasion.

CORE, which has been conducting a voter registration drive in this area under the direction of CORE field secretary David Dennis, has dispatched, in addition to myself, five field secretaries and two Task Force workers into the area. CORE already has fifteen Task Force workers in Mississippi. Additional personnel will be Miss Mary Hamilton, Rev. B. Elton Cox, Isaac Reynolds, Marvin Robinson, Jerome Smith, Bruce Baines and Claudia Edwards.

We have been holding daily street meetings in Canton attended by as many as 150 persons. Nightly, we have held mass meetings at churches throughout the country. The sporadic arrests of persons attending these mass meetings have not reduced the attendance. In fact, attendance rises daily. The larges number of arrests--seventeen--were made during the week of January 20-27.

Hopefully, "Freedom Day" in Canton will be the beginning of massive registration of Negroes in this area by CORE.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

ARREST 84 PICKETS PROTESTING JOHNSON'S
PRESENCE AT ST. LOUIS ANNIVERSARY

St. Louis, Mo., Feb. 20--Eighty-four St. Louis CORE pickets protesting President Johnson's presence at the city's 200th anniversary celebration were arrested on February 14 as they neared the hotel where the President spoke.

They were held without charges until the speech was over at about 9:20 P.M. Then they sat-in at police headquarters demanding transportation back to the site of the arrests. Finally, police did give rides to eight of the demonstrators so that they could get their parked cars and ride the others to the hotel. The picketing took place--belatedly--after midnight.

Announcing that protests would be registered with the President as well as with the governor, Charles Oldham, former national chairman of CORE commented: "It is a traditional technique of a police state to arrest persons and hold them without charges to prevent them from doing things you don't want them to do."

Several thousand persons hae signed petitions urging the President to shun the St. Louis anniversary because of the present racial climate and the failure of city officials to help resolve the failure to hire Negroes at the Jefferson Bank & Trust Company. This has resulted in hundreds of arrests and prison sentences ranging from 60 days to a year for 15 local CORE leaders. The fifteen have spent more than 40 days in jail.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

WIN DESEGREGATION OF TB HOSPITAL
IN CINCINNATI

Cincinnati, Ohio, Feb. 20--On the eve of a scheduled demonstration, Cincinnati CORE chairman Clyde Vinegar and Dr. H.J. Nimitz, superintendent of the Dunham Tuberculosis Hospital reached an agreement for desegregation of bed-pattern assignments.

To ensure that the desegregation is carried out, Cincinnati CORE, under the agreement, can make monthly inspections of the hospital.

The last-minute negotiations followed a reversal of position by the Board of Trustees, which previously had denied that the hospital was segregated. Cincinnati CORE had brought the matter before the governor, the county commissioners and the state director of hygiene and correction.

Picket Hospital in Charleston

Charleston, W. Va., Feb. 20--Charleston CORE has been picketing the Charleston General Hospital protesting a policy of segregated rooming assignments.

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38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

VOTER REGISTRATION LEADER
SERVES JAIL TERM

Baton Rouge, La., Feb. 27--CORE Field Secretary Ronnie Moore, who had headed the successful voter registration drive in southeastern Louisiana, is serving a 30--day jail sentence in East Baton Rouge parish jail.

He started serving his term after the U.S. Supreme Court declined to review a conviction arising from the mass demonstrations of students here in December 1961. Specifically, he was charged with violating an anti-soundtruck ordinance on December 15, 1961, the day when police broke up a demonstration with tear gas bombs and police dogs and arrested 50 demonstrators.

Moore contended that his arrest constituted a violation of free speech. He also protested the courtroom segregation at his trial.

CORE Chief Counsel Carl Rachlin, who handled the appeal, said: "It is unfortunate that the Supreme Court has apparently narrowed the scope of civil rights cases which it will hear."

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Agnes Blum

MAR 7 1964

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CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York, N.Y. 10038
CO 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATT: Jim Peck or Marvin Rich

PICKET CHAIN CAFETERIA IN TALLAHASSEE

Tallahassee, Fla., March 5-- Demonstrating in sympathy with an NAACP action in Jacksonville and in protest over the segregation policy of most Morrison cafeterias in Florida, Tallahassee CORE picketed the local branch of the cafeteria here.

Negro and white students marched in front of Morrison's with placards saying "Freedom Is Everybody's Business" and "It Makes Sense NOT to Support Segregation."

In Jacksonville, the local NAACP has been picketing Morrison's and several sit-inners have been arrested. Frank O"Neill, President of Tallahassee CORE, pointed out: "Our protest in Tallahassee was in part a sympathy action in support of the NAACP campaign in Jacksonville. It was also a protest action against the general segregation policy of most Morrison cafeterias throughout the state."

# # # #

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38 Park Row, New York, N.Y. 10038
CO 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATT: Jim Peck
Marvin Rich

FREED AFTER 47 DAYS IN JAIL--JOIN PICKET LINE

St. Louis, Mo., March 5--Without even taking time out to shave after leaving jail, five of the 15 local CORE leaders imprisoned since January 15 joined the picket line on March 2 at the Jefferson Bank & Trust Co., where St. Louis CORE is pursuing its campaign for fair employment.

The five are Lucian Richards, Chairman of St. Louis CORE; Robert Curtis, former Chairman of the group; Roberta Tournour, wife of CORE Field Secretary Eugene Tournour; James Peake, Jr. and Taylor Jones.

These five, along with 10 other leaders of the bank campaign were released earlier in the day by a three-judge panel of the U. S. Eighth Circuit Court of Appeals pending appeal of their writs for habeas corpus.

Sentenced to terms ranging from 60 days to a year on contempt charges arising from the bank campaign, they had been imprisoned for 47 days. The three with 60-day sentences were released on their own recognizance since most of their time has been served. Bail for the other 12 ranged from $500 to $1,000 depending on the length of their sentences.

# # # #

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York, N.Y. 10038
CO 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATT: Jim Peck or Marvin Rich

MISSISSIPPI SCHOOL BOYCOTT BRINGS ARREST OF CORE WORKERS

Canton, Miss., March 5--A school boycott on March 2 involving over 2,600 Negro students resulted in the arrest of 15 civil rights workers including seven CORE staff members.

First to be arrested was Scott Smith, a visiting member of Chicago CORE, who was conducting a Freedom School during the boycott. He and C. O. Chinn, a CORE Task Force Worker, were held on disorderly conduct charges. The other 13 were released at the end of the day.

Purpose of the boycott was elimination of substandard school conditions at Negro schools in Madison county. CORE Field Secretary Dave Dennis said that the students are seeking an early meeting with the Mayor and the Board of Education to discuss their specific grievances.

The school boycott came two days after the Freedom Day demonstration in which 350 prospective Negro voters marched to the county courthouse. CORE is leading a voter registration drive being conducted in this area by the Committee of Federated Organizations.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATT: Jim Peck or Marvin Rich

UNION CONTRACT LETS RIGHTS GROUPS HANDLE BIAS COMPLAINTS

Los Angeles, Calif., March 5--A novel clause permitting civil rights organizations to handle complaints on discriminatory hiring is included in a new agreement between Teamsters Local 595 and Spartan Groceries.

E.J. Franklin, chairman of the employment section of the United Civil Rights Committee, which includes CORE, commented: "The clause is an interesting development in the civil rights field."

Specifically, it provides that if a job applicant feels he has been rejected by the company because of race, he can designate one of the civil rights organizations to process his grievance, all the way through the final step of arbitration.

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MAR 25 1968

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38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

CORE INITIATES PROJECT TO STOP
JUVENILE GANG WARS

Philadelphia, Pa., March 19--Juvenile gang violence, a problem rarely tackled by CORE groups, is the target of a new project initiated by Philadelphia CORE.

"The problem has become so explosive that the youths themselves have come to us for a solution," explains Philadelphia CORE Chairman Louis Smith. "We have met with many of the youth gang leaders and a tentative agreement has been made, in most cases, for them to lay down their weapons, provided we can do something for them."

Specifically, what CORE plans to do is to get adequate recreational facilities in the North Central Philadelphia area, where, according to statistics, less money is spent for such facilities than in any other area of the city.

Wit this objective, the CORE group secured a meeting with City Managing Director Fred Corleto. The latter agreed to confer soon with the youth gang leaders, 12 of whom had already agreed to such a meeting and with representatives of civic and community groups.

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Core Agencies

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CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

MISSISSIPPI FREEDOM SUMMER

Jackson, Miss., March 19: The most extensive civil rights action and educational program ever to be conducted in a deep south state was announced on March 15th at a press conference called by its two co-directors--David Dennis, field secretary of CORE and Robert Moses, field secretary of SNCC.

Entitled Mississippi Freedom Summer, the program calls for enlistment of 2000 Negro and white volunteers from all parts of the country. Sponsoring the program is the Committee of Federated Organizations, a joint, statewide civil rights group including NAACP and SCLC as well as CORE and SNCC.

Already, Freedom Centers to recruit volunteers have been established on-campus at seven major colleges and off-campus at 13 other locations. Volunteers will be expected to pay their transportation to Mississippi and minimal living expenses. Local Negro families will provide housing.

Community centers, which will be bases for operation, have recently been established by CORE in Meridian and Canton and by SNCC in Greenwood. The National Council of Churches, which is supporting the program, has pledged to set up 15 community centers in the Delta area.

During the summer program, these centers will be the sites of Freedom Schools, which will offer a broad curriculum ranging from remedial reading to political science.

One of the first major projects on the program will be a Freedom Election to be held on June 2 during the regular Mississippi primaries. Civil rights supporters will be urged to vote for Rev. John Cameron of Hattiesburg and Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer of for the [illegible] congressional candidates nominated by the Democratic Party.

The official Democratic candidates will then be challenged on the House floor on the grounds that many Mississippi Negroes are denied the right to vote.

During the summer there will be several special projects such as a "massive legal offensive against the official tyranny of the State of Mississippi" by a team of lawyers and law students and a study of "hate and bigotry" within white communities.

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CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York, N.Y. 10038
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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Att: Marvin Rich or Jim Peck

DESEGREGATE SECOND TALLAHASSEE RESTAURANT

Tallahassee, Fla., March 19--The Dobbs House Restaurant, where several CORE members were arrested for sitting-in last November, has desegregated following negotiations between Tallahassee CORE, the local manager and the restaurant chain's regional supervisor.

Dobbs House thus became the second eating place with table service to end discrimination in this state capital. The first was Howard Johnson's, which desegregated in the Spring of 1962 as part of a statewide agreement between the company and CORE.

Previously, restaurants in the air, train and bus terminals had opened as a result of CORE efforts.

# # # # # #

MAR 28 1964

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38 Park Row, New York, N.Y. 10038
COrtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich or Jim Peck

FACES UP TO TEN YEARS FOR TELLING TRUTH ABOUT POLICE BRUTALITY

Jackson, Miss., March 26--Lois Chaffee, formerly a teacher at Tougaloo Christian College and presently a CORE Task Force worker, faces up to ten years in jail if a Mississippi court finds her guilty of "perjury."

The "perjury" indictment stems from her testimony about police brutality during a peaceful protest march here last June 13, two days after the murder of Medgar Evers. The testimony was given at her own trial following her arrest for "disturbing the peace."

Newspaper and television reporters covering the June 13 demonstration also observed and reported the police using billy clubs against the demonstrators. Ten of these reporters are being sought to testify at her forthcoming hearing in federal court.

U. S. Judge Sidney Mize has set April 13 for the hearing and has agreed to a stipulation sought by CORE attorneys that the Mississippi courts will not move in the "perjury" case until two weeks after he issues his decision.

Miss Chaffee's attorneys, Carl Rachlin, CORE chief counsel and Paul O'Dwyer, member of the New York City Council, will seek to halt the "perjury" prosecution permanently on the grounds that the case is intended solely for the purpose of unconstitutionally intimidating and punishing her for her civil rights activity. It was on these grounds that a special three-judge federal court, on November 1, ordered the release of a CORE field secretary and three SNCC workers who since August had been imprisoned in Americus, Georgia without bail under a state law which carries the death penalty.

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Agencies

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich or Jim Peck

HOLY WEEK FAST AT CHAPEL HILL

Chapel Hill, N. C., March 26--In front of the post office at the center of this college town, five civil rights advocates are engaged in a week-long, Holy Week fast protesting the failure of the Board of Aldermen to adopt a public accomodations ordinance.

They are John Dunne, a CORE Task Force worker who is chairman of the Chapel Hill Freedom Committee; Pat Cusick, who last December served a 30-day jail sentence for sitting-in at a segregated restaurant; LaVert Taylor, a field secretary of Southern Christian Leadership Conference; James Foushee and Melody Dickenson.

They are supplied with containers of water, cigarettes and sleeping bags. Sympathetic professors and students often stop to express their sympathy or simply to converse. Two students, Harry Muir and Burton Smith, were so sympathetic that they joined the fast on the fourth day. They do not belong to Chapel Hill CORE or to any of the other groups affiliated with the Freedom Committee.

In early January, the Chapel Hill Ministerial Association presented the Board of Aldermen a petition with 1,850 local signatures asking for enactment of a public accomodations ordinance. Two of the aldermen favored it but the board declined to act and, instead, set up a committee to seek voluntary desegregation, despite the failure of such efforts last summer.

The drive to end discrimination at the some 30% of public places here which still segregate was started by Chapel Hill CORE in early December and has been marked by over 450 arrests.

# # # #

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38 Park Row, New York, N.Y. 10038
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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich or Jim Peck

NEW CORE GROUP STARTS SIT-IN AT ARIZONA CAPITOL

Phoenix, Ariz., March 26--A newly formed CORE group here initiated a sit-in at the Arizona State Capitol on March 26 urging passage of a public accomodations law which has been bottled-up in committee.

Shortly after noon, a group of some 25 entered the Senate chamber while 30 pickets marched outside. When the Senate adjourns for the weekend, the sit-inners plan to move to the office of Senator Harold Giss, Democratic leader.

The sit-in and picketing is supported by the local NAACP branch. Within Phoenix, the bailiwick of Barry Goldwater, 50% of the motels and hotels discriminate, a survey made by the Council of Civic Unity revealed. On an employment level, only two Negroes are employed in major department and retail stores.

# # # #

Court Reverses Contempt Ruling

WASHINGTON (AP) — The Supreme Court reversed today a contempt conviction in an Alabama court of a Negro woman who refused to answer questions unless she was addressed as "Miss Hamilton," instead of just "Mary."

The woman, a field secretary for the Congress of Racial Equality, had been called into court with a large number of Negroes who faced charges growing out of racial demonstrations in Etowah County, in June, 1963.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People appealed to the Supreme Court on behalf of the woman. It asked the high tribunal to strike down the practice in some southern courts of addressing Negroes by their first names in court proceedings

Selma Times-Journal
3/30/64

CORE

Recd 5/9/64

WB
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RTB
JB

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: MARVIN RICH AND JAMES PECK

NORTHWEST FLORIDA VOTING DRIVE BRINGS RESULTS

Tallahassee, Fla., May 7: A voter registration drive in Leon county and in adjacent Gadsden county, coordinated by CORE Field Secretary Patricia Stephens Due, has brought a sharp increase in Negro registration.

Following the closing of the books for the May primary, the Tallahassee Democrat reported, regarding Leon county: "The most significant increase was found among Negro voters with 771 more registered for the May election than were on the rolls last November, apparently the result of a Negro registration drive."

Regarding Gadsden county, which is rural and where there was considerable intimidation inclusing a threat to fire Negro teachers, the Tallahassee Democrat quotes the registrar as stating that "Negro registration has moved up from 452 to 1,327." Mrs. Due commented "Negroes in Gadsden county were initially drawn into the campaign when interracial groups were harassed and jailed for simply being together in the county."

Long Island Campaign Adds Over 1000 To Rolls

Hempstead, N.Y., May 7: Long Island CORE's five-month-old "Fight Bigots with Ballots" campaign has added more than 1000 Negroes and Puerto Ricans to the rolls of registered voters in Nassau, one of the country's richest counties. So announced Lincoln Lynch, chairman of the group, following completion of the drive in six major communities. The campaign, which Lynch describes as one of the most comprehensive to be undertaken in the north, will continue throughout the summer.

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JUN 1 - 1964

CORE Southern Education Project
38 Park Row, New York 38, N. Y.
CO 7-6270, Extension 4

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Att: Benjamin A. Brown

CORE SOUTHERN EDUCATION PROJECT LAUNCHES SPECIALIZED BOOK DRIVE

The CORE Southern Education Project announced this week a campaign to collect thousands of books on Negro and Africa life, history, literature and culture for CORE's new interracial education centers in the deep South. Appeals are going to publishers, libraries, collectors, trade unions, all news media, social organizations, and to hundreds of individuals with large Negro and Africa collections.

Earlier this year the C.S.E.P. collected and shipped over 30,000 assorted books and over $4,000.00 worth of mimeographs, tape recorders, typewriters, phonographs and records to Mississippi, Louisiana and South Carolina, sites of the new centers.

Explanation for the new book drive was given by Benjamin A. Brown, CORE Staff director of the volunteer project: "Although we previously collected and shipped thousands of books to the South, too few of them pertained to the role of the Negro people in American life. Among the American history books collected, where the Negro people were mentioned at all there was gross distortion of their true role in America. It is our hope that from this specialized Negro and Africa book drive will come a flood of socially significant volumes that can become a vital source of enlightenment and inspiration in the Southern Negro movement for equality, justice and brotherhood."

Books and funds for shipment should be earmarked "C.S.E.P." and sent to the CORE National Office, 38 Park Row, New York 38, New York.

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and Jim Peck

START STATEWIDE ACTION AGAINST BANK OF AMERICA

San Francisco, Calif., May 28--Following the collapse of negotiations aimed at getting the Bank of America, the biggest bank in the world to adopt a fair employment policy, CORE groups in California initiated statewide action in the streets on May 22nd.

"All 26 CORE chapters in the state are participating," reports CORE Field Secretary Chet Duncan. "Community support for this project has been tremendous.

Here in San Francisco, over 500 pickets turned out on May 22nd at the main office, located in the heart of the downtown section, at Market and Powell streets. Picket signs said: "Don't Save Where You Can't Earn" and "Why Give Your Dollars for Discrimination."

Similar demonstrations were conducted in Los Angeles, San Diego, Palm Springs, Bakersfield, Scaramento, Oroville, Stockton, Richmond, Sausalito, San Jose, Pomona and San Bernardino.

Negotiations collapsed on May 18th after five sessions and William Bradley, San Francisco CORE chairman accused the big bank of "bad faith," Specifically, he accused management of "hiding" the facts regarding Negroes seeking promotion.

PICKET BANK IN NORTH CAROLINA

Greensboro, N.C., May 25--Pickets have been marching in front of the Wachovia Bank & Trust Company on South Greene Street as part of a joint CORE-NAACP campaign for a fair employment policy.

"The picketing will continue until the bank offers equal employment opportunities for Negroes," said William Thomas, chairman of the CORE group.

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and Jim Peck

CORE GROUP, ITSELF, UNDERTAKES SLUM CLEANUP

Rochester, N.Y., May 28--Deciding to take the long-overdue job of slum clean-up into its own hands, Rochester CORE has taken to the streets on the past few Saturday mornings armed with rakes, brooms, shovels and boxes. The tools were donated by various hardware stores.

The manpower was supplied by the CORE group and augmented by residents of the neighborhoods involved. More than 100 residents pitched in for the first cleanup, which covered about 60 buildings and yards along Hand Street.

"Some of the cans and garbage we picked up must have been around these yards for years," commented Charles Simpson, one of the project workers.

On the second Saturday, the Department of Public Works cooperated by dispatching some of its trucks to the area involved, around Catherine and Baden Streets.

On the third Saturday, twelve truckloads of junk were hauled out of Kelly, Joiner and Nassau Streets and Hope Place--the biggest area yet covered. Expressing satisfaction at the cleanup operation, Marvin Poret, chairman of the project, said it would continue. In a special day-long cleanup, the entire Baden-Ormond area will be cleared of garbage, he added.

In a building in the area covered on the initial Saturday, Rochester CORE had conducted a rent strike which was instrumental in getting the city to issue a final cleanup order for that particular building and five others. If the order is not carried out within 30 days, the city will make the needed repairs and charge it to the owners or managers.

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CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and Jim Peck

CORE SETS UP UNOFFICIAL REVIEW BOARD ON POLICE BRUTALITY

New York, N.Y., May 28--Pending the outcome of a campaign by CORE and other civil rights groups for legislative establishment of a civilian board to review police brutality charges, CORE has set up an unofficial committee of ten prominent citizens for this purpose. Members of the committee include Roger Baldwin, veteran civil libertarian, former Judge Hubert Delaney and Rev. Donald Harrington.

"For months we have called upon the mayor and the police commissioner to deal effectively with this problem," said CORE National Director James Farmer on May 22nd in announcing formation of the unofficial committee. "I have talked to the mayor. I have talked to the commissioner, without tangible results. The time for talking is now past."

At its initial meeting on June 4th, the committee will hold hearings on four recent cases of police brutality involving Jesse Roberts, James Yates, Rosalee Brown and Kenneth Massey. Police precincts where brutality has occurred also will be picketed by CORE groups in the New York area.

Police Commissioner Michael Murphy and the policemen involved in the four incidents were invited to testify but Murphy, who has strongly opposed creation of a civilian review board, said" "No policemen will appear. We do not believe in kangaroo courts or public lynchings." A bill to establish a civilian review board will be introduced soon in the city council.

Protests Across The Country

Campaigns against police brutality are being conducted in an increasing number of cities by CORE groups across the country

More-More-More

A drive for the resignation of Police Chief William Parker of Los Angeles has received considerable publicity in the southern California press. The campaign, indorsed by 12 CORE groups in the area, will climax with street demonstrations. Incidents of brutality against Negroes and Mexicans are increasing under Parker's command, the CORE groups charge.

In Syracuse, New York, protesting police brutality has been the local CORE's main project in recent months. Several members of the group have been arrested for protest actions at police headquarters.

In Denver, Colorado, CORE recently reaffirmed its support of a city-wide campaign by civil rights groups against police brutality. In Ann Arbor, Michigan, CORE recently aired the issue in testimony before the City Council.

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JUN 22 1964

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York, N.Y. 10038
CO 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Attn: Jim Peck or Marvin Rich

TRAINING SESSIONS FOR FREEDOM SUMMER

Oxford, Ohio, June 18--Plaquemine, Louisiana and Quincy, Florida training sessions are underway in Oxford, Ohio for the CORE Freedom Summer program, a massive voter registration drive in the deep south climaxing with attempts to seat Freedom candidates at the Democratic national convention.

The largest number of trainees, over 200 from all parts of the country, are in Oxford at the Western College for Women. They will go into Mississippi where the Council of Federated Organizations, a joint group including CORE, is heading the campaign. The instructors for CORE are the Mississippi field staff.

In Plaquemine, Louisiana, CORE Organization Director, James McCain and CORE Field Secretary, Ronnie Moore, are instructing some 50 students who will concentrate on 19 parishes in the fifth and sixth congressional districts. "These parishes were chosen because of their Negro voting potential and because of strong established community backing for our organization," explained Moore, who has been working on voter registration in this area since 1962.

In Quincy, Florida, seat of Gadsden county, where CORE has been engaged in voter registration for the past few months, plans are underway to extend the drive to seven additional northwestern Florida counties. Ten students have started training for work in this area, under CORE Associate Director Richard Haley and CORE Field Secretary Patricia Stephens Due.

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JUN 26 1964

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York, New York 10038
COrtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE ATTN: MARVIN RICH

The enclosed leaflet describes the CORE community center in Meridian, Mississippi directed by Michael Schwerner. Shown with the youngsters is Michael's wife, Rita.

The Schwerner's have directed the Meridian center since January, 1964. Before joining the CORE Task Force in Mississippi the Schwerner's were members of Downtown CORE. Mickey was a 1957 graduate of Cornell University and did graduate work at the Columbia School of Social Work. He was employed by Hamilton Madison House, a group work center in New York City.

When applying for the CORE Task Force Mr. Schwerner made the following statement:

"My two primary reasons for wanting to work for C.O.R.E. are emotional and educational ones.

I am now so thoroughly identified with the civil rights struggle that I have an emotional need to offer my services in the South. As a social worker I have dedicated my life to social ills; however, my profession, except in isolated instances as yet has not become directly involved in the most devestating social disease at the present time - discrimination. I also feel that the Negro in the South has an even more bitter fight ahead of him than in the North and I wish to be a part of that fight. In essence, I would feel guilty and almost hypocritical if I do not give full time for an extended period.

The vocation for the rest of my life is and will be to work for an integrated society. I plan to do this work primarily in New York City where my roots are but I feel it is important that I have a first-hand understanding of how people in other sections of the country specifically are affected by prejudice and how discrimination is being dealt with. I want to know and work with 'the people' not just read about situations or take someone elses subjective view. I want to be the first hand. Therefore, I see working for C.O.R.E. in the South an educational experience that can be obtained in very few other ways.

My experience with nonviolent direct action is certainly not very great. I participated in the July 4th freedom ride to Gwenn Oaks Park in Maryland where I was arrested and held in jail for two days. I participated in many picket lines and was also arrested in the fight against the building trades unions this past summer. I am currently working with Downtown CORE on the Community Relations and Housing Committees.

As a social worker I have worked for the Department of Welfare and two Settlement Houses. While working for the two settlement houses I was a group worker primarily working with youth and teenagers. As for community experiences, I have worked with Lower East Side Social Workers for Human Rights, Lower East Side Youth for Equality, Two Bridges Neigborhood Council, and the Lower East Side Civil Rights Committee aside from the community work that I have done with CORE.

6/64

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and Jim Peck

THREE RIGHTS WORKERS BELIEVED DEAD

Meridian, Miss., June 25--Three civil rights workers who vanished following their release from jail in nearby Philadelphia late at night on June 21st are believed to be dead.

"I think there's almost no hope that they are alive," said CORE National Director James Farmer after he, John Lewis, chairman of SNCC, Dick Gregory and CORE Task Force Worker George Raymond returned here from Philadelphia where they conferred with the sheriff and other county officials. "If our present fears are grounded, mass protests are probable."

Meanwhile, CORE-initiated mass picket lines were forming at federal buildings in a number of major cities urging full federal protection for civil rights workers involved in the Freedom Summer project.

The three civil rights workers who vanished are James Chaney, a CORE Task Force worker and a native of Meridian; Michael Schwerner, who since January has directed the CORE community center here and Andrew Goodman, a student who just had arrived in Meridian from the summer training center at Oxford, Ohio.

On their way to Longdale to investigate the recent burning of Mt. Zion Methodist Church, they were picked-up on a speeding charge by a deputy sheriff, held in jail for over four hours and released at 10:30 P.M.

Two days later, FBI agents found the civil rights workers' station wagon wrecked and burned in a swamp on Bogue Chitto Creek. CORE still owes $1,700 on the 1963 station wagon.

Former CIA Director Allen Dulles has been dispatched here by President Johnson in an effort to solve the case.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and Jim Peck

GET FLORIDA CITY TO ADOPT FAIR HIRING POLICY

Gainesville, Fla., June 25--For about 10 years there have been attempts by civic groups to get this city to adopt a fair system of hiring its some 800 employes. This demand has been won recently as a result of action by Gainesville CORE.

Following an investigation by the CORE group which demonstrated anti-Negro discrimination in city hiring and a "spoils" system of promotion, a CORE spokesman met with the city commissioners. He was told that it would be three years before the commission even would consider the issue.

So the entire membership of Gainesville CORE attended a city commission meeting, submitted the findings of its investigation and said they were ready to go into action on the issue.

"Apparently the response of the CORE group that direct action would ensue if the city did not show immediate good faith produced these really startling results," reports CORE Task Force Worker Judy Benninger. "The City Council agreed to set up a central personnel office, to post job vacancies and qualifications and to establish a merit system of hiring."

Gainesville CORE now is soliciting Negro applicants in preparation for ensuring enforcement of the new policy adopted by the City Council."

At the height of the controversy, Mayor Howard McKinney publicly referred to members of the CORE group as "Communist dupes." However, following a joint protest from CORE, the NAACP Youth Council and the Student Group for Equal Rights, the mayor denied that his remarks had been directed against CORE.

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6/64

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and Jim Peck

CORE NATIONAL CONVENTION

Kansas City, Mo., June 25--On the aftermath of the tragic disappearance of two of its Task Force Workers and a student in Mississippi, CORE will open its 22nd annual convention at the Municipal Auditorium here on July 2nd.

CORE National Director James Farmer, who has been in Mississippi helping on the investigation, and CORE National Chairman Floyd McKissick will address the opening public meeting to be held at 7:30 P.M., July 2nd.

Dick Gregory, famed comedian who also has been in Mississippi in connection with the case and author Louis Lomax, distinguished author, will address the closing session at 7 P.M. on July 5th.

In addition to the regular plenary sessions which will set policy on crucial issues facing the civil rights movement, there will be a series of workshops on developing community roots, philosophy of nonviolence, education and schools, etc.

Seven hundred people from CORE's 150 chapters across the country are expected to attend.

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6/64

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38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and Jim Peck

SEEK ARREST OF EX-SHERIFF WHO SLASHED CIVIL RIGHTS WORKER

St. Francisville, La., June 25--A warrant has been sworn-out for the arrest of Teddy Martin, a former sheriff, who slashed at Bob Hurwitt, a CORE Task Force worker as he accompanied a group of Negroes to register at the courthouse. Martin later shot at the group as they emerged.

It was the first day in over three months that the registration office had been open. The office had been closed rather than comply with a federal court decision against discriminatory literacy tests. On that day and the following day, six Negroes were registered.

This was the courthouse where last October, Rev. Joseph Carter became the first Negro to register in West Feliciana Parish since 1902.

In East Feliciana Parish, where the registration office also had been closed for over three months, four Negroes registered during the first two days. On the first day, Jim Van Matre, a CORE Task Force Worker was assaulted by a group of whites outside the registration office in Clinton.

In Monroe, in the northern part of the state, five voter registration workers were arrested on charges of soliciting, vagrancy and disorderly conduct. Three of them subsequently were released and the other two are out on bail.

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6/64

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38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and Jim Peck

FREEDOM HOUSE IN MISSISSIPPI BLASTED

Canton, Miss., June 11--Freedom House, CORE's center, was hit by an explosive hurled against the building shortly after 1 A.M. on June 8th.

Fortunately, nobody was injured because the bomb bounced off the front wall and exploded on the sidewalk. Landy McNair, a CORE Task Force worker and James Collyer were inside the building at the time.

A couple of weeks previous three shots were fired into Freedom House but nobody was hurt.

During the week of May 4th a man claiming he represented the Klan phoned and threatened to burn down the building. In April, the owner of the building had his fire insurance cancelled.

On May 7th a man in a white hood and cape drove past Freedom House and fired a pistol in the direction of a group of children who had spotted his car and started shouting "There he is!"

The June 8th explosion came 10 days after Canton's second Freedom Day in which 55 demonstrators were arrested. Many of them, including CORE Field Secretary Edward Hollander, are still in jail. Attorneys are trying to get the cases transferred to federal court.

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6/64

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COrtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and Jim Peck

LAW CORPS FOR DEEP SOUTH HOLDS TRAINING SESSION

New York, N.Y., June 11--Some 250 lawyers and law students who each have volunteered to work at least two weeks on civil rights cases in the deep south this summer, attended a 2-day training session June 6-7 at Columbia Law School. The first contingent is scheduled to arrive in Jackson, Mississippi on June 20th.

The trainees heard law professors and lawyers describe the problems particular to the deep south. As one speaker expressed it: "You just can't win civil rights cases in the local and state courts in the south. Your important job will be to help local counsel build a solid foundation for an eventual and successful appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court."

Special emphasis was placed on procedures for removing cases from the state courts to the federal courts. Also under consideration were various means of brining suit to enjoin interference by police and other state authorities with the right to vote and peaceful demonstrations.

Sponsoring the training session was the Lawyers Constitutional Defense Committee, established through the initiative of CORE General Counsel Carl Rachlin at the suggestion of CORE Field Secretary Dave Dennis, who also is assistant program director of COFO, the coordinated civil rights organization in Mississippi. Organizers of the committee, along with Rachlin, are Robert Drinan, dean of Boston College Law School, Jack Greenberg of the NAACP Legal Defense & Educational Fund; Edwin Lukas of the American Jewish Committee; Howard Moore of SNCC; Leo Pfeffer of the American Jewish Congress; John Pratt of the National Council of Churches and Melvin Wulf of the American Civil Liberties Union. The committee characterizes itself as "a kind of Law Corps, modeled after the Peace Corps, in response to the urgent need for legal assistance on behalf of persons involved in southern civil rights activity."

6/64

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38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and Jim Peck

WIN REVERSAL IN LOUISIANA "DEFAMATION" CASE

Baton Rouge, La., June 11--The conviction of CORE Field Secretary B. Elton Cos for "defaming" a judge and district attorney at an NAACP mass meeting here in the summer of 1962 was reversed on technical grounds June 8 by the Louisiana Supreme Court.

Although the original indictment had been dismissed because of systematic exclusion of Negroes from juries, Cox was promptly ordered re-arrested on a bench warrant.

He thereupon was convicted and given the maximum penalty by Judge Fred LeBlanc: a year in jail and a $3,000 fine on each of two counts with the prison terms to be served consecutively rather than concurrently. Cox served over two months in jail before being released pending appeal.

The successful legal appeal was handled by CORE General Counsel Carl Rachlin of New York, Lolis Elie of New Orleans and Murphy Bell of Baton Rouge.

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JUL 6 1964

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7-6270

WR
BW
JD

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and Jim Peck

CORE TELLS PRESIDENT U.S. CAN ACT IN MISSISSIPPI

Kansas City, Mo., July 2nd -- Citing four specific sections of law which would empower the U.S. to protect civil rights workers in Mississippi, CORE National Director James Farmer wired President Johnson urging immediate Federal intercession. Farmer's action was based on a resolution unanimously adopted by CORE's National Action Council on the eve of plenary sessions of the organization's annual convention here.

Taking issue with a statement made June 24 by Attorney General Robert Kennedy that the Federal government lacks power, Farmer cited four sections of Federal law.

One is Section 333, Title 10, which cites the President's power "to take such action as he considers necessary to suppress, in a state, any insurrection, domestic violence, unlawful combination, or conspiracy, if it...opposes or obstructs the execution of the laws of the United States or impedes the course of justice under those laws."

Another is Section 18, Titles 240-243 dealing with situations in which a state officer, under the color of law, suppresses constitutional rights. The two others are the specific laws establishing federal marshals and setting-up the FBI.

It was under the latter law that the FBI on June 26 arrested three whites in Itta Bena, Mississippi who had threatened voter registration workers. "This is the first time in my knowledge that FBI agents have arrested individuals in this manner," Farmer commented. "In the past they have said that they were not an arresting but an investigative agency. This meant that they were often taking notes while our people were being beaten."

From Jackson, Mississippi, COFO, the joint civil rights organization heading the summer campaign, issued a statement saying: "FBI agents should use thier power of arrest. We request that the FBI and Justice Department officials be instructed to provide full and immediate help in all incidents where danger is involved. We also request that federal marshals be stationed throughout the state. Unless immediate and strong action is taken by the federal government, we on the staff fear for the safety of the volunteers staff and local citizens who make up the project."

Picket demonstrations urging U.S. intervention have been initiated by CORE groups in a number of cities across the country.

XXX

CORE-Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, N.Y.
CO 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich & Jim Peck

FAIR JOB PACT WITH 14 EMPLOYERS CALLED "HISTORIC"

Sacramento, Calif., July 2-- A fair employment agreement negotiated with 14 employers and covering 22 department and drygoods stores in this state capital has been termed "historic" by both the Sacramento Union and the Sacramento Bee.

The Union points out that "the negotiations were initiated by CORE, headed by Aubrey Hammond, president." Local representaives of three other civil rights groups participated: the Urban League, NAACP and Mexican American Political Association. Negotiating for the employers was the Sacramento Business Community Relations Group. There were five sessions.

Under the agreement, "continuous efforts will be made to recruit qualified, minority group persons where there is currently little or no representation" and "the business community will pursue an active program of recruitment and training of qualified minority personnel."

CORE FIELD SECRETARY BEATEN IN JAIL

Jackson, Miss., July 2-- Pointing to bruises on his face, CORE Field Secretary Edward Hollander reported to the FBI that he had been beaten by three prisoners in Hinds County jail. Being white, he was confined to the white section.

He had been arrested May 29 in Canton while attempting to take pictures of arrests during the Freedom Day demonstration. Following an attempt by his attorney to get the case into federal court, he was transferred by U.S. marshals from Canton to Hinds County jail, which is located here. He was imprisoned a full month prior to release on bond.

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CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 10038, N. Y.
COrtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and Jim Peck

FIRST CORE PROJECT ON MIGRANTS' PLIGHT

Riverhead, N. Y., July 2-- The first action project by CORE to deal with the plight of migratory workers is underway in this eastern Long Island farming area to which some 3,000 workers, most of them Negro, come each year. Long Island and Suffolk County CORE have assigned two full-time workers for the summer's duration: Michael Raskin and David Thompson.

Since the first CORE goal is to help find decent housing for more than 100 families living in brooding sheds and tarpaper shacks on what formerly was the Hollis Warner duck farm, CORE set up a field office in one of the sheds. But on June 29, county officials brought a bulldozer and threatened to crush the shed in which the field office was located.

The duck farm was taken over by the county in late May. Some of the brooding sheds and shacks have been torn down, but demolition has been slowed because of a shortage of alternate housing. Many of the migratory workers are still living on the property under conditions characterized by Raskin as comparable to those of the poorest Negroes in the South.

Raskin, Lincoln Lynch, chairman of Long Island CORE, and Henry Smith were arrested on June 20 for their action protesting the lack of regular garbage collections. They took a truckload of garbage and dumped it in front of the Riverhead town hall. Regular garbage collections were started two days later.

On June 27, CORE conducted a march to the center of town protesting the refusal of Town Supervisor Robert Vojovoda to discuss the issue of adequate housing for the migratory workers. Two CORE members and six migratory workers were arrested for sitting down at the main intersection.

The action project is called "Operation Tinderbox" in memory of 15 Negroes who have been burned to death over the past five years in Hollis Warner shacks. Two Negro children were burned to death in a brooding shed as recently as this May, only a few days before the county took over the property.

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Recd 7/25/64 WB JD JS JTV JM

7/64

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich

CORE MEETS RESISTANCE TESTING
CIVIL RIGHTS ACT IN LOUISIANA

New Orleans, La., July 23: Immediately after passage of the Civil Rights Bill, CORE began an intensive testing of all public facilities in Louisiana. Ronnie Moore, CORE Field Secretary, stated that testing would be carried out in 22 cities. In initial testing, seven Negro youths were arrested when attempting to use the facilities of the public library in Monroe. A week later, 15 more were arrested at the library. No arrests have been made in other areas, but Negroes have been refused service in 40 percent of facilities tested, from an approximate total of 25.

In one incident, D.J. McDuffie, member of the Plaquemine City Council and mayor pro tem, is being sued by CORE workers Tolbert Harris and Spiver Gordon. The civil damage suit for $500,000, the first under the Civil Rights Act, charged McDuffie with violating the 1957 Civil Rights Act, a section of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, simple, assault, disturbing the peace and defamation by use of profanity.

According to the petition, Harris and Gordon went to the City Cafe in Plaquemine to eat a meal, but their way was blocked by McDuffie, who held his hand on an empty soft drink bottle and said: "The first black ---- that steps in here, I'll knock his brains out." Since the way was blocked, the men left.

In another incident, Leola Hood, a Negro, was served a hamburger at the Tiger Drive-In in New Roads, for which she had to pay $20.00. She obtained a receipt, which was turned over to CORE Field Secretary Ronnie Moore.

More-More-More

In other areas, crowds have gathered, to harass and threaten CORE workers attempting to use facilities covered under the Civil Rights Act. Moore stated that he would not release the schedule for testing until the test is in progress in any given community.

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7/64

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38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
Cortlandt 7- 6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and Jim Peck

STORM JAIL WHERE CIVIL RIGHTS
WORKERS ARE IMPRISONED

Jonesboro, La., July 30 - A mob of about 100 whites armed with rifles late at night July 29 converged on the parish jail and threatened the 20 CORE civil rights workers imprisoned there. The mob finally dispersed after CORE alerted the FBI.

The onslaught occurred in total darkness. Lights throughout the town had been turned off, allegedly to repair power lines. The last time this occurred, several months ago, was the night when crosses were burned throughout the area.

During the three days preceding the jail-storming, a total of 39 CORE civil rights workers had been arrested for picketing the library and for standing-in at the municipal swimming pool. Both the library and the pool refuse to admit Negroes, despite the federal civil rights law. Eating places are still segregated and "white" and "colored" signs are in evidence everywhere.

Verna Nash, the mother of one of the demonstrators, was arrested for "contributing to the delinquency of a minor" and her bail was set at $1500. All minors were later released in the custody of parents, leaving a total of 20 civil rights workers in jail.

CORE Task Force worker Danny Mitchell, who is leading the Jonesboro project, has wired the U.S. Department of Justice asking the federal government to obtain a habeas corpus writ releasing the 20 from jail, to seek an injunction against further violations of the civil rights law and to prosecute local officials responsible for these violations.

Shortly after sending the wire, Mitchell, Catherine Patterson, Fred Brooks, William Yates, Robert Weaver and Ruth Wells were arrested for "contributing to the delinquency of a minor."

WB—
JM
JD

7/64

AUG 3 1964

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and Jim Peck

FARMER SIGNS ANTI-RIOT STATEMENT, DECLINES
ON DEMONSTRATION MORATORIUM

New York, N.Y., July 30: Following a top civil rights leadership conference here on July 29th, CORE National Director James Farmer joined with four other leaders in signing a statement "strongly opposing looting, vandalism or any type of criminal activities" but declined to join them in signing a statement urging "a broad curtailment, if not total moratorium of mass demonstrations until after Election Day."

The four other signers were Martin Luther King of SCLC, Roy Wilkins of NAACP, Whitney Young of Urban League and A. Philip Randolph of NALC. John Lewis of SNCC declined to sign either statement.

While expressing "our serious concern with the recent riots which have taken place in several urban areas," the anti-riot statement made clear: "We wish to draw a sharp distinction between the above-named activity and legitimate protest effort by denied and desperate citizens seeking relief."

CORE's Role in the Riots

During the Manhattan and Brooklyn riots, which were set off with the slaying of 15-year-old James Powell by Police Lieutenant James Gilligan, Farmer together with CORE Field Director James McCain patrolled the troublespots and talked with people on the streets.

"CORE's James Farmer spent many long hours trudging the streets of Harlem through this dreadful interval, pleading for sanity and discipline with all who would listen and warning against the madness of mayhem," wrote James Wechsler in his New York Post column.

More-More-More

Many teams from Manhattan and Brooklyn CORE groups did likewise. CORE spotters alerted the local offices as to the locations of troublespots. At four local CORE offices full-fledged first aid stations were established attended by doctors and registered nurses.

In the upstate city of Rochester, where rioting broke out the weekend after the incidents in New York, the CORE group played a similar role of peace-making. In conjunction with the local NAACP and other local civil rights groups, Rochester CORE organized teams which visited the troublespots, located in the opposite ends of town: in the 7th ward and in the 3rd and 11th wards. On the Joseph Avenue block which was most damaged, the CORE storefront with its "Freedom Now" placard in the window, was the only storefront which remained intact after the rioting.

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7/64

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
Cortlandt 7- 6270

ATTN: Marvin Rich and Jim Peck

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

109 YEAR OLD WOMAN REGISTERS ON UNPLANNED FREEDOM DAY

by Judy Denninger

Quincy, Fla., July 30 - July 27 became an unplanned CORE Freedom Day in Gadsden county. When the registrar's office opened at 9 A.M. about 20 Negroes had lined up. Between then and closing time at 5 P.M. there were from 15 to 75 Negroes in line at all times. A Negro was being registered every second. The number registered plus the number turned away during this one day approximately equaled the total number of Negroes registered in the county as of January.

One CORE member walked up and down the line of those waiting to register, answering questions and keeping the line orderly. Another CORE member stood at the exit, pining "I Am Registered" buttons on those who had completed registration. CORE Task Force workers, members of the local CORE group and adults from the voter registration steering committee canvassed and leafleted.

At about 2:45 a car from Chattahooche, 26 miles away, arrived and a woman 109 was helped out by two CORE Task force workers accompanying her. She had been born in slavery, she told them, and thought it was about time that she should register and vote.

Others in her neighborhood had said they were afraid and she had made them promise that if she came back alive from the registrar's office, they would register next week. Upon returning to Chattahoochee, she was confronted by a small group of anxious neighbors. "There was nothing to it," she assured them. Her daughter, who is 90 years old, and her granddaughter immediately promised to register the following Monday.

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CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York, N.Y. 10038
CO 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

REFER: Jim Peck or Marvin Rich

A "RATTY" DEMONSTRATION

Chicago, Ill., July 30--Carrying placards saying "Mayor Daley, Do You Want a Rat for a Roomate?" and "Let Babies Be Food for Rats No More!", 100 CORE pickets marched on City Hall July 24.

To make it more graphic, the demonstrators nailed four rats, three in plastic bags, to a wooden cross outside the building. To bring the message closer to home, four women who went inside with Winston Lockett, the demonstration's leader, to negotiate, placed the dead rats in their pocketbooks. One of the women, Mrs. Carol Redmond, deposited one of the rodents on the desk of a secretary to Raymond Simon, the mayor's chief administrative officer, who earlier in the day had issued a statement rejecting CORE's demands.

These demands include city employment of 250 jobless slum dwellers for rat clearance, garbage pickups more than once a week and stricter enforcement of the health code in respect to helth hazards in slum areas.

Following the negotiations inside City Hall, Lockett told the pickets: "Our confrontations and demonstrations will continue until each and every one of thse demands are met."

The anti-slum program is part of CORE's Chicago summer project which is under the direction of Eugene Tournour.

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OCT 5 1964

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CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York, N.Y. 10038
CO 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE ATTN: Jim Peck or Marvin Rich

FIRST FREEDOM DAY IN TOWN WHERE RIGHTS WORKERS WERE KILLED

Philadelphia, Miss., Oct. 1--Thirty Negroes lined up at the courthouse on Sept. 14, the First Freedom Day in this town where three civil rights workers were murdered last June. All 30 succeeded in registering.? But Allan Schiffman, a CORE observer, was arrested for "failing to obey a police order."

A week later, six more Negroes came to register but were turned away on grounds that they could not do so while court is in session. A suit has been filed as a consequence and a major county-wide freedom rally, the second to be held, is set for October 4. The first was attended by over 250 persons.

Following Freedom Day, the intimidation which marked the first week's operation of the local COFO headquarters was resumed, reports CORE Task Force Worker James Collier. Cars filled with insult-shouting whites drove past ; the building. One white who intruded and assaulted a voter registration worker, was arrested for drunkenness.

On the night of September 17, a Choctaw Indian church, which the voter registration workers had planned to visit and the church of Rev. Clint Collier, who has been active in the voter drive, were bombed and totally destroyed. Six days later, 50 Negro students were expelled from school for wearing CORE "Freedom Now" buttons. All but six have been reinstated.

# # #

OCT 5 1964

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CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York, N.Y. 10038
CO 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Jim Peck or Marvin Rich

VOTER REGISTRATION HIGHLIGHTS

CORE Leader Wins in Special Primary

Oklahoma City, Okla., Oct. 1--Archibald Hill, chairman of Oklahoma City CORE, defeated his white rivals as a Democratic candidate for the State House of Representatives in a special primary election ordered by a federal court over the reapportionment issue. John White, also a Negro, won another House nomination and Melvin Porter, a Negro, won Democratic nomination for the State Senate.

Register 15,000 Negroes in Goldwater's Home Town

Phoenix, Ariz., Oct. 1--As a consequence of a voter registration drive by Phoenix CORE, 15,000 Negroes have registered in this home city of Barry Goldwater, so reported Chet Duncan, CORE's western field secretary.

Woman of 87 Registers in Howard Smith's District

Arlington, Va., Oct. 1--An 87 year-old woman, Mrs. Clara Green, is the most aged person to register in the CORE voter drive in this district of Representative Howard Smith, veteran ultra-segregationist in Congress. Mrs. Green is one of 1,005 Negroes registered, reports John Robinson, director of the campaign.

CORE Worker to Run in Mississippi

Canton, Miss., Oct. 1--CORE Task Force Worker Annie Devine will run against Arthur Winstead, the Eastland candidate, as Congressional representative from the fourth district.

Voter Drives Credited for Sharp Boost

Amityville, N.Y.--Following announcements by elections commissioners that voter registration on Long Island has increased sharply by 33,000, Henry Smith, chairman of Suffolk County CORE attributed this to the summer-long voter drives conducted by his group in that county and by Long Island CORE in Nassau County.

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Recd 10/13/64

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CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York, NY 10038
CO 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich or Jim Peck

RECORD MONTH IN LOUISIANA VOTER CAMPAIGN

Baton Rouge, La., Oct. 8--"We registered a total of 1,082 persons in September--the highest number for any single month since CORE started its Louisiana voter registration campaign two years ago," report CORE Field Secretary Ronnie Moore, who has led the drive over the two-year period. The figure covers a total of 13 parishes in the fourth and fifth congressional districts.

Pointing out that "the existence of biased registrars and the limitation of federal action still constitute a major obstacle," Moore says in his report: "The only factor which made it possible for us to make such a gain was the sudden and enormous concern of the Negro people motivated by their desire to defeat or at least put the strongest voting protest possible against Barry Goldwater."

Asserting that discrimination is just one of the problems, he states: "Negro voter applicants and civil rights workers constantly are harassed, arrested, prosecuted and subjected to economic, political and physical reprisals by private citizens, public officials and sometimes businesses."

TRIPLE REGISTRATION IN FLORIDA COUNTY

Quincy, Fla., Oct. 8--The number of Negroes registered in Gadsden county more than tripled during a three-month concentrated registration campaign conducted by CORE. This was reported by CORE Task Force Workers David McVoy and Stuart Wechsler, both of whom were arrested on phony charges during the campaign. The total number of Negroes registered rose from 1,425 on July 7 to 4,755 on October 3 when the report was issued. Substantial increases in Negro registration also were made in three other northwestern Florida counties involved in the CORE drive.

"Not only have 5400 Negroes been registered in the four counties, but there has arisen a realization among members of the community theat change is possible. Task Force Workers, both Negro and white, have been accepted readily by the community and in general there has been community support for the project."

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York, N.Y. 10038
CO 7-6270

WB
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JT
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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Jim Peck or Marvin Rich

OCT 24 1964

FIRST FREEDOM DAY APPLICANT IN PHILADELPHIA IS REGISTERED

Philadelphia, Miss., Oct. 22--Rev. Melvin Kirkland, a lifelong resident of Neshoba county, became the first Negro registered of 30 who lined-up at the courthouse and took their tests on Freedom Day, September 14, in this community where three civil rights workers were murdered last June.

Upon inquiring at the courthouse on October 16, he was informed that he had passed the test. On five occasions since 1952 he took the examination, only to be told that he had failed. The 29 others who took test on Freedom Day will find out the results soon.

Rev. Kirkland, a retired clergyman and farmer, lives only half a mile from Mount Zion Baptist Church, which was burned to the ground on June 15. It was to investigate this church burning that the three civil rights workers had journeyed to Philadelphia on the eve of their murder. Rev. Kirkland met them on that occasion. It was his first meeting with Andrew Goodman, student volunteer, but he had known CORE Task Force Workers James Chaney and Michael Schwerner when they first came into the county in April.

Add 17 to Mississippi Staff

To continue the Mississippi program following the departure of the summer student volunteers, CORE has added 17 Task Force workes to its Mississippi staff. They have been assigned as field organizers, Freedom School teachers and community center directors.

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NOV 9 1964

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York, N.Y. 10038
CO 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich or Jim Peck

CORE STATEMENT ON NATIONAL ELECTION RESULTS

New York, N.Y., Nov. 6--The following statement on the outcome of the national election has been issued by CORE National Director James Farmer.

"The Amercan people have shown their good sense. They have voted on the basis of issues and not of prejudice. They have repudiated the Goldwaterites who have themselves repudiated America's traditions and her hopes.

'We in CORE are proud of the constructive role played by hundreds of thousands of Negro voters, many of whom have made great sacrifices to enroll and vote. We believe that we have provided the margin of victory in such southern states as Florida, Virginia, Tennessee and North Carolina.

'We offer our support to President Johnson and Vice-President Humphrey in building the Good Society for all our citizens. We urge all of those elected to go about the constructive tasks of building that society at every level of government--federal, state and local. We must open up new avenues to peaceful settlements abroad, eliminate poverty and sectionalism at home. In civil rights there must be federal protection for those risking their lives to secure the vote and the rights granted all citizens by our Constitution.

'We also call upon the new Congress to so organize itself that those who have publicly repudiated the Democratic party will be repudiated by it. We urge that Representative John Bell Williams of Mississippi and Representative Albert Watson of South Carolina be denied membership in the Democratic caucus.

'The passage of Proposition 14 in California is unfortunate. The proposition is patently unconstitutional and will be repudiated in the courts. However, the passage of such a measure indicates that we must redouble our efforts to inform the public and to register and organize for political action. This will be done."

# # #

Recd 11/14/64 WB JMV JDC JIV

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York, N.Y. 10038
CO 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich or Jim Peck

ELECTION HIGHLIGHTS - NORTH AND SOUTH

In Quincy, Florida, seat of Gadsden county, where CORE conducted a concentrated voter registration drive throughout the summer, Goldwater placards had been placed illegally both inside and outside the registrar's office. Yet Goldwater won the county by only 190 votes, receiving 4,566 against 4,376 for Johnson. Of the Johnson votes, 4,097 of them were cast by Negroes. The Negro turnout for the county was 92% and in some precincts it was 100%. The first Negro ever to run for elective office in the area, Jewel Dixie, received 1,529 write-in votes for sheriff.

While the county was not quite won for Johnson, the Negro vote--plus the Negro vote in other parts of Florida generally and, specifically, in Miami's Dade County, where CORE had conducted an intensive registration drive, carried the state for Johnson--in contrast to the other deep south states.

In St. Francisville, Louisiana, seat of West Feliciana parish, it was the first time in this century that Negroes had voted. All 36 Negroes who had registered turned out to vote. Only a year ago, Rev. Joseph Carter became the first Negro to register since reconstruction. A totally small, but relatively sizeable, number of Negroes voted in other parishes where CORE has been engaged in registration campaigns.

In Mississippi, where the majority of Negroes still are disfranchised, over 67,000 Negroes expressed their desire to go to the polls by voting in a mock election conducted by the Freedom Democratic Party. They cast their ballots for four Negro Congressional candidates--Aaron Henry, Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer, Mrs. Annie Devine and Mrs. Virginia Gray.

-more-

Although Goldwater carried the state of Georgia, Charles Weltner, the Democratic incumbent, defeated his Republican rival by 10,000 votes in the fifth congressional district (Atlanta). A Negro vote of more then 31,000 was responsible. In the fourth congressional district, according to a New York Times survey: "Atlanta political observers concur that the total Negro vote was greater than the margin by which James Mackay, the Democratic candidate, defeated Roscoe Pickett, Republican."

The Times survey concluded that "a massive Negro vote was the decisive or an important element" both "in certain southern and border states...as well as in the north."

Other specific examples given in the survey are "the victory of George Grider over his Republican rival, Robert James, in the ninth congressional district of Tennessee (Memphis) and "the third congressional district in Kentucky (Louisville), where former Mayor Charles Farnsley defeated the Republican incumbent, M. G. Snyder." The survey also points out that "the large Negro vote for Senator Ralph Yarborough, Democrat of Texas was conclusive."

In Cincinnati, "the heavy Negro vote was considered the main cause of the defeat of Rep. Carl Rich, Republican in the first congressional district who had never been defeated in his political career and was considered unbeatable" and in Indianapolis "the same forces that were at work in the south and elsewhere in the north put the Republican candidate for the House out of the running."

In New York State, John Pillion, the only congessman to vote against the Civil Rights Bill, was defeated. Rep. George Meader of Michigan and Ben Jensen of Iowa, who also had voted against the bill, were likewise defeated.

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Inter-Group - Misc

File CORE Item

THE NEW YORK TIMES, TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 24, 1964.

Militant Man of CORE

George Alvin Wiley

AT Syracuse University, where he is an assistant professor of chemistry, Dr. George Alvin Wiley has become known as "the militant man on campus." He was a founder and leader of the Syracuse chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality. His vigorous activities in the civil rights movement led to his appointment yesterday as associate national director of CORE, making him "No. 2 man" to James A. Farmer, the national director. In announcing Dr. Wiley's appointment, Mr. Farmer described the 33-year-old Negro leader as a man who "combines the militancy of the past with the new directions of the future."

Man in the News

Dr. Wiley believes that the "ultimate battleground" of the civil rights movement will be in the urban centers, both North and South. He notes that the problems are very complex. The solutions require major institutional changes in society, he adds, and "nonviolent direct action" is a fundamental tactical weapon.

Tall and solidly built, Dr. Wiley has the look of an athlete. He neither smokes nor drinks, attributing this to his Methodist background, although he is not an active churchgoer. Tennis is a favorite pastime, but he no longer finds sufficient time to play.

Born on 'Wrong Side'

He was born Feb. 26, 1931, in Warwick, R. I., which he characterizes as a "wrong-side-of-the-tracks suburb" of Providence. The area was rustic and predominantly white; the Wiley family was Negro and predominantly poor. It was the time of the Depression.

George Wiley was the fourth of six children. His father was a postal clerk, editor of a Negro weekly newspaper and leader of the Rhode Island Urban League. His mother also was active in Negro causes and charities.

The family placed great emphasis on education, despite the financial difficulties, and all six children went to college. Five have completed college and the sixth is now an undergraduate.

Young George attended local public schools, where he pursued football, basketball and track, describing himself as "very involved but not very talented." He was only 5 feet 6 inches tall and 120 pounds when he completed high school, compared with his present 6 feet 2 inch and 180 pounds.

Attending the University of Rhode Island, he was an honor student. He became president of the junior class and played varsity tennis, learning the game as an undergraduate. He was graduated in 1953; then he went on to Cornell University, where he received a doctorate in organic chemistry in 1957.

George MacKown

Chemistry will become virtually a hobby.

Dr. Wiley entered the Army for six months of active duty as a Reserve Officer Trading Corps first lieutenant after leaving Cornell. While serving at the quartermaster school at Fort Lee, Va., he helped organize a voter registration drive in nearby Petersburg.

Adviser on Sit-Ins

From the Army, he went to the University of California at Los Angeles on a postdoctoral fellowship. He then spent two years as an assistant professor of chemistry at the University of California at Berkeley, where he also advised a group of students participating in sit-in demonstrations.

In the fall of 1960, he began teaching as Syracuse, where he first became involved in CORE. He joined a "dynamic new group" of about a dozen civil rights activists at Syracuse. They founded the local chapter of CORE, with Dr. Wiley as the first chairman and chief spokesman.

"I want to establish some kind of relationship with a university in New York," he remarks, "to keep my hand in. But chemistry will be reduced almost to a hobby."

Dr. Wiley will move from the two-family house he owns in Syracuse to a cooperative apartment at 75 Montgomery Street on the Lower East Side. He met his wife, Wretha, who it white, when she was a graduate student at Syracuse. They have a 23-month-old son, Daniel, and an 11-month-old daughter Maya.

CORE PLANS ROLE IN EVERYDAY LIFE

Will Stress More Political and Social Activity

By FRANCIS X. CLINES

The national director of the Congress of Racial Equality announced a general plan yesterday for "a more meaningful militancy" that would involve CORE members more directly in the political, economic and social life of Negro communities.

To assist in working out the program, the national director, James A. Farmer, announced the creation of a new CORE executive position, associate national director, to be held by Dr. George A. Wiley, founder of the CORE chapter in Syracuse and an assistant professor of chemistry at Syracuse University.

The announcements were made during a press conference at CORE headquarters, 38 Park Row, across from City Hall. They prompted questions whether the national CORE was abandoning its "direct action" policy of demonstrations and civil disobedience.

"Certainly not," Mr. Farmer replied. "There will still be street demonstrations where they are called for, but under our new community action program we hope to have block-by-block influence and the ability to rally entire communities to protest, not merely our own members."

Chapter Policies Vary

There are 114 CORE chapters throughout the country, with an enrollment of 82,000 members. Chapters vary in their militancy, pursuing independent policies in some cases. Last Tuesday, for example, the New York chapter of CORE announced it would move away from the "sit-in" approach in favor of "down-to-earth" local action.

Mr. Farmer said he did not agree that the national organization was now following such a path of moderation. "This is not moderation," he declared, "this is a move toward more meaningful militancy."

Explaining how the new program would differ from that of the past, Mr. Farmer said: "The abstract political issues that arise every week will not remain abstract with CORE."

He said that CORE would encourage rent strikes, urban renewal projects, the formation of cooperatives by ghetto residents and participation in local political activities.

Mr. Farmer talked steadily for most of the hour-long conference, with Dr. Wiley, who was introduced by the director as "our No. 2 man," listening at his side.

Mr. Farmer described Dr. Wiley's duties, which he will undertake in January, as "watching the store while I'm busy in Mississippi" and directing staff work so that the national director will have more time to form new programs.

Dr. Wiley's appointment was approved by CORE's governing body, the National Action Council. Mr. Farmer added that he also consulted various CORE chapters and they "were unanimous in their approval."

Mr. Farmer said Dr. Wiley "combines the militancy of the past with the new directions of the future."

One of the 33-year-old assistant professor's new duties, according to Mr. Farmer, will be to help "tighten CORE's central control." Dr. Wiley's militant reputation as leader of the CORE chapter in Syracuse is expected to be useful, Mr. Farmer indicated, in his dealings with militant chapters that might balk at the new national program.

WB
JMV

DEC 17 1964

For Release Tuesday, December 15, 1964, 1:00PM

FROM: CORE Scholarship, Education and Defense Fund
1 Union Square, New York, N.Y.

ATTN: Mrs. Eva Newman Levy CO 7-6270

CORE SCHOLARSHIP, EDUCATION AND DEFENSE FUND TO BUILD FORTIFIED COMMUNITY CENTER IN MERIDIAN, MISSISSIPPI HONORING CHANEY, GOODMAN AND SCHWERNER

A $250,000 community center, designed as a memorial to CORE workers' Michael Schwerner and James Chaney and student volunteer Andrew Goodman, will be constructed in the town of Meridian, Mississippi by the CORE Scholarship, Education and Defense Fund. Meridian is the site of the community center started in late 1963 by Rita and Michael Schwerner, and was the headquarters from which Schwerner, Chaney and Goodman left on the morning of June 21, 1964, when they were murdered.

Plans for the center, built both to meet the expanding needs of the Meridian Negro community and to withstand possible bomb or gunfire attack, were announced in detail today by Andrew Norman (Chairman of the tax-exempt CORE Scholarship Education and Defense Fund) and Nathan Schwerner and Robert Goodman (fathers of the two martyred young men) Jackie Robinson (a co-chairman of the project) and Paul Willen (architect of the structure).

A ten room, L-shaped building, the center will be built in Meridian, with a ten foot retaining wall protecting the street-exposed sides of the building. Some of the programs scheduled for operation within the center include an auditorium-gymnasium, library, areas designated for welfare and civil service instruction, typing classes, hygeine clinics and a child care center.

CORE Scholarship Education and Defense Fund is in the midst of a nationwide fund-raising drive to finance the project which will be the first of a series of such centers throughout the deep South. Also acting as co-chairman with Jackie Robinson for the Center is Ralph Samuels, Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies of New York City.

DEC 21 1964

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CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York, N.Y. 10038
CO 7-6270
ATTN: Marvin Rich or Jim Peck

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

FIRST NEGROES REGISTERED IN NORTH FLORIDA COUNTY

Bristol, Fla., Dec. 17--On December 16, 62 Negroes registered at the courthouse, becoming the first of their race to register in Liberty County since 1956. Among them was an 83-year-old blind man and a school bus driver. Negro school bus drivers and teachers have been threatened with dismissal if they attend CORE meetings.

Five whites tried to intimidate the registrants and CORE Task Force Worker Stuart Wechsler as they stood outside, but there was no incident. The previous week, 95 Negroes had come to register but had found the office closed. More Negroes are planning to register next week. The registration office is open once weekly.

According to CORE Field Secretary Spiver Gordon, the last time Negroes registered in Liberty county, 13 of them, they subsequently were forced by the Ku Klux Klan to withdraw their names. No Negro actually has voted in Liberty County in this century, Gordon said.

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CORE'S NORTH FLORIDA HEADQUARTERS SET AFIRE

Quincy, Fla., Dec. 17--A fire set in CORE's northern Florida headquarters here damaged three of the office's six rooms. According to police, an anonymous tip had been phoned at 3:30 a.m. to the Department of Public Safety.

Upon arrival, the firemen found six separate blazes which had been started with kerosene-soaked rubbish together with reports (including complaints to the F.B.I. and the Department of Justice) and records taken from the shelves. Within about twenty minutes, the fire was extinguished.

While commending the Department of Public Safety for "their prompt and efficient handling of t e situation," CORE Field Secretary Spiver Gordon pointed out: "The incident shows that the haters in Florida can be as extremist as those in other deep south states with worse reputations."

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Janet: Set in research box this article. I would like to read it

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MAR 1 1965

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York, N.Y. 10038
(212) CO 7-6270
ATTN: Marvin Rich or Jim Peck

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

NEW YORK TIMES DETAILS CORE COMMUNITY PROGRAM IN LOUISIANA

New York, N.Y., Feb. 25--In a four-column feature story headed "Rights Workers Heartened by Louisiana Gains," the New York Times on February 20 gave a detailed report on CORE's community program in Monroe and the northern Louisiana area.

"The Louisiana campaign is being run by CORE, which last summer sent about 50 staff members and volunteers to start civil rights work around the issue of voter registration," the article says.

"CORE with an eye toward encouraging the grassroots to develop their own ideas, is now working out details for a 1965 summer program that might resemble an attack on poverty more than an attack on segregation.

"The ten or so field workers who are remaining here through the winter are taking surveys to determine what precentage of the Negro dwellings in Monroe still have only outhouses.

"There is talk that Negro mothers in the community may set up their own day-care centers for pre-school children, so that the mothers may work.

"A food and clothing distribution program, supported by northerners and funds from the national CORE office, is already in operation.

"Pulp and paper corporations here, which hold defense contracts, are being asked to show that they do not discriminate.

"'In a way,' said Miss Oretha Castle (CORE Field Secretary) 'this battle is a tougher one than the one for public accomodations. What we're talking about now is related to the more deeply entrenched political institutions.'"

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File

THIS IS CORE

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY

38 Park Row, New York 38, New York

The CORE technique of nonviolence has come of age as a method of combatting racial injustice in the United States. It can justifiably be called the *CORE* technique because CORE was a pioneer of this method. Ted Poston pointed out in his 1956 *New York Post* series: "As part of the National Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), the [New York CORE] group has been effectively fighting bias here on the Gandhi nonviolence principle, not only in hotels, but in swimming pools, barber shops, restaurants and other places of public accommodation long before Montgomery joined the passive resistance movement."

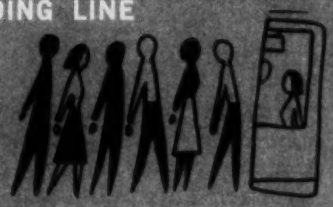
The student sit-ins, which started in February 1960 and within a year opened-up eating places in 130 southern communities, have created widespread interest in the CORE way. This pamphlet tells – in detail – just how CORE works. But first, let us take two examples of CORE action at its most exciting stage, direct challenge:

THE SIT-IN

The Sit-In is CORE's oldest and most widely used technique. The CORE group, often divided into three units – one Negro, one white, and one interracial – enters a discriminatory eating place shortly before the busiest hour and quietly sits waiting for service.

Originally used to open a number of Chicago restaurants to Negroes, this method was later used to open dime store and drug store lunch counters in hundreds of communities.

THE STANDING LINE



THE STANDING LINE has been used at cafeterias, ticket booths and other places where one stands in line for service. When the Negroes at the head of the line are refused, those CORE members behind them refuse to step out of line, sometimes bringing service to a halt. CORE stood in line at movie theaters in Kentucky; at the swimming pool at Palisades Amusement Park in New Jersey, this tactic was important in successfully ending discrimination.

YET WHAT IS CORE?

How does it build up to public action such as the Sit-In and the Standing Line?

The *C*ongress *O*f *R*acial *E*quality is a national organization with affiliated local groups working to erase the color line through direct, nonviolent action. The local groups form the base of the CORE movement and carry on action against specific instances of racial discrimination in their own communities.

Local CORE groups function through action projects. Careful planning and a step-by-step process must precede any public demonstration such as those pictured above. Nor do the local groups grow up spontaneously. They are usually organized with the inspiration and help of National CORE.

WHAT THEN ARE THE PRINCIPLES OF CORE?

And what is the organizational structure set up to put the principles into practice?

The CORE technique of nonviolence has come of age as a method of combatting racial injustice in the United States. It can justifiably be called the *CORE* technique because CORE was a pioneer of this method. Ted Poston pointed out in his 1956 *New York Post* series: "As part of the National Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), the [New York CORE] group has been effectively fighting bias here on the Gandhi nonviolence principle, not only in hotels, but in swimming pools, barber shops, restaurants and other places of public accommodation long before Montgomery joined the passive resistance movement."

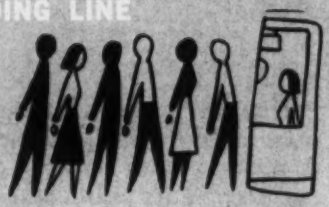
The student sit-ins, which started in February 1960 and within a year opened-up eating places in 130 southern communities, have created widespread interest in the CORE way. This pamphlet tells – in detail – just how CORE works. But first, let us take two examples of CORE action at its most exciting stage, direct challenge:

THE SIT-IN

The Sit-In is CORE's oldest and most widely used technique. The CORE group, often divided into three units – one Negro, one white, and one interracial – enters a discriminatory eating place shortly before the busiest hour and quietly sits waiting for service.

Originally used to open a number of Chicago restaurants to Negroes, this method was later used to open dime store and drug store lunch counters in hundreds of communities.

THE STANDING LINE



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CORE's philosophic heritage is a rich and varied one. Its procedures, adapted to American race relations, are modeled on those developed under Gandhi to free India of foreign domination. CORE's basis goes back to all the great religious and philosophic traditions; it seeks future human brotherhood through the active practice of brotherhood here and now.

More specifically:

1 CORE believes that racial discrimination in the United States affects *all* Americans adversely. Segregation is a problem that everyone — and not merely the members of minorities — should seek to solve. Although CORE's emphasis has been on Negro-white relations primarily, CORE stands ever ready to serve other minorities also.

2 Because of this principle, CORE locals strive to be interracial. National CORE draws its officers, staff, National Advisory Committee, and its financial support from all groups. Only those Americans whose loyalty is primarily to a foreign power and those whose tactics and beliefs are contrary to democracy and human values are categorically excluded from participation in CORE.

3 CORE believes in *direct* action. After careful planning, CORE members enter situations where they are directly in opposition to some specific discriminatory practice. Local action campaigns have succeeded in ending segregation or exclusion of Negroes from restaurants, theatres, amusement parks, swimming pools, YMCAs, etc. CORE has also opened up employment opportunities hitherto restricted to whites, and has worked for integrated housing.

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Recently, CORE has urged Negro parents to send their children to newly integrated schools: CORE members have accompanied these children to the schools. Voter registration is a second major emphasis in the South.

4 In carrying out the action program, CORE first *investigates* to learn all the facts; second, *discusses* the grievance with those responsible for the practice in an effort to bring about a change of policy; third, *appeals* to the wider public for support in the action; fourth, *publicizes* the unjust racial practice through picketing, leaflets and press releases; fifth, if all the foregoing fail to end discrimination, uses *direct challenge*, such as Sit-Ins, Standing Lines, and boycotts.

5 It is the essence of nonviolence that it proceed step by step: where discrimination can be ended through negotiation, more severe steps are never used. Although CORE's distinctive method is direct action, it also employs broad educational techniques and, occasionally, court procedures.

6 CORE believes that *nonviolence* in action and attitude is essential to the realization of our aim — interracial brotherhood. Where CORE members maintain an attitude of persistent goodwill, public support for desegregation is won, the police are less apt to interfere and sometimes may even give active support; often, not only a change in policy results but also the respect and regard of the opposition is gained. Then a change of policy no longer involves loss of face or a sense of defeat for the opponent.

group, has functioned as a national organization since 1942.

THE STRUCTURE OF NATIONAL CORE:

CORE is governed by its Annual Convention. Advice and help is given by the National Advisory Committee. Day-to-day planning is carried out by the National Action Council, which may also make policy decisions where necessary between Conventions. These groups determine development and policy of National CORE within the framework of the Rules for Action and the Constitution.

WHAT DOES NATIONAL CORE DO?

1 Maintains a national office and a field staff to stimulate organization of new groups and to encourage the growth of established locals.

2 Publishes literature of two types: (1) material for the use of its groups (such as the Organizational Manual); and (2) pamphlets of wider interest on race relations, usually involving nonviolent direct action (such as Martin Luther King's pamphlet on the Montgomery bus protest).

3 Publishes the *CORElator,* to give wider circulation to action stories of local groups and of projects (such as The Freedom Rides) sponsored by National CORE itself.

4 Serves as a clearing house for its local groups, setting up Training Conferences and Conventions where the locals may interchange problems and solutions involving action and organizational practices.

5 Represents CORE on a national level.

6 Sponsors training programs such as action workshops and national action projects.

THE STRUCTURE OF CORE LOCALS:

Although CORE locals are semi-autonomous and have varied set-ups to fit varying size, emphasis and locality, each group has many of the following:

1 Weekly or bi-weekly membership meetings to carry on business, approve action project plans, etc.

2 Executive or Steering Committee to pre-digest some discussions before the membership meetings. Some groups have Special Action Units or Committees which serve this function in setting up action projects.

3 Membership Committee to recruit, orient, and screen applicants for membership and make recommendations to the General Membership Meeting for final approval.

4 The usual organizational officers, including chairman, vice chairman, recording secretary, corresponding secretary, treasurer and financial secretary.

HOW DOES ONE JOIN CORE?

MEMBERSHIP: One becomes an *active* member of CORE by joining one of its affiliated local groups. In addition to a sincere agreement with the CORE Rules for Action and the constitutions of both National CORE and the local involved, an applicant must be acceptable to the local in which he is seeking membership. Most local groups require a period of trial membership, and other requirements are sometimes stipulated.

However, any individual who supports CORE principles and action may contribute to the national organization and receive its publications, including the *CORE-lator*. Such persons are considered *associate* members.

HOW IS CORE FINANCED?

The local groups support themselves financially, often using a regular pledge system or membership dues, plus contributions from local supporters.

National CORE is financed largely by contributions from interested individuals. Churches, unions and its local groups also contribute to its financial support.

NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE

(As of November 1, 1962)

Ralph Abernathy
James Baldwin
Roger N. Baldwin
Algernon D. Black
James B. Carey
Allan Knight Chalmers
Grenville Clark
John Cogley
Earl B. Dickerson
Eugene E. Frazier
Harold Gibbons
Roland B. Gittelsohn
Sidney Hollander
George M. Houser
E. Stanley Jones
Bishop F. D. Jordan
Martin Luther King
Douglas Levin
David Livingston
Will Maslow
A. J. Muste
Dorothy S. Norman
A. Philip Randolph
Ira DeA. Reid
Walter P. Reuther
Jackie Robinson
Arnold M. Rose
Fred M. Shuttlesworth
Lillian Smith
Gardner Taylor
Howard Thurman
Bishop W. J. Walls
Goodwin Watson
Joseph Willen
Jerry Wurf
Charles S. Zimmerman

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York

A FEW OF THE WAYS IN WHICH YOUR GIFTS HELP...

$2 will buy 500 sample voter registration applications in South Carolina or 100 I Am Registered buttons.

$5 purchases 20 placards for a picket line protesting discrimination in hiring.

$5 also provides food and lodging for one participant in a week-end workshop on non-violence in Louisiana or Mississippi.

$10 will pay the bondsmen's fee on a $100 bail bond.

$10 provides round-trip bus fare from New Orleans to Jackson, Mississippi for a CORE field worker.

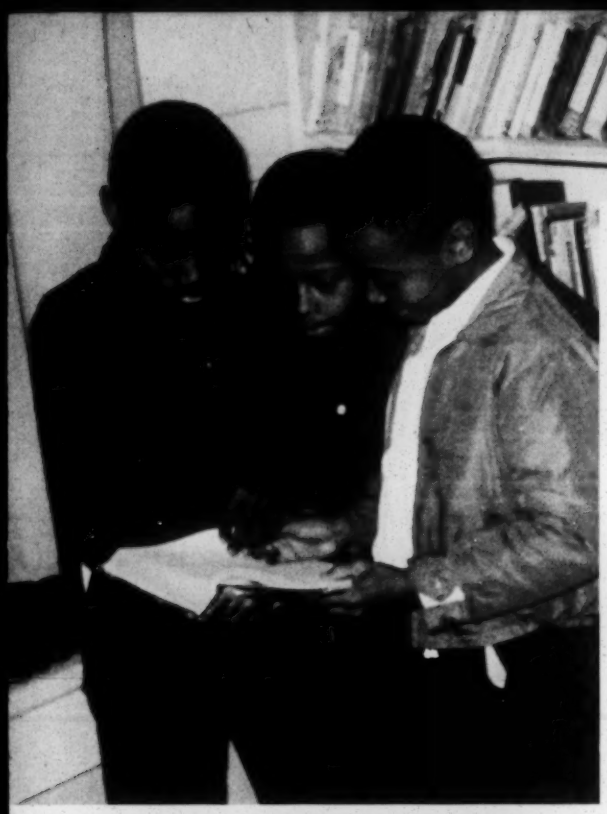
$20 pays the rent on the CORE office in Plaquemine, Louisiana for one month.

$25 provides room, board, and salary for one CORE task force member for one week.

$75 will provide 750 student leaders the new manual on non-violent direct action.

$120 provides transportation for voter registrants in Canton, Mississippi for one month.

$150 secures a mimeograph machine for the office in Sumter, South Carolina.



WHAT IS A CORE COMMUNITY CENTER?

Ten thousand books, a ping pong table, five sewing machines, half a dozen desks, a typewriter, records and a record player, perhaps a piano and sheet music... rooms to put them in, and a few devoted people to give classes in voter registration, sewing, reading, nutrition, remedial courses, arts and crafts.

Not much? A whole new world for those it serves.

Primarily an investment in education, with most of its space and resources devoted to study, books and teaching, every center will try also to have a game room for teenagers to offset the painful effects of recreational limitation as well as those of economic and cultural deprivation.

You'll agree that this is important and worthwhile.

Recently, fabric for 110 dresses was sent by the ILGWU's Local 23-25 to Mississippi. Many of the women who learned to sew by making a dress at the community center had not had a new dress for four or five years. Their involvement in the sewing class encouraged most of them to start voter registration classes. The children who come to the center for books and remedial courses made puppets and toys with every last scrap of left-over fabric. Workers at the center are understandably proud of these results.

Books for CORE Community Centers have been collected by CORE's Southern Educational Project. National CORE has been cooperating with local groups in designing and constructing the centers. Donations of books, money, time (or any useful object) make such centers possible.

Gentlemen:

Here is my contribution of ..... toward CORE Community Centers.

My name and address:

.....

.....

.....

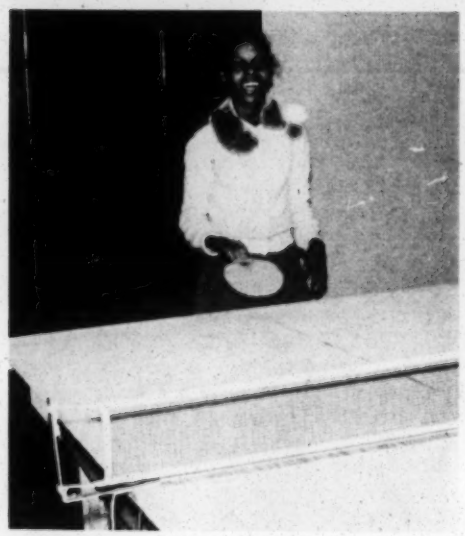
☐ I am a CORE member ☐ I would like to join CORE.

☐ I wish to subscribe to the bimonthly paper, CORE-lator.

Please make check marks in the appropriate boxes above, and return to:
CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY, 38 Park Row, New York, N. Y. 10038

MERIDIAN, MISSISSIPPI
the community . . .

. . . and the community center



CORE COMMUNITY CENTERS

Where a child may not use the local library because he is Negro, where a teenager may not 'hang out' in the local movies or soda joints because he is Negro, where even the dubious sophistication obtainable at a pool hall is forbidden to young men because they are Negro, where the elders and leaders of a community — merchants, farmers, ministers — usually have had limited education and experience because they are Negro, where most families are too restricted economically because they are Negro to afford the weak links to the greater society provided by television and electricity . . .

It is for these people the CORE Community Centers exist.

In this year, in 1964, a young Negro girl who has come north for an education lives in Harlem. She feels it is somehow immoral to share an apartment with a white girl who lives nearer her college. She finds it difficult to shed the distorting experience segregation has imposed. Even though her wit, intelligence, and charm have opened many doors, she cannot integrate.

But if there had been a CORE Community Center in the town where she grew up . . . ?

Why, then, she might have seen her parents line up to register at the local court house, she might have grown up knowing the spirit of hope and resistance that has inspired the people of Canton, Mississippi, where the first CORE Community Center opened in 1963. The second CORE center opened in Meridian, Mississippi, early in 1964.

Community Centers are desperately needed to destroy the old patterns of segregation. We must not lose another generation of school children to apathy and sullen resentment hidden by cheerful pretense. It is many times easier to find and ship a roomful of books to the south than it is to persuade one brainwashed girl that she has full citizenship in the human race.

SB✓ LWD✓ RTB✓ BW✓ file VEP

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

Last Louisiana Parish Registers Negroes

St. Joseph, La., Jan. 9: The recent registration of 15 Negroes in Tensas Parish, ended an era in which some Louisiana parishes had no Negro registrants since 1902. Now at least some Negroes are registered in every parish.

Registration of the 15 Negroes was announced publicly by the registrar, J.H. Roberson and confirmed by CORE Field Secretary Ronnie Moore, who for over a year has coordinated CORE's voter registration campaign in southeastern Louisiana. The campaign recently was extended to Tensas Parish where Moore assigned several CORE Task Force workers.

P.F. Ellis, district deputy master of the Prince Hall Mason's grand lodge, was among the first to register. He reported that the registration officials were cooperative and that there was no attempt at intimidation.

This was unlike the situation in West Feliciana parish where Rev. Joseph Carter was arrested and jailed overnight when he attempted to register last August. He finally did register on October 17 becoming the first Negro to do so since 1902, but he was threatened by a group of whites as he entered the courthouse. Another Negro registrant, James Payne, was hit across the face with a rifle butt.

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WB ✓
RTB
BW

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COrtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

Jailed CORE Leader Reinstated To Louisiana Job

Clinton, La., Jan. 16: Clinton CORE Chairman Currie Collins, who was handed a dismissal notice when he got out of jail last October, has been reinstated with back pay to his job as food service worker at Villa Feliciana Geriatrics Hospital in nearby Jackson.

In ordering his reinstatement, the Louisiana Civil Service Commission, though denying that his "color, race or affiliation with any organization motivated the disciplinary action," ruled that absence in itself does not constitute cause for discharge. In appealing to the Commission, Collins asserted he had notified the hospital of his arrest and pointed out that he had accrued accumulated leave.

Collins, along with 37 other pickets, was arrested in early October at the start of a picket campaign urging desegregation and job equality in the downtown business section. As a consequence of the ensuing boycott, Collins and 11 other activists were arrested in early December for "conspiracy to commit public intimidation."

Proceedings by the state to enjoin CORE demonstrations in Clinton have been halted through a precedent-setting decision by a three-judge panel of the 5th Circuit Court of Appeals.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

PLAN TO EXPEL STUDENTS BACKFIRES

Quincy, Fla., Feb. 20--A school supervisor's plan to expel students who had attended a CORE workshop backfired because, as it turned out, the total number attending was in the hundreds.

"After the workshop, the principal made an announcement asking all students who had attended to see him," reports CORE Field Secretary Patricia Stephens Due. "From reports we had received, he expected only a few to show-up at his office and he had been instructed by the supervisor to expel them.

"Several hundred came, however, and sang freedom songs each time he tried to discourage them from future involvement with CORE. Finally, nobody was expelled because, as he said: 'there were too many.'"

The CORE workshop was an outcome of a voter registration meeting at Mount Moriah Church at which the teenagers had expressed their interest in nonviolent direct action.

CORE Voter Drive Outruns Goldwater's

"Business is booming for (the county registrar) because simultaneously throughout Gadsden county two voter drives are being conducted," writes Joe Rice in the St. Petersburg Times." One is spearheaded by a pair of prominent white businessmen who support Senator Goldwater for the Republican nomination. The other is being pushed by Patricia Stephens Due, a Negro employed by CORE. Her goal is to get as many Negroes on the voter rolls as possible between now and April 5 when the books close.

"After the initial spurt of 30 names, the (Goldwater) drive seems to have lost some of its momentum. The movement to register Negroes, on the other hand, seems to be gaining momentum each day."

Mrs. Due reports that the arrest of four CORE voter registration workers in late January prompted several hundred Negroes to register "without our having to urge them."

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich or Jim Peck

WIN BANK DRIVE MARKED BY MASS ARRESTS AND LONG JAIL TERMS

St. Louis, Mr., April 2--The Jefferson Bank & Trust Co. hired five Negroes March 30, thus ending a St. Louis CORE campaign marked by hundreds of arrests of nonviolent demonstrators inside and outside the bank and the sentencing of 15 of the group's leaders from 60 days to a year in jail.

The unusually long prison terms were for contempt of an injuction issued last August by State Circuit Judge Michael Scott. The 15 CORE leaders were in jail from January 15 until March 2 when a three-judge panel of the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals freed them pending appeal of their habeas corpus writs. Within hours, five of them were back on the picket line in front of the bank.

Immediately following the sentencing, over 1,000 persons marched in protest on City Hall and 250 Catholics, many of them priests and nuns, held a rally which John Dunsford, associate law professor at St. Louis University, characterized as "a public confession that we have sinned in the pride of race.

When President Johnson came here on February 14 for the city's 200th anniversary celebration, 84 St. Louis CORE pickets protested. As they neared his hotel, they were arrested and held without charges until his speech was over. Several thousand persons had petitioned the President to shun the St. Louis anniversary because of the failure of city officials to help resolve the fair employment issue at the bank.

In the course of the campaign, more than 75 Negroes had secured jobs at other St. Louis banks but the Jefferson Bank remained adamant.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: MARVIN RICH OR JAMES PECK

SUPREME COURT OUTLAWS CALLING NEGRO BY FIRST NAME

Washington, D.C., April 2--When CORE Field Secretary Mary Hamilton refused in a southern court to answer when the prosecutor addressed her as "Mary," she was within her rights. So ruled the U.S. Supreme Court on March 30 when it set aside her contempt conviction last June in Gadsden, Alabama, for insisting that the prosecutor call her "Miss Hamilton." She was sentenced to five days in jail as a result.

Five of the justices joined in an unsigned order citing the court's decision last April against segregated courtrooms, implying that a prosecutor's calling a Negro by his first name is a part of that discriminatory practice. Justice Hugo Black concurred and cited two other Supreme Court decisions: one asserting that a person charged with contempt should be given an opportunity to legal defense and another that a state criminal conviction without legal evidence cannot stand. Three justices dissented, holding that the high court should not have reviewed Miss Hamilton's conviction.

In his petition to the Supreme Court, Jack Greenberg held that "one of the most distinctive indicia of the racial caste system" is "the refusal of whites to address Negroes with titles of respect such as 'Miss,' 'Mrs.' or 'Mr.' and to refer to them as 'Boy' or 'Girl'." Greenberg argued the case for the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund, which has [illegible] taken the legal defense in Gadsden on cases arising from a CORE-initiated mass protest movement in that city last summer. At present Miss Hamilton is working on CORE's voter registration campaign in Southeastern Louisiana.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: MARVIN RICH OR HAMES PECK

"FREEDOM RING" ENCIRCLES TICKET BOOTH
by Doris Castle

New Orleans, La., April 2--Since November 1963 New Orleans CORE had been picketing three downtown New Orleans theaters urging that they admit Negroes. It is the end of March 1964 and the situation called for new techniques.

So on Good Friday, nine of us joined the line of patrons at the ticket window of Loew's State. The line moved briskly. The first of our group reached the window and placed her money on the counter. It was not the ticket seller but the assistant manager standing nearby who refused to sell the ticket.

One by one, we followed. Each was refused, without explanation. The last of our group, Alice Thompson, then walked behind the ticket booth. We joined her, linked hands and completely surrounded the booth forming a "Freedom Ring." We began to walk in a circle.

The surprised patrons fell back into the quickly-gathering crowd of spectators. A few held their places in line. One man tried to break through our ring but failed.

While we circled the booth, police conferred with the dejected theater manager. Then a policeman came over to our group and asked us each, individually, to leave. We refused. He placed us under arrest. We sat down, still in circle formation. Policemen then lifted each of us onto a hand-truck, rolled us to the paddy-wagon and took us to jail.

It was a first arrest for Katrina Jackson and Harold Sullivan. Shirley Thompson, Ruth Wells, Linda and Dorotha Smith and Alicia Joseph had been arrested before. I had been arrested five times in the course of New Orleans CORE's years of nonviolent action.

We were booked on an open charge. It was later minutely particularized to "criminal mischief," "obsturcting passage," "disturbing the peace," "refusing to move on" and "resisting arrest." After three days in jail, we were released on bond pending trial.

####

WD

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and Jim Peck

ONE-YEAR JAIL TERMS FOR RIGHTS LEADERS
IN CHAPEL HILL

Chapel Hill, N.C., May 21--Those designated by the prosecutor as leaders of the February 8th CORE mass demonstration against segregation here, were singled out by Judge Raymond Mallard for 1-year prison sentences.

They included John Dunne and Joseph Tieger, both CORE Task Force workers, Patrick Cusick and J.B. Henry. In sentencing Tieger, Judge Mallard characterized him as a participant in "an international conspiracy to overthrow the government."

Arthur Crist was sentenced to eight months, Louis Calhoun, Quinton Baker and Rosemary Ezra to six months and Roosevelt Atwater to four months. Four others got 10 days and approximately 90 were given suspended sentences ranging from six months up to five years with stipulations for "active probation." In addition to the prison sentences, fines were imposed, some ranging up to $500. Those with long sentences were in jail up to two weeks pending release on appeal.

The charges were "obstructing traffic" and "resisting arrest." As part of the February 8 demonstration, freedom marchers sat down on the pavement at the town's busiest intersection--Franklin and Columbia. Since the CORE campaign to complete desegregation of this college town started in Mid-December, over 550 nonviolent protestors have been arrested.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and Jim Peck

CORE PROTEST SHIFTS TRADE CONFERENCE
TO NONDISCRIMINATORY HOTEL

New Orleans, La., May 21--As a result of protest wires to Washington from CORE Associate National Director Richard Haley, who heads CORE's southern office here, the Mississippi Valley World Trade Conference shifted its final luncheon and banquet sessions from the discriminatory Hotel Roosevelt to the Hotel Jung.

Apprised that Undersecretary of Commerce Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr. and Rear Admiral John Harllee were to address the final sessions, Haley asserted in his telegrams that appearances at a hotel which practices segregation would "compromise the dignity" of federal officials. Within hours he received replies stating that the officials involved were unaware of the Hotel Roosevelt's policy and would not appear unless the meetings were held at an integrated establishment.

The final sessions were shifted in time for the Roosevelt and Harllee speeches, but not in time for a forum at which Charles Boehm, a Commerce Department official was scheduled to talk. His appearance was cancelled.

Two weeks ago Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara withdrew all active military personnel from an adutant general's conference at the Roosevelt Hotel becuase of its discriminatory policy.

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WB
BW
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JD

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich or Jim Peck

ARREST 55 ON SECOND FREEDOM DAY

Canton, Miss., June 4--May 29, the second Freedom Day in this Mississippi town, was marked by 55 arrests.

Unlike the first Freedom Day, February 28, when some 350 Negroes marched to the courthouse, this time police prohibited marching even by small groups. However, 25 Negroes reached the courthouse by car and succeeded in going through registration procedures. Fifteen policemen armed with nightsticks and shotguns turned back the marchers only 75 yards from Mount Zion Baptist Church where they had assembled under the leadership of Rev. B. Elton Cox, CORE field secretary.

Twelve of the marchers thereupon decided to challenge the police barricade and were promptly arrested, along with two white ministers who were acting as observers and CORE Field Secretary Edward Hollander, who was attempting to take a picture of the arrests.

The other four arrested were not prospective registrants but students who intended to picket the courthouse. Fifteen of them were seized as they left Pleasant Green Baptist Church. The rest were picked up as they got out of cars in front of the courthouse with their placards. One youth, McKinley Hamblein, was beaten by police while being arrested.

That evening, a car returning to Tougaloo College in Jackson was halted by a gang of 15 whites. One of the assailants tried to pull out the driver and strike him with a nightstick. However, after 15 minutes of threats, the car was permitted to proceed. One of its passengers was a Pakistani, Hamid Kiselbasch. The following night, Otha Williams, a highly respected Negro storekeeper, was halted on a dark road by two policemen and beaten. He finally fled into the woods. CORE Task Force Worker, George Raymond, helped him to get safely into town.

###

WB-
JK
BW

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38 Park Row, New York, N.Y. 10038
CO 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

REFER: Jim Peck or Marvin Rich

CORE STARTS DRIVE TO UTILIZE PLACES OPENED BY LAW

New York City, July 9--One minute after the President had signed the civil rights bill, Gene Young, a 13-year-old CORE convention delegate from Mississippi, entered the Hotel Muehlebach barbershop in Kansas City for a haircut. When he was refused, other convention delegates sat-in, forcing the shop to close. Next day, Young got his haircut as did several other Negro delegates.

This was the first test of the law and the start of CORE's nationwide action program to utilize the hotels, restaurants, theatres and other public accomodations opened under the law's provisions. "We cannot allow resistance to build up as occurred in the 1954 school cases," said a testing form sent to all affiliates. "CORE groups can and should begin immediate attempts to utilize the facilities newly opened by law." CORE National Director James Farmer wired 120 national operators of public facilities urging compliance and announcing the testing program.

Testing got underway as the CORE convention delegates left Kansas City for their homes. CORE National Chairman Floyd McKissick, on his way back to Durham, North Carolina, was refused admittance at two motels in Clarksdale, Mississippi and filed complaints under the law. A national NAACP deputation touring the state refrained from testing in Clarksdale, but its members were accomodated without incident in Jackson and Meridian.

Public facilities were tested and found to be generally complying in Birmingham, Alabama; Danville, Virginia; St. Augustine, Florida and other cities which have been the sites of major civil rights demonstrations. In many smaller communities such as Americus, Georgia and Quincy, Florida, from

which CORE has received reports, testers were served but then attacked by gangs of white youths. In Quincy, after three young Negroes were served at Luden's drive-in, some whites reached into the car and dumped the contents of the Negroes' trays into their laps.

On the eve of a city-wide testing program in Monroe, Louisiana, CORE Field Secretary Ronnie Moore's car was forced off the road by several carloads of whites and he took refuge in a Negro home. He had written to 21 mayors announcing that the public facilities in their communities would be tested by CORE workers engaged in the Louisiana summer voter registration program. VEP?

In New Roads, tests showed that the library and all public buildings had desegregated. In New Orleans, the theatres, a target of recent CORE demonstrations, now admit everybody regardless of color, New Orleans CORE tests have shown.

In Hammond, Faith Hope and Charity Hall, the CORE registration headquarters was bombed. In McComb, Mississippi, a home occupied by civil rights workers was bombed and two of the workers, Curtis Hayes and Dennis Sweeney were injured. Pat Walker, CORE Task Force worker was unhurt. CORE Vice-Chairman,Rudy Lombard, is presently in Mississippi assisting Dave Dennis, CORE's representative on COFO. CORE has launched a program to recruit Task Force workers for Mississippi for the period following the end of the summer project.

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WB-
JMV
JD

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York, N.Y. 10038
CO 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Refer: Jim Peck or Marvin Rich

SHOOT AT RIGHTS WORKER'S CAR, THREATEN HIM WITH DEATH

Madison, Fla., Aug. 27--Five shotgun blasts were fired on August 25 into the car of Michael Geison, a Gainesville student who has been working as a volunteer for CORE's voter registration drive in Madison county. The car was parked outside the home of Rev. D. H. Jamison, a Negro minister who is housing Geison and another student-civil rights worker.

Following the shooting, an anonymous caller threatened: "That fire was a miss, the next five won't be--get out of town!"

A few weeks ago, Geison found a fire bomb planted in his car. During July he was arrested twice for "reckless driving" while working on voter registration. Following his first arrest, he filed a false arrest suit against the city and county in which he sought $100,000 damages.

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WB

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York, N.Y. 10038
CO 7-6270

FOR IMMEDI[illegible] RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich or Jim Peck

NEGRO CORE LEADER WINS HOUSE SEAT IN WHITE DISTRICT

Oklahoma City, Okla., Nov. 19--Despite a last-minute Goldwater leaflet distribution seeking to incite the prejudices of white voters, Archibald Hill, chairman of Oklahoma City CORE, overwhelmingly defeated his Republican, white rival, thus winning a seat in the State House of Representatives.

Hill is a Negro, but the district in which he ran is predominantly white, being comprised of seven all-white precincts, three predominantly Negro precincts and one integrated precinct. The final vote was 2506 for Archibald Hill and 450 for Jack Brown, the Republican candidate. Hill had won the Democratic nomination by defeating his white rival in a special primary election ordered by a federal court over the reapportionment issue.

"The young attorney (he is 29 and a native of Atlanta, Georgia) had been a practicing attorney in Oklahoma City for the past four years,"reports the Atlanta World. "During this period, he has handled litigation for most of the civil rights cases brought by Negroes in a push for equality. In addition, he has led numerous demonstrations and is presently chairman of CORE in the area."

71-Year-Old Woman Travels TOO Far to Vote--CORE Brings Her Back

Quincy, Fla., Nov. 19--"Typical (of the militancy of Negroes here) was the gray-haired Negro woman who walked from her sharecropper's shack to Greensboro, three miles away, then hitchhiked a ride on a truck to Quincy," report the Miami Herald in a feature story on the effectiveness of CORE's voter registration drive in northwest Florida.

"This was a mistake, so CORE workers took her back to Greensboro to vote. This is the first time in the 50 years she has been of voting age that she went to the polls, she said.

"Johnnie Walker, a 21-year-old Quincy leader of CORE, was taking five Negro women to the polls. One of them was almost blind. He explained that if she wanted to vote for Johnson, she should pick the candidate on the first line--if she could see the blur of the line--and if she wanted Goldwater, to pick the second line. At the suggested Goldwater alternative, all five women whooped with laughter."

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WB
JBM
JDC
JTV

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York, N.Y. 10038
CO 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich or Jim Peck

CORE POLL WATCHER MEETS EX-GOVERNOR BARNETT...AND BEATING

Madison, Miss., Dec. 10--When Marvin Rich, CORE Community Relations Director came here December 3 to poll-watch at the Agricultural Stabilization Committee election, little did he expect to have the "honor" of meeting ex-Governor Ross Barnett and of being badly beaten afterwards.

When Rich went across the street from the polling place to a grocery store to buy a carton of milk, he encountered "a big, portly man in a yellow hunting outfit and big boots who stopped me and asked: 'Where your from?' I said I was from New York and he grunted and looked pained. 'Are you a WHITE man?' he asked me. Then he turned away and walked out. At that point, I didn't know who he was."

The portly man thereupon entered the polling place where, according to Martha Wright, another CORE poll-watcher, everybody addressed him as "Governor." He shouted: "Why don't these agitators go home where they belong!" followed by obscene remarks to Miss Wright. Upon emerging from the building, he got into his Cadillac and a group of young whites conferred with him for about ten minutes.

Then, they approached Rich and told him to re-park his car. He refused until ordered to do so by the duputy constable. Upon returning from the new parking place, which was about 300 yeards away, the white youths started throwing rocks at him. Finally, four of them jumped him, started slugging and hit him with a belt buckle. He suffered a broken nose and bruises on his body.

Elsewhere in the county, four CORE poll watchers were arrested on minor charges: George Raymond, a CORE Task Force worker and project director, and three CORE volunteers, Elaine DeLott, Euvester Simson and Ann Darden. It was the first Agricultural Stabilization Committee election in which Negroes had run and in the town of Camden, a Negro, Luther Honeysuckle, was elected to the committee.

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WB
JTV
JDC

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York, N.Y. 10038
CO 7-6270
ATT: Marvin Rich or Jim Peck

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

SHOTS FIRED INTO CORE COMMUNITY CENTER

Quincy, Fla., Jan. 7--Less than three weeks after CORE's local office was set aflame, 15 shots were fired by nightriders into the CORE community center here. At first, CORE volunteers Sidney Daniels and Jimmy Card, who were in the building, mistook the shots for fireworks. The bullet holes were discovered later. One of the bullets came close to entering the room where the two CORE volunteers had been standing.

As in the case of the fire, the Department of Public Safety launched an investigation but without results. The U. S. Department of Justice has been urged to supply increased protection for civil rights workers in this area.

# # #

OPEN DRIVE IN LAST COUNTY WITHOUT NEGRO REGISTRANTS IN FLORIDA

Mayo, Fla., Jan. 7--Following the first registration of Negroes in Liberty county in mid-December, CORE is launching a voter campaign here in Lafayette county, the only county in the state which still has no Negro registrants.

This was announced by Spiver Gordon, a CORE Task Force Worker in the Florida Free Press, newsletter of the northwestern Florida voter registration campaign. "CORE will aid the Negro people of Lafayette county in their fight for freedom," he said.

# # #

Al Ulmer

Ret. to VEP

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York, N.Y. 10038
CO 7-6270
ATTN: Marvin Rich or Jim Peck

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

PHILADELPHIA CORE PROTEST BRINGS NAMING OF BROADER ANTI-POVERTY BOARD

Philadelphia Pa., Feb. 25--Following Philadelphia CORE's denunciation and veto of five anti-poverty proposals sent to Washington by the Anti-Poverty Task Force, Mayor Tate has replaced the Task Force with a more representative body, the Philadelphia Anti-Poverty Action Committee. Comprised of from 26 to 32 members, this committee will include 12 representatives of civil rights and labor organizations, including Philadelphia CORE.

In rejecting the five proposals sent to Washington, Philadelphia CORE, as a member of the former body's Human Services Committee, had asserted:"The guidelines issued by the Office of Economic Opportunities state in simple English that poor people are to be involved in the planning, conduct and administration of all community action programs."

PICKETS DENOUNCE "SILK STOCKING" APPOINTEES

Buffalo, N.Y., Feb. 25--With placards saying "Maximum Feasible Participation"--a quote from federal legislation establishing the antipoverty program--30 Buffalo CORE pickets marched in front of County Hall protesting the "silk stocking" compostion of the committee established to administer the antipoverty program here. To prove their contention, the pickets had a map showing the location of committee members" residences, located in well-to-do neighborhoods.

Requesting that the Office of Economic Opportunities refuse to recognize the Buffalo committee, Luther Burnette, Chairman of Buffalo CORE, wrote: "Its members are predominantly highly placed public officials, business leaders and persons prominent in organized charities. Eighteen of the 21 members are white, none are Puerto Ricans or Indians, nor for that matter are any 'poor whites.'"

BUILDER OF ALL-WHITE HOMES UNFIT AS CHAIRMAN

Baltimore, Md., Feb. 25--Protesting the naming of Morton Macht as chairman of the committee administering the antipoverty program here, James Griffin, Chairman of Baltimore CORE, wrote Mayor McKeldin: "Mr. Macht, as a builder of new homes, has not offered equal access to those homes to qualified Negroes.

"It is not possible that key persons of the antipoverty program can identify with people of the ghetto if they are connected with discriminatory housing developments which keep the people of the ghetto walled in."

SCORE APPOINTMENT OF ULTRA-SEGREGATIONIST

Baton Rouge, La., Feb. 25--Appointment by Governor McKeithen of Shelby Jackson, ultra-segregationist, as assistant director of the antipoverty program in Louisiana has drawn a strong protest from CORE.

Acknowledging receipt of the CORE protest wire, the governor bluntly asserted: "Since most of us in Louisiana belive in segregation, it would be pretty hard to fill that job without appointing a segregationist."

# # # #

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Wiley A. Branton, Project Director

FROM: Jack Minnis and John Walker

RE: CORE's Budget Request

We plan to set out and explain several considerations we feel to be important in the making of a VEP grant to CORE for a year's work.

It can be determined from CORE's proposal that they seek to undertake work in Louisiana, South Carolina, Florida and Mississippi. Specifically, CORE wishes to work in East Baton Rouge, West Baton Rouge and Caddo Parishes in Louisiana; in Dade (Miami), Pinellas (St. Petersburg) and Leon (Tallahassee) Counties in Florida; and in Sumter, York and Clarendon Counties along with the 6th Congressional District in South Carolina. The 6th Congressional District includes nine counties. CORE's Mississippi operations would be confined to Jackson where they have (or could reasonably have) a cooperating arrangement with SNCC and/or NAACP.

Voting age population figures for the above areas are as follows:

Location	VAP*	Negro VAP	Negro % of Tot. VAP	Total Reg.	Negro Reg.	Negro % of Tot. Reg.
			FLORIDA			
Dade County	631,453	79,459	12.5	350,468	23,467	7
Miami**	215,826	40,724	18			
Pinellas County	278,994	19,131	7	160,803	4,727	3
St. Petersburg**	137,360	13,995	10			
Leon County	45,284	13,670	30	22,893	5,372	23
Tallahassee	30,519	9,392	32			
(Totals - If important)						
			LOUISIANA			
E. Baton Rouge Parish	133,242	39,757	30	76,749	10,576	14
W. Baton Rouge Parish	7,842	3,693	46	4,517	1,188	26
Caddo (Shreveport)	134,654	43,869	33	62,830	4,686	7
(Totals - If important)						
			SOUTH CAROLINA			
Sumter	39,947	16,550	41	9,704	2,130	13
York	44,687	10,905	24	18,966	2,414	13
Clarendon	13,752	8,303	60	3,782	324	9
6th Cong. Dist.	203,571	80,964	40	81,719	9,785	12
Totals	301,957	116,722	39	114,171	14,653	13
			MISSISSIPPI			
Jackson	87,527	28,142	32		5,000 (est.)	

Source: U. S. Census Reports - 1960
*Voting Age Population determined by adding 19, 20 and over 21 age population of 1960 Census
**Registration figures available for county only

Florida

It is to be noted that Florida was not an area where we had any "crash" programs. Moreover, we do not know whether any of the "Big 5" had programs in any Florida localities. We feel, however, that NAACP had some programs in a few cities as a part of their on-going general program.

CORE seems anxious to undertake a voting drive in Northern Florida operating out of Petersburg (letter 4/19/62 from M. Rich, J. McClain). Since that letter we have heard no more about North Florida. (CORE has an affiliate in Tallahassee, N. Florida. They do not say why they would want to work N. Florida out of St. Petersburg, which is in Middle Florida.) We can, nonetheless, assume that CORE would, if they received VEP funds, undertake to work the counties mentioned above. If we consider the Northern Florida area they mention, we should require of them a detailed plan of action, none having been previously received by us. Failing this, and with the absence of other compelling reasons for working there, CORE's request to use VEP funds in that area should be denied.

The Florida figures indicate that only in Leon County, of the three areas, is there a significant Negro voting age population. In the other two counties, Negroes appear to be more populous in the cities both numerically and percentage-wise. This would seem to indicate that CORE could probably best utilize VEP funds in city-oriented registration drives. However, other factors may explode this notion. If so, we need to know of CORE just what those factors are.

Data is lacking as regards CORE's performance record in voter registration in Florida. They do, however, have affiliates in each of the cities listed above which, we suspect, have a more impressive record in direct action programs and are actually direct action oriented.

Two objectives of a VEP sponsored CORE drive in Florida would be (1) to maximize the number of Negro registrants in the three counties listed; and (2) to lay the foundation for a continuing voter education program in the various localities. We can foresee no real impediments to registration in Dade and Pinellas Counties and only limited resistance in Leon County. Leon County (Tallahassee) has been the site of student protest demonstrations and of other direct action movements. A major problem will be overcoming the apathy or lethargy of the Negroes whom CORE seeks to enlighten.

Recommendations:

Louisiana

CORE, NAACP, SCLC and one local group received VEP support for crash programs in Louisiana. The extent or amount of that support has not been broken down by the first three organizations; the local

group, F O C U S, in Baton Rouge, received $1,000. We estimate, however, that a total of $7,717 in VEP funds was expended in Louisiana. (This is based upon our having divided the total grant of an agency by the number of cities in which it undertook to work, then multiplying the number of cities in Louisiana by that average and adding.) We estimate that CORE spent approximately $1,437 of VEP money in Louisiana.

We note that CORE's crash program was limited to South Baton Rouge while the NAACP worked East Baton Rouge. Between May 4 and June 8, 1962, 144 persons were registered by CORE. In toying with figures, we concluded that for the period covered, five (5) persons per day were registered by them; $853 was actually spent on the field during that time. That amounts to spending $28.43 per day to register 5 voters or $5.92 per voter. Three-tenths of 1% of the VAP was registered or, over a ten month period 1,440 people or 3% of the VAP could reasonably be registered at a cost of $8,530. This method of viewing CORE's performance record is perhaps improper as they were just beginning their operations and doubtless faced numerous difficulties. On the other hand, F O C U S, in registering 273 persons, paid only $2.80 per voter or less than half of what CORE paid. We must consider, however, that F O C U S had experience and know-how in this area that the local CORE group did not have, as well as a community with which it was intimately familiar.

West Baton Rouge Parish

A campaign in West Baton Rouge Parish by CORE and several cooperating community groups should prove quite fruitful as Negroes

number about half the VAP. Further, 26% or 1,188 of the Negroes are already registered--an indication that official resistance to Negro registration is low. We should, therefore, encourage CORE's efforts there. Also, CORE's potential for personnel is great here as ~~Dillard,~~ Southern ~~Xavier~~ and several other schools are nearby.

Shreveport

Shreveport will be rough. It is fortunate, perhaps, that NAACP and SCLC have also indicated a desire to work there. While Negroes comprise a third of the VAP, they constitute only 7% of the total registration.

This low figure is probably an indication of the extent of both overt and covert intimidation, coercion, etc., present. Perhaps some structural arrangement can be worked out between the three agencies, even if each receive separate grants for work in Shreveport, whereby overhead expenses at least could be minimized. We should encourage this. We should also take "judicial notice" of the fact that there is a substantial, increasing Negro middle class in Shreveport whose financial support should be sought by whatever group or groups receiving VEP funds.

(A note in passing: There are four counties in Louisiana where Negroes constitute 0% of the registrants, but a majority of the VAP--De Soto, 61.2%; Madison, 64.9%; Tensas, 65%; and West Feliciana, 66.1%.[2] No one has suggested work in those areas. Why?)

Recommendations:

South Carolina

SCLC and NAACP are also working, along with CORE, in South Carolina. CORE has projected what appears to be its most intensive assault on South Carolina, especially the 6th Congressional District. They report impressive registration--"In South Carolina CORE is actually registering Negroes in each of these counties by the hundreds. This is not a paper organization but a functioning viable network which should receive adequate support." (Letter of 4/19/62 from Farmer.) As of June 8, 732 persons were reportedly registered in South Carolina by CORE. We have no way of verifying these figures, but a tally submitted to us for South Carolina by John McCracy indicated that registration was up substantially, not only in CORE's areas, but in other parts of the State as well.

SCLC's operations in South Carolina have been small as only $459.08 was expended for work in Charleston through July 17, 1962. We estimate that NAACP spent $3,280 for work in the STATE while CORE spent the bulk of its grant, $5,748, in South Carolina. It can ~~thus~~ be reasonably concluded, therefore, that CORE intends to make South Carolina its main baliwick. As a further indication of this intent, Jim Farmer, in a letter to us on 6/26/62, stated that "From July 15 through 19 I shall be in South Carolina to personally scrutinize the operation."

The extent of the other agencies" operations in South Carolina up to this point may be a sign that they are willing to leave most of South Carolina to CORE. SNCC originally set out to work in South Carolina but later retracted. (Several other state-wide or local

local groups are anxious to begin voter registration drives in South Caro lina; also, the Penn. Community Services at Frogmore and the South Carolina Council on Human Relations have communicated such a desire to this office.)

Mississippi

Complete statistics on Mississippi registration are unavailable. The Civil Rights Commissions report on voting indicates that approximately 5,000 Negroes, however, are registered to vote in Hinds County of which Jackson is the County seat. Total registration figures are not available.

SNCC and NAACP are also working in Mississippi. SNCC, particularly, seems determined to make a dent into Mississippi for all their voter registration VEP efforts have been there. On the other hand, NAACP's Mississippi operations have cost $821 while CORE's have been $1,437 (estimate).

CORE proposes to work in Jackson only as does NAACP. In Jackson, according to the Hinds County Committees on Voter Registration report, there are no official limitations on Negro registration. Encouraging Negroes to present themselves for registration seems to be the No. 1 problem.

Here, again, we do not have the benefit of CORE's performance record as they have not supplied us with data on their crash program. We need to know this before making a grant to thmm for work in Jackson. Also, we should consider making a single grant for work in Jackson to the Hinds County Committee on Voter Registration inasmuch as CORE,

SNCC and NAACP are working with local groups in a unified registration effort. At any rate, we should insist upon the Big Three to continue to work through the local group. Reports are important here for none have been made to us about Jackson by any of the groups.

Jackson or Florida - In which should CORE work (or use VEP funds)?

A major problem facing us is posed by a comparison of (1) CORE's proposal to Taconic of August 17, 1961, and of (2) CORE's proposal to us March 29, 1962. Florida was and Mississippi was not included in the former proposal; Mississippi was and Florida was not included in the latter proposal.

We can, thus, reasonably assume that as of now CORE does not plan to work in Florida; instead, CORE is anxious to work in Mississippi. Toward this end they seek more than $8,000 in a total request of $73,350. An alternative assumption could be that they are willing to work in both places and would leave the decision to us. Another could be that they plan to become engaged in Florida with other funds and that they want their Mississippi operations financed by us. Doubtless, Mississippi is important to CORE in other regards, i.e., direct action, advertisement, fund raising outside the South, etc.

The question before us seems to be: If CORE is to be given funds for either Mississippi or Florida, in which does it have the resources to do the more effective job?

file CORE
WB-

APR 1 1965

FROM: CORE Scholarship, Education and Defense Fund, Inc.
150 Nassau Street, Room 1312
New York, New York 10038
WO 4-8297

March 30, 1965

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION: Ann Singer
WO 4-8297

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

MARVIN RICH NAMED EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

CORE SCHOLARSHIP, EDUCATION AND DEFENSE FUND, INC.

Marvin Rich of 33-43 14th Street, Long Island City, takes office on Thursday, April 1, as Executive Director of CORE Scholarship, Education and Defense Fund, Inc., 150 Nassau Street, New York 38. Mr. Rich has been on the national staff of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) since 1959, with the title of Community Relations Director.

CORE Scholarship, Education and Defense Fund, Inc., is a tax-exempt fund incorporated in 1962 to provide close support and services to non-violent, direct-action, civil rights organizations, including but not limited to CORE. Its major programs have been providing on-the-spot legal defense, both in the South and in the New York area; college and law school scholarships for students whose need arises from or is directly related to civil rights activities; and voter education-registration programs in Louisiana, north Florida, California and South Carolina.

Mr. Rich's immediate responsibilities will include expansion of on-going programs; creation of a leadership development institute for civil rights and community leaders in the New York area; and inauguration of a Community Development Fellowship Program for college and graduate students to work in impoverished Negro communities this summer.

Mr. Rich was a founder of St. Louis CORE in 1948, while a student at Washington University. Following graduation in 1950, he worked in the St. Louis labor movement as a research analyst, organizer, and administrator. He was a leader in the successful labor union drive for desegregation of St. Louis public schools immediately after the U.S. Supreme Court decision of May 1954. He joined the national staff of CORE in 1959, after military service and a brief term as a labor researcher and administrator in Washington, D.C.

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WD-
JM

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York, N.Y. 10038
CO 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE Refer: Jim Peck or Marvin Rich

CANNING FRIM REFUSES CONTRACTS TO NEGRO FARMERS WHO VOTE

St. Franciscill, La., Aug. 20--The Princevill Canning Co. is using its local economic position to maintain white supremacy in this parish of West Feliciana where no Negro had resgistered to vote from reconstruction days until last October.

The company, which is the only market in the area for sweet potatoes, the main crop, has adopted a policy of refusing to negotiate a contract with any Negro farmer who attempts to exercise his right to register and vote.

As a consequence, those Negro farmers who have become involved in CORE's registration drive are in a deperate plight. CORE is trying to find markets for their crops outside of the area, but it has proved to be largely unsuccessful, so far.

CORE has also launched a nationwide boycott of Princeville products, which are sold in supermarkets under the trade names "Royal Prince" and "Jack-O-Lantern." CORE National Director James Farmer has written leading super supermarket chains urging them to refuse to handle these products.

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CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

FILE 318 VOTER COMPLAINTS IN 5 LOUISIANA PARISHES

Iberville, La., May 27. -- CORE has filed 318 complaints of voter discrimination in five parishes in the sixth Congressional district of Louisiana. So reports, Ronnie Moore, CORE field secretary, who has been working in this area since last fall.

As a consequence of these complaints, Moore says, the federal government has started a photostatic inspection of all records in the five parishes, starting with Pointe Coupee where three public school teachers and a large number of high school graduates were refused the right to register.

Next parish slated for federal inspection if St. Helena, whose registrar, Quitman Crouch, told Moore: "Negroes can't register because they're stupid."

The other three parishes are West Feliciana, where not a single Negro is registered; Tangipahoa and Iberville. Here in Iberville, Ella Billings, recently appointed with the approval of the Louisiana State Sovereignty Commision, has reportedly said: "Niggers ain't gonna run this parish." Nevertheless, of the Negro voting potential only 2,500 remain to be registered in the CORE drive. The former registrar, Milton Dardenne, resigned last fall because of "ill health" after CORE started initiating the filing of voter-bias complaints.

It is in these five parishes that CORE is planning a voter registration project this summer. Gordon Carey, CORE Program Director, was recently in the area making housing arrangements for the 35 persons who will participate.

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CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York, N.Y. 10038
CO 7-6270

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JM ✓
JT ✓
JD

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Refer: Jim Peck or Marvin Rich

OPEN HEADQUARTERS IN TOWN WHERE THREE RIGHTS WORKERS WERE SLAIN

Philadelphia, Miss., Aug. 27--In a vacated two-story structure which was formerly a Negro hotel named after Charles Evers, COFO recently opened headquarters for the first time in this town where three civil rights workers were murdered on June 21. It is manned by a staff of 12 including CORE Task Force workers James Collier and George Smith.

The first week of operation was characterized ironically by a staff member as a "comedy of terrors." Each night after dark, cars filled with insult-shouting whites drove past. The first night a shotgun was leveled at the building. Threats of bombing and burning followed. The number of the newly installed phone already had become known throughout the community.

One night, several carloads of whites displaying pistols and shotguns stopped and the occupants got out and menacingly lounged around the building. Later, an anonymous phone called threatened: "Your time is running out: the end is tonight." When staff members retire, they post a sentry.

Occasionally Sheriff Cecil Price, the man who arrested the three civil rights workers on the afternoon prior to their murder, drives by the new headquarters with sirens screaming. On one occasion, he served the rights workers with a summons questioning the validity of the lease which COFO had signed. Then, Sheriff Lawrence Rainey ordered them to vacate under threat of arrest on trespassing charges. The rights workers ignored the order.

Meanwhile, in the daytime, they carry on their work canvassing Negroes on voter registration and informing them of the forthcoming Freedom School sessions to be held soon both at the newly acquired building and in open air classrooms throughout Neshoba county. Books and literature are being distributed in the Negro community in an old panel truck which serves as a bookmobile

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CO 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Refer: Jim Peck or Marvin Rich

FIRST FREEDOM DAY IN AREA OF SIX BOMBINGS

Magnolia, Miss., Aug. 20--The first Freedom Day to be held in this terror-stricken area of southwest Mississippi took place on August 18 without incident. Only three days previous, a Negro supermarket was bombed, marking the sixth bombing in the area this summer.

Pat Walker, CORE Task Force Worker, whose temporary home was bombed in early July, reported that 47 Negroes lined up in front of the Pike County courthouse. During the day, 38 succeeded in registering. The courthouse had been roped off by local police. The following day, 15 Negroes registered.

Until the Freedom Day, only 207 Negroes had registered, representing about 3% of the Negro vote. White registration is 82%.

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C. T. VIVIAN MISSISSIPPI FREEDOM BUS RIDER ENDORSES THRASHER

VOTERS COUNCIL PICKS THRASHER

Unanimous Ballot Taken After Campaign Talks by Both Candidates

The Hamilton County Chapter, Tennessee Voters Council, at a meeting Sunday night voted unanimously to endorse Wilkes T. Thrasher Jr. for Congress from the 3rd Congressional District.

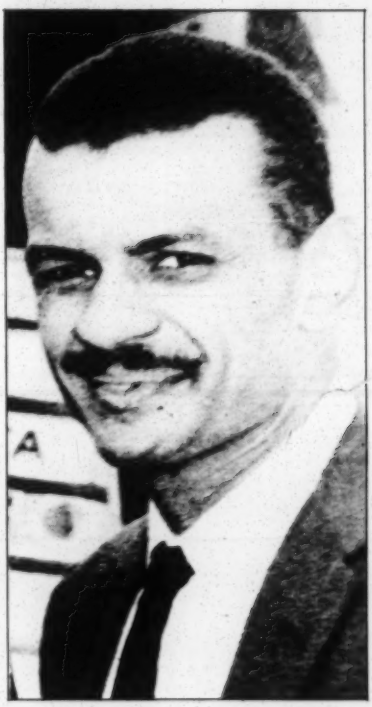
The meeting at the Cosmopolitan Community Church was attended separately by both Thrasher and W. E. Brock III, the Republican candidate. Each spoke briefly and then answered questions put to them from the floor.

The vote was taken after the candidates had left, and after lengthy discussion of the programs outlined by both men.

The Rev. C. T. Vivian, pastor of Cosmopolitan Community Church and chairman of the local chapter of the Tennessee Voters Council, said the council members "voted for the program they believe is best for all the people—all the people of this district and all the people of this nation.

"This was a deliberate vote, taken after weeks of thinking on the part of the membership, and then after hearing Mr. Brock and Mr. Thrasher speak directly to us and answer our questions," the Rev. Mr. Vivian declared.

He said the council membership "is widely representative of the Negro community."



C. T. VIVIAN

VIVIAN LEAVES JAIL, THREE MORE FOLLOW

JACKSON, Miss. (AP)—The Rev. C. T. Vivian, a "freedom riding" Baptist minister, left Hinds County jail on bond Monday vowing the same objectives that brought him here: "To rid the nation of segregation and other social evils."

The 36-year-old Chattanooga minister left Jackson by air for Nashville headquarters for the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), which has sponsored the so-called freedom rides designed to test Southern segregation laws.

As it has done with 11 other convicted riders, CORE, posted $500 bonds for Vivian and three others who left Monday. The other three were Clarence Thomas, 20, of Champaign, Ill., a Negro seminary student; Joseph Carter, 22, of Brooklyn, N.Y., a Negro ministerial student; and Allen Cason Jr., 19, of Orlando, Fla., a Negro student.

During the past 13 days, 65 Negro and white riders have come to Jackson with announced intentions of breaking segregation laws to challenge them.

4-agencies
Core

MADISON COUNTY COORDINATING COMMITTEE
FOR
VOTER REGISTRATION

Dear Citizens and Friends,

This letter is written to you with a feeling of great urgency; knowing that we cannot afford to waste one single minute in the doing of the great work which you and I can and must do to improve our community.

Without inquiring into whether you were able to attend the organization meeting of the Madison County Coordination Committee for Vote Registration; may I review this meeting for you:

1. Speaking of attendance we were more than satisfied with the number that did turn out. Particularly pleased were we that the persons in attendance represented a healthy cross-section of the entire county. There were individuals from every community. Some individuals representing churches, some representing Parent Teachers Association, and some representing organizations.
2. Rev. Buford of the Tuskegee Civic Association brought a stirring and inspiring message. A message that challenged us as a group and as individuals.
3. The body elected officers to carry on this ninety day campaign as they are respectively listed on this stationary. The planners of the meeting had prepared in advance some 6,000 pieces of literature that was design to supply basic information as to how organizations might effectively participate in this important work. (Samples are enclosed).
4. The body officially declared the opening of the campaing contest, which allows three $25.00 prizes for individuals and three $100.00 prizes for organizations. (Information regarding the contest details will be found on the sheet attached to this letter.)

Information is being received each day that in cate that some organizations are already at work.

There are just two request that we wish to make at this time.

1. Please make certain that your secretary begins at once to follow through with the instructions given in the little pamphlet that is entitled "Eight Easy Steps." Please have your secretary know that she will soon be contacted for a report of her progress.
2. As soon as your organization has 100% registered members please let us know. We are preparing an honor roll of organizations.

You may expect to hear from us again soon.

Yours truly,

H P Snodgrass
Mrs. Dorothy L. Turner

Dr. H. P. Snodgrass
Mrs. Dorothy L. Turner
Co-Chairmen

IV People consider Voting as being as important

V many people desire to participate

I Registration had been a one man show

III person of broad leadership connection had not involved themselves

II absence of the personell to give the community confidence in the ~~[illegible]~~.

(good idea) there must be identified person who
Student Union
Orientation (point the way)
worker
individual of integrity

~~VI~~ The absence of enthusiasm
~~VII~~ ~~[illegible]~~ ~~VIII~~ Dignified ~~VIII~~ must be presentable and not aggressive
~~[illegible]~~ non-aggressive

a success drive (program) must be a Community Involvement

~~IV~~ there must be a hard core of dedicated ~~[illegible]~~ ~~[illegible]~~ willing to work ~~[illegible]~~ with concern for personal recognition

~~X~~ there must be ~~[illegible]~~ some money money for the project.

241/63

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

Farmer Asks Kennedy Aid

Jackson, Miss., March 21: CORE National Director James Farmer called for the 'personal intervention' of Attorney General Robert Kennedy in a shooting attempt upon the wife of CORE field secretary David Dennis.

Farmer said, "The third shooting attack on voter registration workers in Mississippi in three weeks indicates a failure of state and federal authorities to adequately enforce the law and to protect citizens in their most elementary responsibilities. It is time for your personal intervention."

Mrs. Dennis was visiting her cousin in Jackson, Mississippi when three shots ripped through the windshield of the family car. City police were called but did not investigate.

The CORE field secretary has narrowly escaped injury in previous shootings. In the course of his voter registration work he has been arrested 3 times for "traffic" offenses.

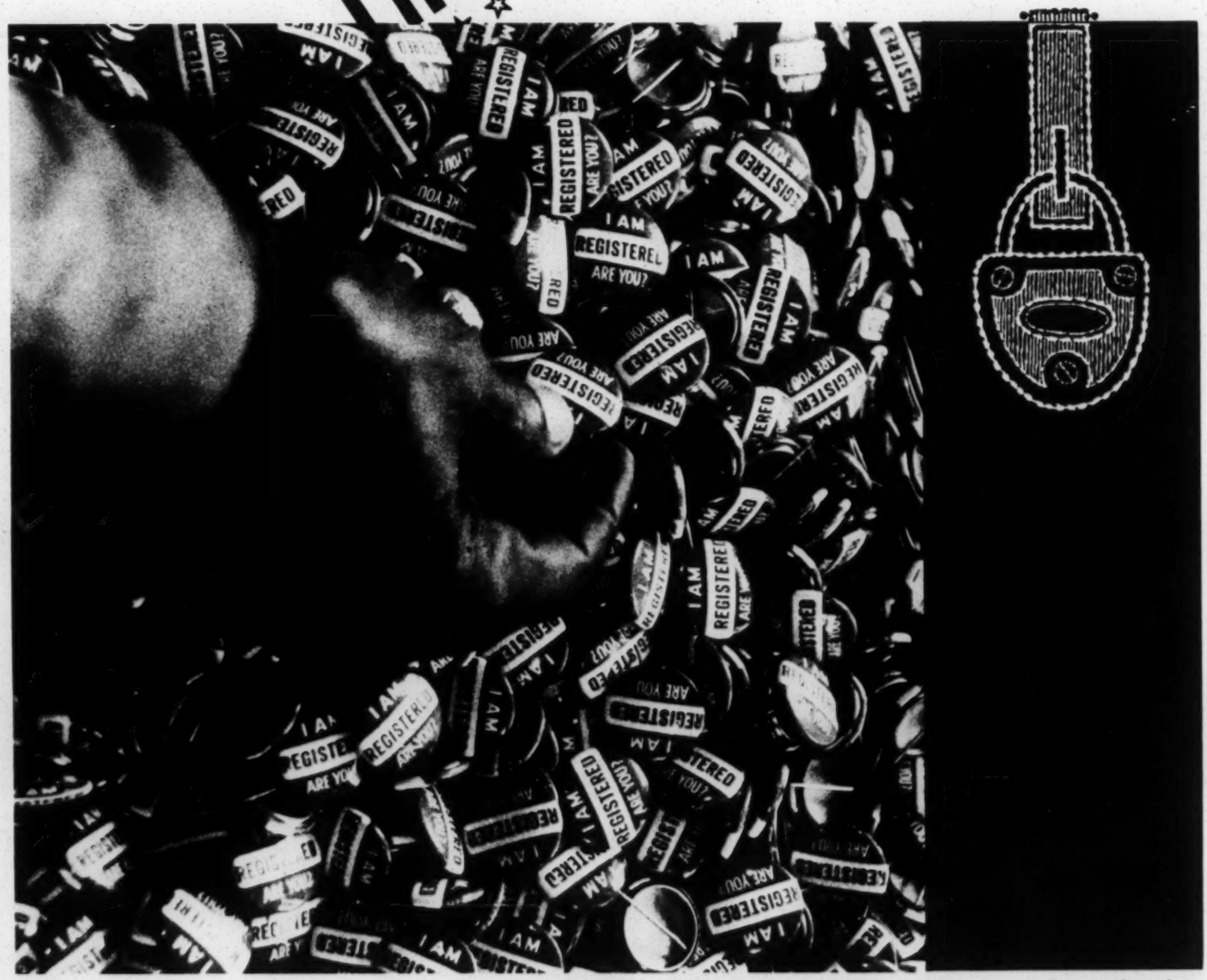
Mrs. Dennis is a student at Tougaloo Christian College and has done voter registration work in Forrest and Washington counties.

####

4-Core-News release

WB ✓
RB ✓
JM ✓
PA ✓
ML ✓
SB ✓
VEP

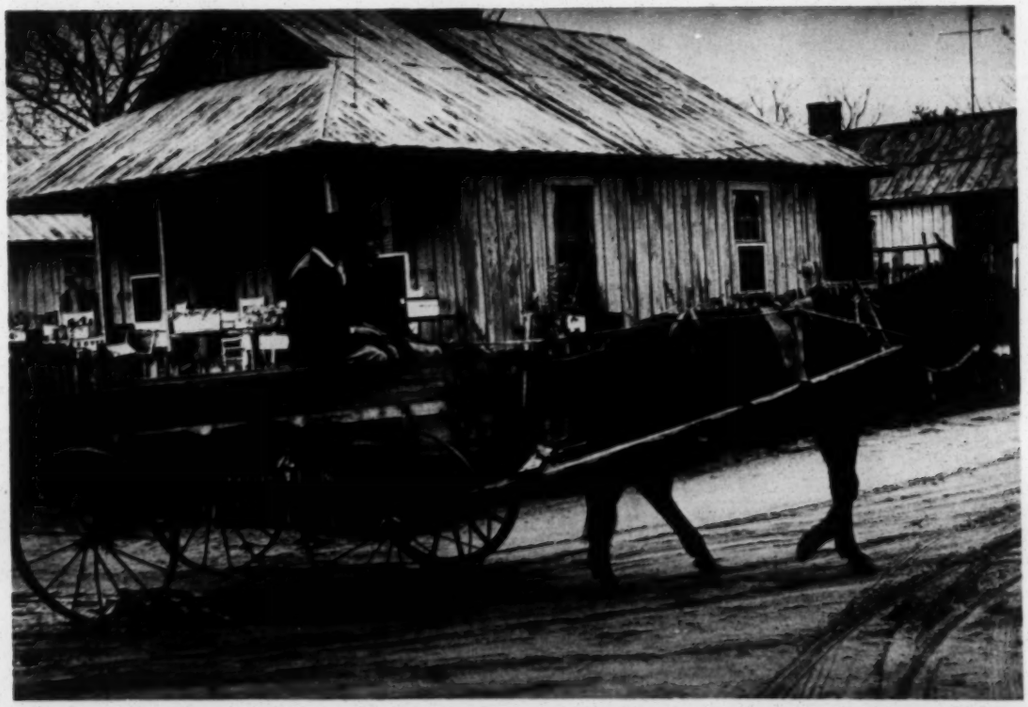
THE RIGHT TO VOTE



by James T. McCain, CORE Director of Organization

1- agencies - Core
News Releases

This is Sumter, South Carolina . . . my home town. I was born here, educated in its public schools and graduated from Morris College. I played on those of its streets which were not paved.



I have seen Sumter grow in population to approximately 24,000 people and spread out over a wide area. I have watched its acorns grow into mighty oaks which have become a source of local pride.

As a Negro boy, I knew there were differences.

But as I grew up, I increasingly became aware that day-to-day living for a Negro in Sumter was not only different, but separate and unequal.

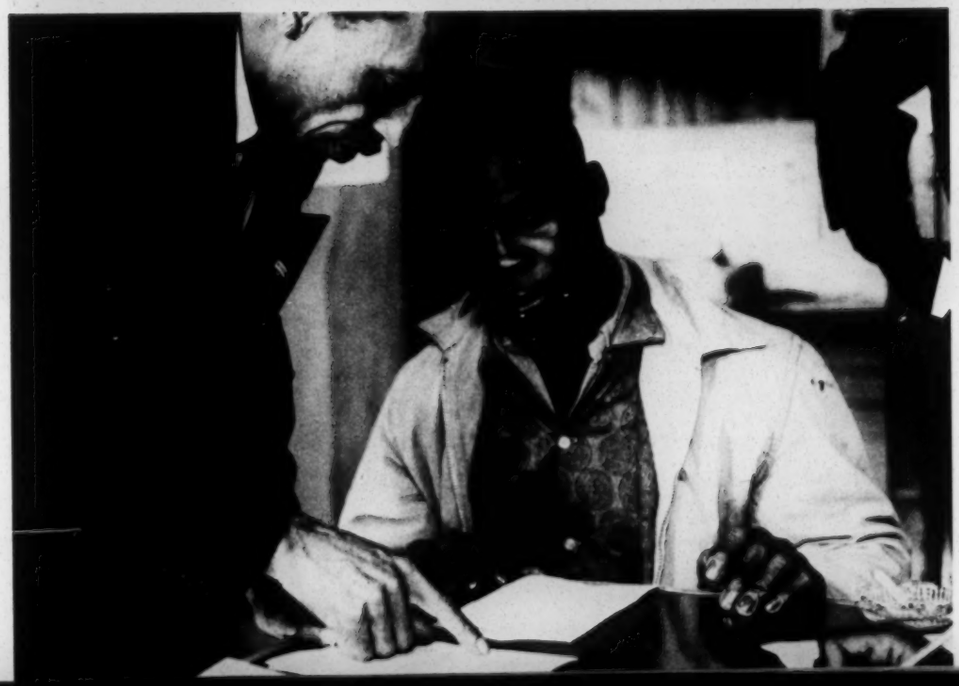
After graduation, I became a teacher and, eventually, a school principal. I was dismissed on suspicion of having gotten parents' signatures in initiating a petition to desegregate the Mullins, South Carolina, public schools. Blacklisted as a teacher, I was unable to find another position in the county.

I had been working on voter registration even before Negroes legally won the right to vote in the state primaries. In 1958, the year after passage of the first federal civil rights law in 87 years, I took a position with CORE, heading a statewide voter registration campaign. That drive has been stepped-up recently under the direction of Frank Robinson, a longtime friend and also a native of Sumter.

These photos show Frank performing the important first step of house-to-house canvassing. It is necessary to explain to each person why it is important for them to register.

Next comes instruction on how to fill out registration blanks. CORE registration instruction headquarters is open daily. In the center of the next page, Frank's daughter is demonstrating how to complete the blanks.

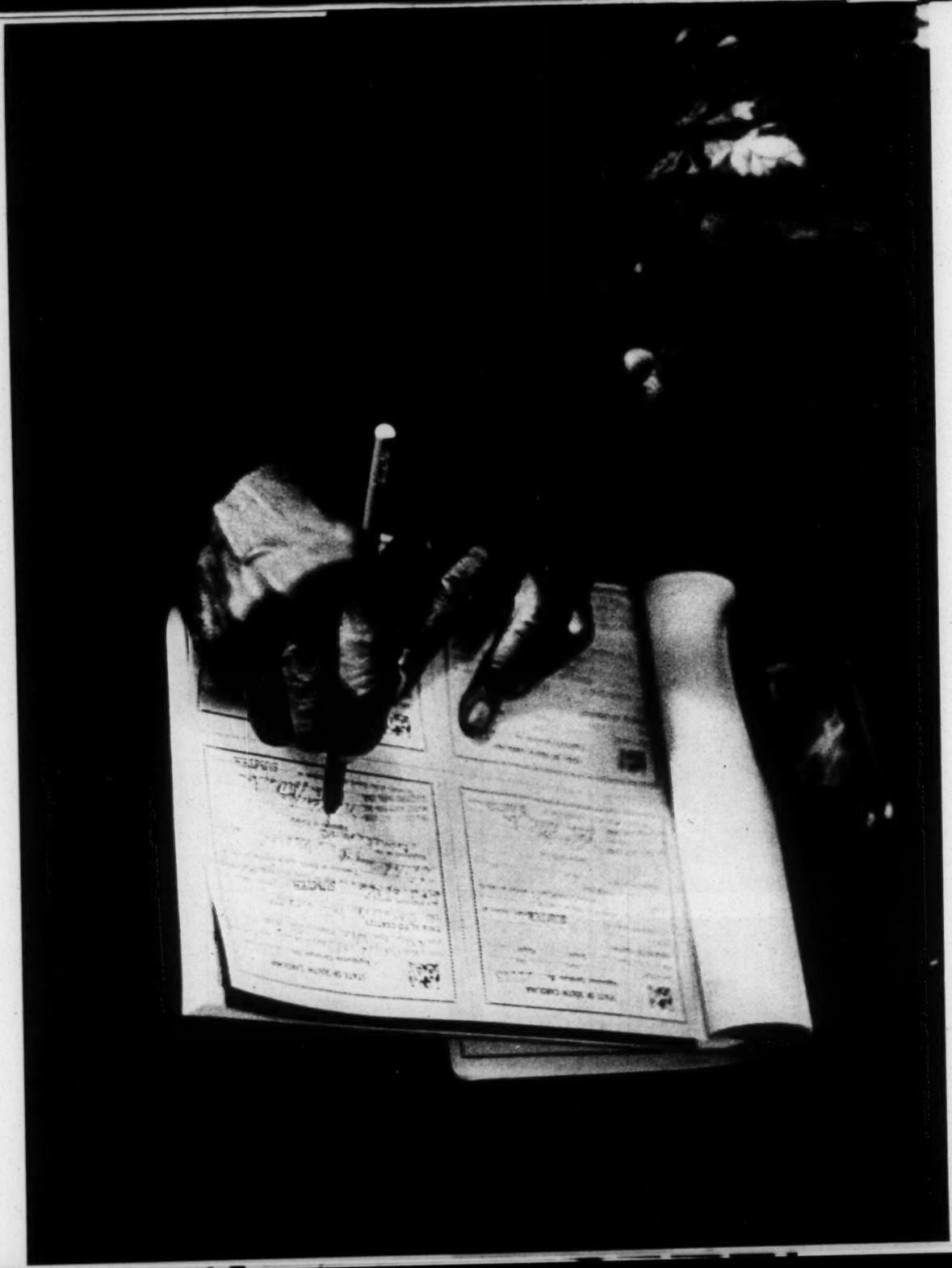
REGISTRATION
INSTRUCTION
HEAD QUARTER
Hours
Monday
254 E



Here, Frank accompanies three persons to the registration office in the Sumter County courthouse.

Most persons register without major difficulty.

Applicants rejected because of an error on their blank are given further instruction and are taken back to the registration office to re-apply. Within a month, 750 persons visited our registration instruction headquarters for advice or help in qualifying to register.



The task of registration is completed.

I AM
REGISTERED
ARE YOU!

In my first annual report after going to work for CORE, I pointed out that in counties where we had established voter registration committees, the percentage of Negroes registered was higher than in counties where no such group had been functioning. For the first time, during the year's primary runoffs, candidates invited Negroes to meet with them and discuss community problems. In a number of communities, candidates who stressed segregation were defeated. Negroes ran for public office in larger numbers than in any year since winning the right to vote in the formerly all-white state primaries.

For example, in that year Negroes for the first time took over all Democratic Party offices in Sumter's Precinct 3-B and elected 16 of the 17 delegates to the Democratic County Convention. Rev. Fred C. James, a Negro and a leader of Sumter CORE, set a precedent by running for city council. In Columbia, according to "The State," a daily newspaper, "the predominantly Negro Ward 9—was more than enough to

make the difference" of 14 votes by which Lester Bates nosed out his ultra-segregationist opponent in the mayoralty election.

These types of advances were augmented in subsequent years, as the South Carolina voter registration campaign continued.

In Sumter County, registrars have begun using technicalities to bar Negroes from registering. This has long been the practice in Clarendon County where, in 1958, an applicant reported to me that she had been refused a certificate because she mispronounced the word "indict" in reading a portion of the state constitution. And in Williamsburg County, Negroes – some of them teachers and college graduates – were summarily refused registration certificates because in the registrar's opinion, they could not read or write.

It is this kind of technicality which is used today throughout rural areas of the deep south to deny Negroes their constitutional right to vote. Reports of the United States Civil Rights Commission give detailed descriptions of these devices. In one case brought by the federal government, a Louisiana registrar was revealed as unable to pass the test which she gave to prospective Negro voters. Negroes frequently are threatened with loss of job and even with physical violence, if they dare to exercise their voting rights.

Where such a situation prevails, there is need for the type of nonviolent action on voting which Martin Luther King has advocated. This would consist of Negroes assembling nonviolently at registration offices and remaining until registered. In such areas, voting rights must first be won before they can be exercised.

For every United States citizen, voting is a democratic duty. For us, who are Negroes in the south, it is more than that. It is an essential step toward winning equality and ending our second class citizenship. When we win the right to vote in those parts of the south where it is still denied us and when we exercise our voting rights throughout the south, we can put the ultra-segregationist politicians out of business. We can make the south a part of the United States.

your vote
REGISTER!
TED!

Edited by Jim Peck
Photographs by Bob Adelman
Designed by Jerrold Goldman
Published August, 1962,
by CORE (Congress of Racial Equality)
38 Park Row,
New York 38, N. Y.
Price 40¢ Reduction on quantity orders

WBC
JMV
RTB

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and Robert Gore

New York City Rocked By CORE Sit-Ins And Pickets Demanding Employment Improvements For Non-White Citizens

New York, N.Y., July 11: New York City, known throughout the nation as a citadel of human rights, has suddenly been rocked with a series of anti-segregation demonstrations, pointing up the city's unhappy record in the areas of housing, employment and school desegregation. The protests have been led by the local chapters of the Congress of Racial Equality.

In the Bronx, CORE pickets have been walking since Saturday, July 6 in front of the White Castle diner at Allerton and Boston Roads. CORE is demanding that the White Castle chain grant equal employment opportunities to minority groups. At this moment, the chain has 7 non-white employees (all in unskilled jobs) in a total of 126 employees. CORE is petitioning for 25 minority-group employees. The reaction to the CORE picket lines has astonished both CORE and New York civic leaders. Roving bands of white teenagers sporting rebel flags have jeered and physically attacked the demonstrators and a number of arrests of hecklers have been made. Pushing, spitting, kicking, Molotov Cocktails, and screaming abuse ("nigger go home" etc) have characterized the assault on the pickets. The CORE lines have grown over the past few days and there has been a strict adherence to the principles of non-violence on the part of the demonstrators. Bronx CORE has announced its intention to continue the picketing until its demands are met.

Both Mayor Wagner's and Governor Rockefeller's offices are the sites of extended sit-ins by CORE demonstrators demanding equal employment opportunities for Negroes throughout the city and state funded housing projects. The sit-inners, who have vowed to stay in both offices until they get complete satisfaction, are demanding that all city and state financed housing projects shut down until substantial policy

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changes are made and the number of non-white employees increased.

Two other CORE projects affecting employment issues mushroomed into the headlines in the past few days. CORE demonstrators have staged a dramatic stand-in at the Rutgers Street housing development on New York's Lower East Side. Six demonstrators, lying in the path of cement trucks, have been arrested in their effort to halt construction until the city grants equal employment opportunities to minority groups and actually hires a substantial number of non-white workmen. The second demonstration is being staged in front of the new Downstate Medical center in Brooklyn. At this site, another city-funded construction operation, CORE pickets have been arrested for passively blocking the entrance to the site in an effort to halt construction operations.

It has become more apparent each day in New York that the city and state must take vigorous action to improve employment opportunities for its non-white citizens. The CORE demonstrations are at last bringing this issue home to the North.

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CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

CORE ANNOUNCES END OF "TRUCE" IN GADSDEN ALABAMA

CORE demonstrators in Gadsden Alabama have announced the end of local "truce" which halted civil rights demonstrations in the deep Southern city two weeks ago. Marvin Robinson, CORE spokesman in Gadsden, reported today that sit-ins and other demonstrations would resume on Monday, July 15. Demanding an end of segregation throughout the city, which scores of demonstrators have been harassed and jailed, Robinson said "negotiations and talk have been fruitless. We must now renew our program of non-violent direct action."

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38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

COLUMBUS CORE SITS-IN AT OHIO
LEGISLATURE IN DEMAND FOR FAIR HOUSING

Columbus, Ohio, July 11, -- Yesterday (9) became the site of major civil rights demonstration led by the local branch of CORE (The Congress of Racial Equality). The Columbus CORE group, led by Reverend Arthur Jebbs sat-in at the Chambers of the state House of Representatives in support of their demand that fair housing legislation be passed in the current session of the Ohio legislature. Two of the demonstrators were carried bodily from the House chambers and other CORE members started a sit-in in the Ohio Governor's office in support of their demand. Fair Housing legislation has been proposed in this session, but neither the Governor nor the legislature has acted on it.

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38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtland 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and

HIGH POINT NORTH CAROLINA HOSPITAL INTEGRATED AS A RESULT OF CORE ACTION

High Point, N.C., July 11,. -- The Congress of Racial Equality(CORE) scored a major victory today in High Point, North Carolina when Mayor Floyd Mehan announced the "total integration" of the local General Hospital after a series of CORE demonstrations. CORE leader Della Mitchell reported the Mayor's commitment and quoted his pledge that the hospital would be "totally integrated immediately". Mrs Mitchell reminded reporters of the tragic conditions that led to CORE's action. "For literally hundreds of years, High Point has had virtually no hospital facilities for its Negro citizens", she said, "It is almost impossible to count the number of unnecessary deaths and serious illnesses and maimings that have resulted from this policy of not accepting Negro patients in the full hospital. In some small way, I hope this victory will help to atone for the death of blues singer Bessie Smith who was refused help in a Southern white hospital after a near fatal car accident, and died of her wounds. I applaud the Mayor's decision" But I must point out,""she continued, "that High Point is still a basically segregated city and that CORE's efforts will continue until High Point is completely 'open' and this includes restaurants, hotels, motels, and any other public facility."

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WBV
JMV
RTB

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
CO 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: MARVIN RICH AND BOB GORE

CORE Members Desegregate New Orleans Auditorium

New Orleans--July 25: A three-judge court ordered the municipal auditorium desegregated here but Negroes were barred from viewing the Patterson-Liston fight. According to Miss Oretha Castle, Chairman of New Orleans CORE, the auditorium officials stated that they had not received the order from the court.

Two Negroes purchased "white" tickets and were admitted into the main floor section reserved for whites. Negroes were restricted to the balcony. An attempt was made to refund the ticket price but the two Negroes, Doratha Smith and Norman Woods, declined the offer. After officials threatened to call the police wagon, Miss Smith and Mr. Woods told them to "go ahead and call the wagon." Subsequently, they were permitted to enter and watched the brief championship bout desegregated from seats 1 and 2, row M.

Bias at Beach Challenged

Meanwhile, the Pontchartrain Beach here, an amusement park, was also the scene of CORE action. Several CORE members entered the park and a crowd of 400 to 500 people gathered around them to heckle. Henry Batt, son of the owner of the park told the CORE members, "We're not going to have you arrested. We'll turn you over to the crowd and let them do what they want with you." The group was spat on, clam shells were thrown at them and the window of Miss Oretha Castle's car was broken. Miss Castle is Chairman of New Orleans CORE and a member of the inter-racial group's National Action Council.

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38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7-6270

ATTN: Marvin Rich and Robert Gore

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE:

New York City Judge Gives Stiff Sentences to Sit-Inners

New York--July 25--Judge T. Vincent Quinn gave 30 and 60 day sentences yesterday to five New Yorkers who had attempted to block construction at a building site here. According to informed sources, the usual sentence for "disorderly conduct" is one to ten days.

Two additional persons were tried yesterday on charges of disorderly conduct and "intrusion onto real property." They are scheduled for sentencing tomorrow.

In a statement issued by Richard Haley, CORE's assistant national director, he said "CORE feels that an obvious 'example' is being made and decries aggressive and disciplinary tactics of the court, making peaceful citizens its victims. They have done no more than demand an end to the injustices of employment discrimination in our city."

More than 300 demonstrators have been jailed throughout the city in recent weeks. They have been protesting discrimination in employment in New York where there are laws which preclude discrimination, but where it exists despite the laws. CORE National Director James Farmer has asked Governor Nelson Rockefeller to pardon the convicted sit-inners.

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Core Sample

EXPENSE REPORT

PERIOD ENDING _____ 19____

DAY	CITY AND STATE	LODGING	TRANSPORTATION: AIR, RAIL ETC.	TRANSPORTATION: LIMOUSINE TAXI, ETC.	AUTOMOBILE EXPENSES: MILEAGE	AUTOMOBILE EXPENSES: DESCRIPTION	AUTOMOBILE EXPENSES: AMOUNT	MEALS	LOCAL TAXI & CARFARE	OTHER EXPENSES: ITEMIZE	OTHER EXPENSES: AMOUNT	DAILY TOTAL
SUNDAY												
MONDAY												
TUESDAY												
WEDNESDAY												
THURSDAY												
FRIDAY												
SATURDAY												
	TOTALS											

EXPLANATION OF OTHER EXPENSES

☐ DEDUCT FROM MY ADVANCE

☐ MAIL CHECK TO

TOTAL EXPENSES

SIGNATURE

APPROVED BY

FORM 44-950 U.S.A.

Agencies
4-Core -

SNAP-A-WAY FORMS

1 Crease at perforation. Hold stub, letting sheets hang loose.

2 Group loose ends of printed forms beyond carbon sheets.

3 Hold set so that it buckles slightly.

4 Snap forms away from stub.

GrayLine GrayLine GrayLine GrayLine GrayLine GrayLine GrayLine GrayLine

WAB
RTB
JM
JL
JS

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

STATEMENT BY JAMES FARMER, NATIONAL DIRECTOR, CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY, DONALDSONVILLE JAIL, DONALDSONVILLE, LOUISIANA. AUGUST 22, 1963.

"I am making this statement from the Donaldsonville, Louisiana jail where I am interned with 200 others, arrested early this week in Plaquemine, Louisiana while we were peacefully walking trying to secure rights and services for the Plaquemine Negro community. We are all here in personal witness to the continued disfranchisement of the American Negro in our society.

For many years I have felt and CORE as an organization has felt that this kind of personal witnessing at the very heart of the problem can help end both the terrors and the indignities of racial discrimination. It is therefore my intention to remain here.

I may therefore be unable to attend the historic March On Washington on August 28th. I regret this very much but I know that my action will be understood by the marchers as one of conscience."

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CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COurtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: MARVIN RICH AND JAMES PECK

FARMER HEADS MASS JAIL-IN IN LOUISIANA

Plaquemine, La., Aug. 22: The arrest on August 19 of James Farmer, CORE national director and 16 other civil rights march leaders started a jail-in involving over 200 persons.

The 400 marchers started singing freedom songs on their way from the Plymouth Rock Baptist Church of Rev. J. W. Davis to City Hall. Police retaliated by firing teargas grenades. The marchers returned to the church and re-formed their ranks. Upon arrival at City Hall, the 17 were arrested. Other marchers volunteered to be arrested also, but police simply continued to hurl grenades. Some of the marchers were forced to the ground, but continued singing

Next day, 44 persons were arrested while sitting in doorways of segregated eating places. Fire hoses and electric prod rods were brought into view around City Hall. The following day, 83 persons were arrested while sitting-in at segregated restaurants and 80 that evening. A temporary injunction against demonstrations was issued August 21 by U.S. Judge E. Gordon West, A Kennedy appointee.

All those jailed, including Farmer, vowed to remain jailed-in. Twenty-five arrested prior to August 19 during CORE's concentrated voter registration drive in this area, were released when their cases were dismissed.

In addition to the usual, obnoxious, deep-south segregation practices, the demonstrators are protesting gerrymandering of the Negro section so that it is outside city limits. The city provides no sewer facilities and no street lights for the Negro section.

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CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and Jim Peck

Zev Aelony of CORE Faces Death Penalty In Georgia

Americus, Ga., Aug. 22: Zev Aelony, CORE (Congress of Racial Equality) field worker is faced with the death penalty in Americus, Georgia. Aelony was arrested while walking down the street in Americus, charged with "attempting to incite insurrection." The offense is not bailable and Aelony, who was recently beaten in a Florida jail, will be forced to stay in prison until his case is tried.

The charge of insurrection was last used in the '30s.. CORE officials have lodged protests with the Justice Department and legal assistance for young Aelony is being mobilized.

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CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

CORE Drive Wins Jobs In 23 Stores

Lexington, Ky., Aug. 22: Direct action together with a selective buying campaign by Lexington CORE has gained jobs for Negroes in 23 major downtown stores within a month. The stores have already hired from one to 12 Negroes each and are expected to hire more in the immediate future.

One of the stores is Sears Roebuck, where nine CORE members had been arrested sitting in the aisles. Charged with violating a city fire ordinance, they were acquitted by a judge who ruled that they could have moved easily and quickly had a fire broken out.

On August 21, 14 CORE members sitting-in at Stewart's Department store were arrested when they refused to leave at closing time. All but five of them, who are juveniles, remained jailed-in. The CORE group is aiming to establish a fair employment policy at all major downtown stores.

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CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COurtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: MARVIN RICH AND JAMES PECK

MOTORCADE MOVES SLUM'S JUNK TO SLUMLORD'S HOUSE

Philadelphia, Aug. 22: A truck loaded with half a ton of junk collected in a South Philadelphia slum, headed on August 17 for the home of one of the area's chief slumlords, Sol Levin.

Following the truck, which contained broken plumbing, worn-out mattresses, rusty bedsprings, etc., was a motorcade of some 200 Philadelphia CORE members. The street leading to Levin's West Philadelphia home was blocked by a cordon of 30 policemen. So the CORE members emptied the truck's contents in front of the police line. The police inspector in charge summoned a city dump truck.

This protest action was the latest in the CORE group's campaign to eliminate South Philadelphia's slum conditions. Ten days earlier, in an attempt to make the municipal government aware of how miserable these conditions are, a CORE deputation escorted a group of city officials through the Hawthorne section of South Philadelphia and arranged interviews with some of its more unfortunate inhabitants.

"Some of the places we visited were dreadful," commented Thomas McBride, co-chairman of the Mayor's Commission on Civil Rights.

"You'll never make these houses good enough to live in," was the opinion of Barnet Liberman, Commissioner of Licenses and Inspection.

Dell Graham, chairman of Philadelphia CORE headed the deputation which conducted the tour.

Arrest 8 Dumping Slum's Rubbish at City Hall

New York City, Aug. 22: Eight members of New York University CORE were arrested on August 21 as they unloaded in front of City Hall a truckload of junk collected behind a row of rat infested tenements on Eldridge Street. A sizeable pile, which had been dumped before the arrests occurred, was removed later by a city sanitation truck.

During the demonstration, City Hall was picketed by over 100 adults and chidren from the neighborhood carrying signs in both Spanish and English saying "Slumlords Must Go."

Later in the day trucks from the Department of Sanitation cleaned up Eldridge Street.

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THE YALE LAW JOURNAL

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THE WAR ON POVERTY: A CIVILIAN PERSPECTIVE*

EDGAR S.† and JEAN C. CAHN‡

PRESIDENT Johnson has declared unconditional war on poverty. The strategy of that war appears to have been shaped by an awareness of the interrelatedness of the social, economic, legal, educational, and psychological problems which beset the poor and by a recognition of the necessity to involve all segments of society in a many-pronged attack on these problems.[1]

At present, a half-dozen or so pilot projects[2] already in existence have attempted to deal with the problems of poverty by employing this comprehensive approach. If these offer any indication, the war metaphor is more than effective rhetoric. It is an approach which views poverty as posing a series of complex problems in logistics: how to supply the needed food, housing, medical care, education, jobs, and skills to one-fifth of a nation. The need for such a massive movement of social services, facilities, education, guidance, jobs, and

*We wish to dedicate this article to the beloved memory of our father, Edmond Cahn.

The opinions expressed herein are the personal views of the authors and in no way represent the position of the United States Government or any agency thereof.

This article was begun under a grant from Yale Law School. The authors wish particularly to express their gratitude and indebtedness to Gary Bellow of the Legal Aid Agency, District of Columbia for his many substantive contributions and the wealth of personal experience which he shared.

We wish also to thank Lee Albert, LL.B. Yale, 1963, for his extensive editorial assistance in the preparation of this article, and Abram Chayes, former Legal Advisor, Department of State, and John Ely, LL.B. Yale, 1963, for their valuable editorial suggestions.

†Member of the Connecticut Bar.

‡Legal Advisor's Office, Department of State; formerly Neighborhood Attorney for Dixwell Neighborhood, Community Progress, Inc., New Haven, Connecticut; Associate Counsel, New Haven Redevelopment Agency; Director, Community Organization Staff, Harlem Park Renewal Area, Baltimore Urban Renewal and Housing Authority.

1. See generally SELECT SUBCOMMITTEE ON POVERTY OF THE SENATE COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE, 88TH CONG., 2D SESS., THE WAR ON POVERTY, THE ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY ACT OF 1964 (Comm. Print 1964).

2. Such projects are presently in various stages of action, demonstration, and planning in New Haven, Boston, Oakland, Philadelphia, Cleveland, Charleston, Houston, Minneapolis, Washington, New York, Chicago, St. Louis, Syracuse, Detroit, Providence, Los Angeles, Lane County, Oregon and North Carolina. See AMERICAN COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT, PRELIMINARY REPORTS BY DIRECTORS OF PROJECTS ASSISTED BY THE FORD FOUNDATION IN FOUR CITIES AND A STATE (1963); PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON JUVENILE DELINQUENCY REPORT (1963). Of these projects, only a few have passed from the planning stage to the demonstration and action stages.

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FEDERAL BAIL PROCEDURES

A Summary of Congressional Hearings
August, 1964

Prepared by Brenda Najberg

In August, 1964, the Senate subcommittees on Constitutional Rights and Improvements in Judicial Machinery heard testimony from government officials and private citizens. The subject under consideration was proposed legislation to improve the Federal bail system. Since Federal and State legislation often manifest mutual influences, the subject is of vital importance for the civil rights movement. The proposed legislation directly affects the type of inequities which CORE is attempting to rectify. Furthermore, some of the provisions have potential significance for the civil rights workers as a class of defendants in criminal prosecutions.

Essentially, the three bills under discussion attempt to cover alternatives for bail, credit for time spent in pre-trial detention, and methods for alleviating the costs of bail. The following discussion does not include provisions directly applicable to the District of Columbia, since they are similar to the general provisions.

S. 2838, the most significant of the bills, provides that no person shall be denied bail solely because he is financially unable to give a bond or security. Indigent persons in custody shall be admitted to bail on personal recognizance, if otherwise eligible. The release need not be unconditional, and the government may show good cause why the defendant should not be released. The defendant must be informed of the penalties for failure to comply with the terms of his release. Forfeiture of the bail and wilful failure to surrender within 30 days of forfeiture, result in a maximum fine of $5,000 or 5 years imprisonment. The same penalty applies to the terms of the personal recognizance but no 30 day grace period is allowed.

During the course of the hearings, many problems created by the text of S.2838 were discussed. CORE should be especially concerned with the inherent ambiguities and problems raised by the underlined words or phrases.

For example, "if otherwise eligible" is a vague statement which fails to specify criteria for eligibility. Under the criteria for the usual pre-trial release recommendations, Northern civil rights workers in the South would not be eligible for release because they are not long time residents or job holders with roots in the community. Also the use of prior arrest records as criteria for release should be re-examined in its applicability to civil rights workers. One suggestion which might satisfy, at least in theory, Southern courts, was the establishment of a Federal crime covering flight across a state line with recapture at Federal expense.[1]

The same objection can be made to the phrase, "good cause," since released civil rights workers are potential recidivists. If "good cause" were defined more precisely and perhaps limited to enumerated crimes, this danger could be offset.

The word "indigent" in the hearing should be defined or perhaps even eliminated. Several witnesses suggested that the equal protection clause might necessitate the application of the personal recognizance concept to the non-indigent.

The suggestion was made that the pre-trial provisions be extended to later stages of the proceedings, such as appeal or petition for certiorari.

CORE should pursue this suggestion, particularly since the subcommittee failed to adopt the recommendation. The arbitrary convictions in some courts and the policies of the organization regarding appeals are factors to be considered here. However, problems are created by the post-conviction extinction of the presumption of innocence.

No basis is clear for the absence of a grace period in the personal recognizance provision. If the purpose of the bill is to eliminate inequities in the pre-trial release system, why create a new and glaring disparity. The contempt power is available here as a parallel to forfeiture.[2]

Many witnesses objected to the severity of the penalties as compared to section 3146 of title 18, U.S.C., which tailors the skip penalty to the original offense. Theoretically, a jurisdiction which adopts this provision could punish a sit-in who violated a minor condition of his release. With a five year jail sentence. No distinction is made between degrees of non-compliance.[3] Vera has found that most offenders violate the conditions of their release for easily explainable reasons such as inability to understand the procedure or illness. Because of the potential for abuse, this provision should be clarified.

S 2839 is a brief bill which would allow credit towards the service of sentence for time spent in jail before sentencing. The present statute limits the time-credit concept to those offenses where a minimum mandatory sentence is imposed.

Most witnesses thought that this was a good bill, since most judges apparently do not utilize the time-credit concept. One witness suggested that the concept be applied to those persons held for reasons other than lack of bail, particularly juveniles.[4] The suggestion was made that the Illinois money-credit system be utilized. The Illinois judges apply a certain amount of money for each day of pre-conviction detention towards the fine if conviction results in the imposition of a fine.[5]

S 2840, modelled on Ill.Rev. Stat. ch. 38, No.110-14 (1964), is applicable to cases where bail has been set. It provides for a deposit with the court of 10% of the total amount of bail and the execution of a personal bond (no collateral or other surety) by the accused. Upon compliance with the conditions of his bond, the accused recovers 90% of his deposit, the court retaining 1% of the total amount for expenses. The premium paid to the bondsman, which is non-recoverable and varies in amount in different areas, is eliminated. Forfeiture is the penalty here, but the judge has discretionary power not to declare a forfeiture if "justice does not require it."

Civil rights workers who have trouble finding bondsmen in the South should benefit from this provision. The chief objectors to S 2840 were the bondsmen, who suggested alternatives, such as a privately operated assigned risk pool under the control of state insurance departments. The bill received overwhelming support from other witnesses, with the suggestion that it be extended to cover material witnesses.

An additional problem is raised by S 2838 and S 2840. Many judges at the National Conference on Bail and Criminal Justice indicated that defendants released before trial frequently do not get assigned counsel. The suggestion was made that Gideon v. Wainwright apparently removed this problem, but the answer is not clear at the present time.[6]

Many practical problems were raised in the hearings and publications. Foremost among these was the question of who should administer the program. Among the groups suggested were the Federal probation officers (or state officers in states which adopt similar legislation), private organizations and law schools, and of particular interest to CORE, police and prosecutors. All of these are now being tried in various jurisdictions which are experimenting with pre-trial release.[7] Most witnesses favored the probation officers because of their fact-finding and counselling ability.

Other factors discussed were costs of administration and the feasibility of programs in areas with poorly trained law enforcement agencies. Most of the administrative problems lend themselves to the solutions offered by probation programs. For example, many authorities believe that the probation area is coming to rely more heavily upon fixed conditions for release. Information used in pre-trial release would be available for the sentencing judge. Since the judge would have an objective evaluation of the probability of appearance for trial, civil rights workers could utilize this information in attempts to challenge arbitrary fixing of bail.

A great deal of time was spent reviewing the functions and history of bail. Of particular interest to CORE were the conclusions reached about the use of bail as a punitive measure rather than as a means of assuring appearance,[8] and the studies of the effect of pre-trial detention and release upon the ultimate disposition of the cases. Of incidental interest were the figures showing the high rate of rejection of non-indigents in certain cities in the South.[9] The practices of the bondsmen were studied thoroughly by the National Conference on Bail and Criminal Justice.[10]

The other topic which was treated briefly was the use of other alternatives for bail. The summons, which is the subject of a new Vera study, and the conditional release (daytime, third party parole, supervised) were treated briefly.

The hearings and publications in the Hearings volume contain a great deal of useful reference materials. The publication is timely, because the reformation of pre-trial release is inherently related to the Administration's war on poverty. It seems to be sound policy to support this legislation even in its present, inadequate form, if necessary, because it represents a realistic approach to many problems faced by the civil rights movement.

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References to "Federal Bail Procedures," Hearings before the Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights and the Subcommittee on Improvements in Judicial Machinery of the Judiciary Committee, United States Senate, Eighty-Eighth Congress, August 4, 5, 6, 1964.

1. p. 125
2. p. 147
3. p. 458
4. p. 135
5. p. 163
6. p. 137
7. p. 110
8. p. 288
9. p. 270
10. p. 258-274

February 5, 1965

ENDING THE LANDLORD TENANT RELATIONSHIP IN THE SLUMS

While the babel of monologues, dialogues and just plain shouting matches about civil rights continues, a vicious rebellion has become critical. Landlords in virtually every major city no longer make a pretense of obeying the law. Organized, well financed, they are an active anti-legal group which resorts to force, violence and intimidation when necessary. This rebellious conspiracy has taproots in the financial community, the respectable bar, the political structure and the police. The slums today are a battleground, not ideologically or theoretically, but in physical actuality. On this battleground law and order have withdrawn or have become the tool of the landlord. The "right of the people to be secure in their houses" no longer exists in the slums.

In these circumstances, the landlord-tenant relationship, as ordinarily understood, is inapplicable. The term creates nothing but confusion when applied to the slums.

Under normal conditions, the landlord-tenant relationship has three parties. Simplifying for present purposes, the parties are government, the landlord and the tenant. Normally, the parties are at equilibrium. In a city, housing has the

function of shelter only, but the manner in which that shelter is furnished has public implications. Government consequently regulates the shelter conditions. The underlying socio-economic system establishes the legal relations of landlord and tenant as a means of having shelter furnished within acceptable parameters. These parameters include building codes, market conditions, and their constituent factors. They also include standards of conduct for both landlord and tenants.

Legal process is available to protect the interests of the three parties within the parameters. Conflict between the parties is resolved by peaceful means, the possible area of conflict being itself limited so long as the parties accept the parameters.

This equilibrium does not imply the absence of either change or conflict. Both change and conflict, however, remain within the parameters, which themselves evolve slowly.

All governmental systems depend upon acquiescence. The landlord-tenant system may be said to succeed where the participants acquiesce to the extent of obeying peaceful adverse conflict resolutions. When acquiescence is withdrawn by only a few, they can be treated as outlaws. When, however,

acquiescence is withdrawn by a critical percentage, the system no longer functions and the equilibrium ends. Since all systems in the government are interdependent, the failure of one may be temporarily hidden.

The proportion of those who cease to acquiesce which is necessary to produce the failure of the system is not large. In every revolutionary situation the percentage of active participants is small. The isolation of the slums themselves and the concentration of ownership mean that a successful rebellion can be the work of a remarkably small number of landlords.

In the period of two generations, the withdrawal of acquiescence has gradually accelerated until it now affects a vast number of people, although the active participants are few. In New York, the victims are fully 20% of the total population of the city.

The rebellion of landlords has comparatively simple foundations. People become landlords to make a profit. When conditions exist to wipe out the profit, the response is to attempt to restore it. When conditions exist under which a greater profit may be secured by exceeding the parameters, those excesses may be anticipated. Both sets of conditions normally exist in the slums. Poverty, rent control, speculation and related factors often make the operation of the slum within

legal parameters unprofitable. Racial discrimination, bad law enforcement and related factors can make a slum very profitable.

A number of factors come into operation in a slum which accelerate deterioration. For example, legitimate financing ceases to be available, in a normal way. But banks do lend money to intermediaries who relend it at unconscionable rates for slum uses. The tax losses provide incentives for unecomomic trading of buildings, reducing the incidence of responsible ownership. And so on.

Other questions are raised in justification, but these should not be permitted to confuse the problem. To argue, for example, that it is inequitable to jail a landlord because he cannot afford to obey the law is meretricious. Human rights should be recognized before property rights. If the landlord cannot afford to obey the law, he should, perhaps rob a bank. A bank has plenty of money. Why should the landlord be permitted to rob only the poor? To recognize rights in property, but not obligations flowing from ownership, is plainly unreasonable within the scope of our jurisprudence.

In many cities, the conditions encouraging breach of the parameters have reached extremes, Landlords have responded by breaking the law as a policy and in concert with each other. In the absence of strong code enforcement, law breaking becomes more and more profitable and harder to stop. The result is that

buildings deteriorate and, as new houses are constructed, other houses quickly become slums. When this process is coupled with a thirty year cycle of land speculation, the results become disastrous, In recent years, under the pressure of urban renewal, this process has accelerated.

In this context, the meaning of urban renewal as presently practiced is clarified. CORE has a significant pilot project in Trenton, where urban renewal has the avowed purpose of "bringing rich people back to town". No relocation of the displaced slum people is provided. No low income housing is planned. The clear purpose of the plan is to drive out the poor, and to do it with Federal funds.

The New York Lincoln Center development, for which a whole neighborhood was destroyed, has similar characteristics. The socio-artistic implications of $12.50 per seat opera at public expense are not for present consideration, nor the unseemly squabbles of bankers, Wall Street lawyers and the artistic establishment about the division of power in this middle class Coliseum.

It is common to speak of slum conditions passively, as though they simply occur. On the contrary, these conditions result from aggressive planning. No one buys a slum without intending a course of law violation. Slums are actively traded.

A great deal of community-group effort in housing fails to have significant impact because the strategic position is not recognized. The numberless housing groups are well meaning and sympathetic. They unfortunately act as if the three party equilibrium still existed in the slums.

Slum landlords have no intention of obeying the law. On the contrary, they are actively organized to stop every effort to make law enforcement more effective.

Realistically, the three party game of slum housing has become a zero-sum game. In that game, government is temporarily allied with the landlord in an effort to reduce what is given slum people for shelter to a negligible quantum or to drive them out. This is not a simplification. A government, such as New York's, which provides only enough inspectors to examine every structure in its jurisdiction once every nine years, has implicitly joined the slumlords.

The apparent paradox of government cooperating in a rebellion against itself is easily resolved. First, government may not regard the landlords' action as rebellion since they oppose law as it is, rather than law as it is enforced. Second, landlords and related interests have subverted government and do so daily by bribery and other activities. Third, government

has an equivocal position, as representing all interests, which obscures the nature of the attack against it.

Nor is this pattern ideologically inconsistent. American society has not accepted responsibility for providing its citizens' needs. On the contrary, the so-called failure, the marginal citizen, is unwanted, left to private charity. The welfare system under which the public contribution is reduced by any sums the recipient is able to get from any other source is a blatant announcement of the presentwar against the poor. This view of welfare, now actively held by city officials, was repudiated thirty years ago by the New Deal. The division of the poor into antagonistic factions, as in the south, is no accident. The concepts of the extreme right,recently given sugar-coated exposure, cannot be ignored. The extreme right has considerable support, wealth and power. It advocates overthrow of the government , by force if necessary. It admits infiltrating police, military and other parts of the government. The destruction of the legal landlord-tenant equilibrium is an excellent focus for the war against the poor.

The participants in a three party zero-sum game can play until one or two are beaten or until it becomes clear that none can win. In housing, participation of government as an ally is plainly crucial so long as neither remaining party is prepared for violent revolution.

Since by definition, municipal government must be responsive to the electorate (barring the inertial effect of bureaucracy), government is not the inevitable ally of the landlord. But, since the shifting of government positions is slow, slum tenants face a two party alliance for an indefinite time.

In these circumstances only militant action can be effective. To enable the slum people to win requires not only recognition of the real situation but willingness to counter. In this, the fact that landlords have abandoned the nominal law gives the tenants a very strong weapon. The struggle commences with the tenants as the upholders of legitimacy against rebellion. But legitimacy merely justifies action. If no action is taken, the tenants will lose.

In every such struggle, the terms "win" and "lose" must be defined. "Win" means the rapid ending of the present slum conditions and the creation of economically and racially integrated quality housing at a cost within the means of all citizens. "Lose" means the continuation of the present process ending in the removal of slum people and their further degradation. Both terms, then, imply a temporal scale and a broader context. The program of any organization must deal, therefore, with a sequence of steps. No housing program should confront only immediate or only ultimate problems. Nor can any housing

program be formulated which fails to be coordinated with program in other areas, such as employment and education.

Since, at present, the slumlords clearly have the initiative, while CORE is in the most primitive state of organization, CORE's immediate task is to help tenants form self-protective groups or tenants' councils. As such an organization program develops, defensive techniques will drive out the weaker slumlords.

When sufficient organization exists, the tenants will be able by exercise of political rights as well as continuing defensive tactics, to stop the rebellion and begin the development of sound housing. Ultimately, the people will win sound housing and slumlords will cease to exist except as isolated outlaws. At all stages, the governing concept should be, not restoration of the old equilibrium, but fundamental land reform.

The tactics in each stage will have to be as complex as the problem. Well timed, well planned demonstrations will be necessary. Negotiations with landlords and government will play a part. Rent strike will be a part. Use of existing rehabilitation programs will be made. Tenant cooperatives will be formed. Political action will be taken. No single tactic in itself will be decisive. The tactical plan at every stage must be flexible

and must take into consideration the changing capacities of CORE, of tenants, of landlords, of government. In a large metropolis, more than one phase may be in operation at a particular time. Above all, however, the tactics employed should not be random but should bear a specific relationship to the strategy dictated by the program. Since the landlords are organized for constant effort and since the problems are continuous, it is fundamental that tactics should create a continuous if variable pressure.

The first stage presents two main problems: Organization of tenants and denying slumlords economic benefits from law breaking. The problem of organization has not been well understood by all CORE chapters. There are no marginal people; neither are the poor noble. Those who live in metropolitan slums are frequently uneducated, unattractive and unreceptive to lofty ideals. Slum people survive in a vicious environment. Survival alone is a daily accomplishment.

To organize people in such conditions requires maturity, sensivity and patience, as well as love in the Ghandian sense. There can be no dissembling, no easy ways, if only because the survivors of the slum are too smart. Further, results must be achieved. Consequently, organization must proceed by stages with carefully established attainable goals.

In this process, the legitimacy of the tenant position will exact reluctant cooperation from government. If this cannot be done by negotiation, then it must be done by demonstration. Further, tactical indirection or surprise will be beneficial. The situation suggests that this indirection can best be achieved by a variation of tactics on the model of reward-punishment conditioning.

Plainly at this stage, the selection of targets is crucial. Since slums are owned by limited numbers of individuals and since clearcut victories are necessary, organization should be landlord by landlord, not block by block. Thus, all the buildings of a particular landlord can be organized one by one. In this way, too, the mass of his illegal activities can be demonstrated.

Public awareness of the moral position must be achieved, which can be done far better in terms of an individual slumlord than in terms of mass of statistics.

This approach also brings to bear against one landlord all the energies of a chapter (or more than one chapter), softens the resolution of other landlords and brings into contact tenants from different slum neighborhoods.

To make a slum stop paying, a variety of devices are available depending on the local law. Fines, the cost of forced repairs, rent reduction and rent strikes all have this one value. Rent strikes are complicated to administer and may be harmful to organization. In many jurisdictions tenant rights are unclear. Often rent strikes must be used; but they should not be regarded as the only viable tactic. It is also important to recognize that to make slums stop paying a profit is only a negative goal. Even the repair of slums is largely a negative goal. Both stop or slow down the rebellion. Neither tactic will provide sound housing.

In the second stage, the chief new problem is dealing with the landlord's surrender. More and more landlords wish to abandon or give away slum buildings (or sell them for nominal prices). Many CORE chapters have failed to anticipate and deal with this problem, with the result that painstaking organization has been destroyed. The best solution is the formation of a tenant's cooperative to take over the building and rehabilitate it. Both public and private funds can be made available if a sound plan is formulated. Above all, a strong tenant organization is required which wants a cooperative. The cooperative creates a fundamentally democratic situation and that cannot be done by fiat.

A second alternative is the formation of a citizens' company to take over abandoned buildings, rehabilitate them and operate them on a non-profit basis. This device is being used by at least one CORE chapter with initial success.

The third method is to make government take over the buildings. This is least desirable in that local government rarely makes a good landlord. Even if government undertakes rehabilitation without removal, rent increases are a threat. Where government aids private companies to carry out rehabilitation, tenants are removed and rent increases result.

Finally, new private ownership can be found; but this is an acknowledgement of defeat, since the new owner will almost certainly start a new cycle of illegal operation.

The key consideration is that the surrender situation presents the best possible opportunity for the reeducation of tenants. Starting as a defense organization against intolerable shelter conditions, the tenants' council must become the base for participation in the city's political life and for action to deal with problems such as de-facto school segregation and police brutality. Further, the rehabilitation of slum buildings will itself provide considerable employment and opportunities for community enterprises. To make it possible for slum people

to take cooperative action for their own benefit and to participate in the community on an equal basis, is the prerequisite of integration.

The depression, in the sense of hopelessness and defeat which now exists in the slums makes possible the depredations to which these people are now subject. In this stage, CORE must attract qualified experts,accountants, construction people, social workers and other specialists. These people will necessarily render services to tenants' council over a term of years. At the same time, they will play an important role in reeducating tenants to their rights and opportunities.

Further, CORE will have to induce qualified groups to supplement Legal Aid by rendering services in welfare cases, police brutality cases and other civil and criminal litigation. The helplessness of slum tenants in dealing with legal problems is a stunning indictment of the Bar and of government.

Finally, CORE will have to take frequent, specific positions on legislation, pending or to be introduced, which bears on the problems of slum people. These related issues will have to be supported by demonstrations. The demonstrations will in turn, aid further organization. In this regard, it will be seen that if a school issue is crucial in a community at a given

time, even though a housing program has not yet begun, the school issue can subsequently become the nucleus of tenants' council in a housing program. The fact that this paper is devoted to a housing issue should not be taken as meaning that other issues are less important; but all issues ultimately lead back to community organization and community organization depends on housing organization. Some of the legislative matters will, of course, bear directly on land use. The essence is that legislative hearings at all levels of government provide an opportunity to expand and intensify the entire program.

As early as the state of organization permits, action to enforce the political process should be instituted, In the first and second phases, this action may be comparatively limited and sporadic. Tactically, this action will tend to create a show of stength greater than exists. It is, however, a theorem of action that at the time a demand is made, its realization cannot be prejudged since the making of the demand alters the conditions of realization. Concentration of such action on carefully selected issues, and particularly, concentration on exposed, responsible officials will be essential for effectiveness.

In the third phase, there must be reliance on political

process since the adoption of a realistic housing program (and shift of the initiative to the tenants) requires major political action. Where the slum population exceeds 10% of the city total, a well organized vote base in the slums can be decisive. In other places, much greater emphasis must be placed on alliances. To achieve political victory will require replacement of much of the existing political structure in slums, as well as in the whole community. Inevitably, CORE must persuade with the moral argument or place government in such a position that it must accept the moral argument.

The conclusion, that, to win complex issues, CORE will have to take political action, has been repugnant to many CORE members in the past. Yet the conclusion is inescapable. A non-violent group of limited numbers cannot deal with housing problems in ultimate terms. Nor can such a group deal with open landlord rebellion. Once the organization of large numbers is undertaken, political action is inescapable. It may satisfy some to call if "community action", since, after all, no political party will have CORE's support. These issues are likely to plague CORE for many years. CORE can destroy its effectiveness by internal dissenssion or by becoming another Urban League. It can continue only as a militant group furthering the rightful objective of those who suffer discrimination. CORE is a democratic

organization, dedicated to democratic ideals. It cannot undertake to lead demagogically or monolithically. It must organize its people to go their own way, to win by the moral force of non-violent action.

Consequently, the CORE housing program has a finite term. When people are organized and able to advance their own interests, slum conditions will have become impossible. A responsible housing program will not only be planned but completed.

At that point, the landlord-tenant-government relationship in regard to shelter will reach a new equilibrium. With respect to much housing, one party will have disappeared. Either government or tenants are bound to own a majority of all metropolitan housing in twentyfive years. The exact nature of the relationship is not necessarily predictable or important at this time.

It is crucial now to recognize the slumlord rebellion for what it is and to begin the combat. The slums could become much worse and the condition of slum people could deteriorate greatly. No success is possible in any part of the Northern struggle if the slum situation persists, nor will school redistricting or any other expedient serve to change the lives of

slum people sufficiently to overcome the slum environment. CORE does not accept the slumlord-tenant relationship, but seeks to end it. The slumlords have declared war : CORE accepts the challenge.

George Schiffer

SECOND ANNUAL

CORE Legal Conference

"THE 1964 CIVIL RIGHTS ACT—

A NEW CHALLENGE TO THE LAWYER"

Held At

THE PARK-SHERATON HOTEL
SEVENTH AVENUE & 55th STREET
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10019

PROGRAM

February 19-21, 1965

Sponsored by

CORE Scholarship,
Education & Defense Fund, Inc.

Friday, February 19

2:00 P.M. Registration

2:30 P.M. Welcome—Carl Rachlin, CORE General Counsel

3:00 P.M. *"New Approaches To Landlord-Tenant Relationships"*

Clarence B. Jones, Chairman
George Schiffer, Paper
Vita O. Weiss, Participant
Richard Newhouse, Participant

8:00 P.M. *"The Unconstitutional Use Of Bail"*

Leo Pfeffer, Chairman
Stephen Wizner, Paper
John M. Pratt, Participant
David J. McCarthy, Jr., Participant

Saturday, February 20

10:00 A.M. *"Civil Rights And The Anti-Poverty Program"*

Carl Rachlin, Chairman
Andrew E. Norman, Paper
Floyd B. McKissick, Participant
Harris Wofford, Participant
Faith Seidenberg, Participant

2:00 P.M. *"The NLRB And Racial Discrimination"*

Floyd B. McKissick, Chairman
Robert Carter, Paper
Thomas G. S. Christensen, Participant
Benjamin Naumoff, Participant

6:30 P.M. Cocktail—The Forum Room

7:30 P.M. Dinner—Grand Ballroom

Saturday, February 20

9:15 P.M. Address—*"The Black Revolution"*

CHIEF S. O. ADEBO, C. M. G.,
Permanent Representative of Nigeria to the United Nations and Barrister-at-Law
(called by Gray's Inn, London)

Sunday, February 21

11:00 A.M. *"Affirmative Uses Of The Injunction"*

Robert Collins, Chairman
Marvin M. Karpatkin, Paper
Melvin Wulf, Participant
Peter Marcuse, Participant

* * *

All Sessions are held in the Forum Room.

Reservations for the Dinner may be made at the Registration Desk until 12 noon, Saturday, February 20th.

Additional copies of papers are available by writing to CORE, 38 Park Row, New York, N. Y. 10038, Attention: Legal Department.

Copies of papers prepared by the Law Students Civil Rights Research Council as well as a list of research papers compiled by the Council are available from their office at 156 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y. 10010.

ADDENDA

Friday, February 19

3:00 P.M. "New Approaches to Landlord-Tenant Relationship"

Nancy LeBlanc replaces Vita O. Weiss
Paul Chevigny will also participate.

8:00 P.M. "The Unconstitutional Use of Bail"

Carol Weisbrod replaces David J. McCarthy, Jr.

Saturday, February 20

10:00 A.M. "Civil Rights And The Anti-Poverty Program"

Edward V. Sparer replaces Harris Wofford
Paul DuBrul will also participate.

The Affirmative Use of Injunctions

Prepared for Second Annual CORE Legal Conference - February 21, 1965

by Marvin M. Karpatkin

1. Specimens of traditional equitable doctrines

   Campbell v. Seaman, 63 N.Y. 568 (1876)
   Calliton v. Oxborough, 86 Minn 361, 90 N.W. 793 (1902)
   Hart v. Wagner, 184 Md. 40, 40 A.2d 47 (1944)
   Barnard v. Finkbeiner, 147 NY Supp.514 (2d D. 1914)

2. Constitutionality of statutes and ordinance on face and as construed

   Foreign Trade Zone Operators v. State Liquor Authority, 285 NY 272
   Burns v. Conway, 234 NYS 2d 435 (4th Dept. 1962)
   ACLU v. Town of Cortlandt, 109 NYS 2d 165 (1951)

3. Improper police activity - property rights

   Hale v. Burns, 89 NY Supp. 711 (1904) off'd 91 NY Supp 929 (2d D. 1905)
   Cullen v. Bourke, 93 NY Supp. 1085 (1905)
   Phelps v. McAdoo, 94 NY Supp 265 (1905)

4. Improper police and governmental activity - First Amendment rights

   Hague v. C.I.O., 307 US 496 (1939)
   Kenyon v. City of Chicopee, 320 Mass. 528, 70 NE 2d 241 (1946)
   Sellers v. Johnson, 163 F2d 877 (8th Civ. 1947)
   Local 309, UFW v. Gates, 75 FSupp 620 (ND Ind. 1948)

5. Injunctive relief to establish First Amendment rights in clash with claim of property rights

   Watchtower Bible & Tract Society v. Metropolitan Life Insurance Co., 297 NY 339 (1948)
   Farmer v. Moses, 232 F. Supp 154 (SDNY 1964)

6. Limitations of injunctive remedy

   Cf. Farmer v. Moses, supra,
   with People v. Collins, 254 NYS 2d 182 (2d Dept 1964)

7. Creative application and expansion of these principles

   Brewer v. Hoxie School District #46, 238 F.2d 91
   Collins v. Davis, Civil #2886, E.D. La, Baton Rouge Division
   CORE v. Davis et al., (City of Plaquemine)
   Dennis v. Johnson, Civil # 3618, S.D. Miss, Jackson Division
   CORE v. Perez (Plaquemine Parish)

a national organization with affiliated local groups working

to abolish racial discrimination by direct, nonviolent methods

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James Farmer
national director

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March 1965

Dear Friend:

We regret you were not able to attend our legal conference this year. From those who attended, we are happy to say it was a positive addition to their legal education. Unfortunately in this kit we cannot include the interesting discussions that took place after the delivery of the papers.

Your comments on the material would be most welcome. Suggestions for future conferences or for special papers are also important to us.

Sincerely,

Carl Rachlin

Carl Rachlin
General Counsel

CR:JG

enclosure

THE 1965 CIVIL RIGHTS LAW

A HARD LOOK

Prepared by Legal Department
Congress of Racial Equality
Carl Rachlin
General Counsel

PREFACE

May I take this opportunity to thank Stephen Press, a legal intern of the CORE Legal Department, for his labors in preparing the materials upon which this paper is based, and his patience with me as new thoughts developed requiring new attention. I also wish to thank James Finney, also one of our interns, for his efforts in proofreading and helping to get the copy ready for mimeographing.

In addition, I thank the CORE Scholarship, Education and Defense Fund, Inc. for making these able students available to work on what I trust will be a useful document to lawyers and non-lawyers alike in better understanding the new Civil Rights Law.

Carl Rachlin
General Counsel
CORE

CIVIL RIGHTS LAW OF 1964 - A HARD LOOK

INTRODUCTION

What gains the 1964 Civil Rights Act represents has been written about at length, but its scope and its impact on the struggle for human equality in this country is still speculative. The primary concern of this paper is to examine in some detail, not those problems in civil rights which the various provisions of the bill will clearly deal with, but to isolate some of the problems to which its provisions will not apply. An understanding of the bill's limitations will greatly assist civil rights activists in understanding it generally, and in utilizing it to the maximum. In developing methods to include within the scope of the new law areas which at first blush might seem to be beyond it, we must give the kind of critical analysis we attempt here.

To the extent that few, if any, of the bill's provisions will be found applicable to most types of de facto civil rights problems, the ghetto minorities in the urban North are ignored. Consider racial imbalance existing in most Northern school systems which results primarily from racial discrimination in housing. The law is addressed to officially sanctioned racial segregation, and refuses to consider other forms of school segregation. No affirmative duty to integrate public schools is recognized or created (unless officially maintained), and "bussing," a method which is currently being discussed as a possible solution to the problem of racial imbalance, may not be demanded. Nor for that matter is racial imbalance even recognized as a civil rights problem.

More than one Southern segregationist has exclaimed that racial segregation in housing patterns in the South was not a serious problem for Negroes. Recent investigation from that area indicates that increasingly is this less the case. Segregationists in the South learn from their Northern brethren and both have come to realize that discriminatory residential patterns will provide them with the means to circumvent the law requiring desegregated public education. Since the new law does not affect housing, and since the law cannot correct racial imbalance, a major problem continues or expands.

The same sort of practical inadequacy characterizes the bill's provisions aimed at securing fair employment practices. Congress would not consider, in drafting this section of the bill, the disadvantage at which the institution of job seniority, coupled with the reality of expanding automation and fewer jobs, places discriminated minorities. It was urged that employers be required not only to implement fair employment practices in the future, but also to take corrective steps to mitigate the result of past evils.

Across the country, most Negroes, often semi and unskilled laborers, face the prospect of no employment, or employment in jobs which will go out of existence in the foreseeable future. The economic position of the Negro youngster, vis-a-vis his white counterpart, has deteriorated and without present access to or training for jobs requiring skills that can survive the march of automation, not only will more Negroes face unemployment, but permanent unemployability.

In failing to recognize some of these complex aspects of the employment problem, Congress was influenced by the argument that to authorize waiving considerations of seniority would infringe on the rights of others established in employment. Such arguments ignore the fact that the average unemployed, unskilled Negro is without a job and seniority because of the very evils which the new bill is intended to correct. No consideration at all is given to the moral right of the white man to retain seniority obtained, sometimes knowingly, at the expense of the disenfranchized, discriminated against minority member. The new law presumably opens the door to the bottom rung of the seniority roster, but it will be of little help to him if jobs are cut off because of modern equipment several rungs above him. While the anti-poverty program may meet some of these problems, efforts to date, pitifully small, will not reach into the depths of the ghetto.

It is cold comfort to flail the Northern liberal; let us rather understand the 1964 law and use it to its fullest advantage immediately so that its weaknesses will be apparent immediately. One of the interesting, if relatively unimportant, discrepancies that crop up not considered by us is the variation of the theme, once referred to many years ago, as "race, creed and color." In Title II we see "race, color, religion or national origin"; but in the important Title VI we have "race, color or national origin." Title VII expands this to "race, color, religion, sex or national origin"; but Title VIII goes back to"race, color and national origin." Title IX considers "race, color, religion or nationalorigin," but Title X once more omits "religion."

No matter what the law says, however, it is only useful to the extent that its rights are utilized. The utilization derives in turn from the acts of the less timid, those in the action-minded organization, who are prepared to undertake the task and the risk of the preliminary exploration. Then only by growing use is the law meaningful. With that in mind we prepared this paper.

TITLE I. VOTING RIGHTS. What The Law Does

(A) To any person seeking to register to vote, the 1964 Act prohibits state voter registration officials from:

(1) applying any standard practice or procedure not applied to other persons in that county in a similar situation;

(2) denying, as they have so often in the past, the right to vote in any federal election because of any error or omission in registration which is unimporant in deciding whether the person is qualified to vote or not;

(3) using literacy tests as a qualification for voting unless the test is in writing and the prospective voter may later obtain a copy of the test and his answers.

(B) The law creates a presumption in favor of any person who has completed a sixth grade education, predominantly in english that he or she possesses sufficient literacy to vote in any federal election.

(C) The U. S. Attorney-General may bring an action asking the federal court to find a pattern or practice of discrimination. In such an action brought by the Attorney-General, the Attorney-General, or any defendant in a suit brought by the Attorney-General, may request the case to be heard by a special three-judge court. It is hoped that this will make it more simple to uphold the law. Every question involved in a particular case will be decided by this court, appeals going directly to the Supreme Court, thus speeding the procedure, and causing to be more closely supervised those federal judges who do not understand issues of equality.

TITLE I. VOTING. The Hard Look

(A) The provisions of Title I are consistently restricted to federal elections. The term "Federal Election" under Title I is defined as "any general, special or primary election" held solely or in part for the purpose of electing federal officials. What application the new provisions have to elections for state officials held at a different time from the federal elections is open to speculation. No doubt in some areas, separate voting lists for federal and state elections will be created in the hope that state and local political power will not be affected by the 1964 law, only Congressional and Presidential elections.

(1) On reading Title 42, United States Code, §1971, one finds, however, the possibility of utilizing Title I of the 1964 Civil Rights Bill to enhance Negro registration in all elections, including those held solely for the purpose of election of state or local officials. Title 42 USC 1971 (A) provides that all citizens "qualified by law to vote at any election by the people" in any territorial subdivision shall be allowed to vote at all such elections." We must consider

whether a person who has qualified to vote in any federal election pursuant to Title I of the 1964 law, can be denied the right to vote in any state or local election under Title 42 USC 1971.

(2) Article I, Section 2 of the United States Constitution provides that persons eligible to vote for the election of representatives to the House of Representatives shall have the same qualifications required for electors of the largest house of the state legislature. (There is a similar requirement for the Senate contained in the 17th Amendment.) Since this is so, once a person has been registered to vote for a U.S. Representative or Senator under the 1964 law, he should be allowed to register and vote for representatives to the largest house of the state legislature. Once again, using Title 42 USC 1971 above, he must be allowed to vote in all such state elections.

(B) No limitation is placed upon state requirements for voter literacy qualification tests, merely that rules or tests be applied impartially.

(1) In fact, the U.S. Attorney-General is permitted to accept, as proper, rigid tests if they are equally applied. Since, in discriminatory areas, white voters far outnumber Negro voters, it is inevitable that rigid qualifications can work against Negroes. Severe tests, equally applied, will equally keep new white and Negro voters off the lists; and will keep the voter rolls largely white, as they presently are.

(2) Unless educational deficiencies of many Negroes are corrected, and until equal opportunity in education is a reality for greater numbers, new applicants for registration under rigid tests, even if fairly applied, will be predominantly white. Since a sixth grade education is not conclusive of the right to vote, though it is the basis for a presumption of literacy, however, how beneficial this provision will prove to be under these circumstances is open to some doubt. In addition, it cannot be overlooked that the six grades of education must have been acquired in a school where English must have been the language "predominantly" employed, so that persons whose education is or was in Spanish or some other language are thrown back upon the general literacy tests, and their protection by the 1964 law is minimal if the literacy tests are equally applied.

TITLE II. PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS. What the Law Does

(A) All persons are entitled to full and equal enjoyment of the goods, services, facilities, privileges and accommodations. The following establishments are covered and are considered "accommodations," the facilities of which should now be open to all:

(1) hotels, motels, inns and any place affording lodging to transient guests (except any establishment renting 5 or fewer rooms, and is occupied by the proprietor as his residence, i.e. Mrs. Murphy's Rooming House).

(2) eating establishments, including restaurants, lunch counters, soda fountains, cafeterias, and other places principally engaged in selling food for consumption on the premises if it caters to interstate travelers, or much of the food moves in interstate commerce.

(3) gasoline stations, rest rooms and facilities.

(4) theatres, movie houses, concert halls, sport arenas, stadiums and other places of public entertainment and exhibition if the entertainment shown is the kind that goes from state to state like movies or shows.

(5) any other establishment which is located within one of these places and generally serves its patrons (e.g. a barber shop in a hotel) or which houses a place of public accommodation (e.g. a department store that houses a restaurant).

(B) In addition, Title II prohibits any third person from intimidating, threatening or coercing any other person to

(1) interfere with his right to enter or use any public accommodations, or to punish anyone for using these rights or

(2) interfere with anyone such as an innkeeper, who wishes to comply with the law.

(C) If any covered service such as in a hotel is withheld, the person harmed may ask the federal court for an injunction. He may also ask for the appointment of a lawyer by the court. If he wins, the hotel, restaurant, etc., may have to pay his attorney's fee if the court decides. But if he loses,the court can order such person to pay the fee of the restaurant for example.

(D) If the discrimination in any hotel, restaurant, etc., is carried on by authority of law, or a local custom enforced by local public officials, at any place, it is also a violation under the law even though it is not engaged in interstate commerce.

(E) Where exists a general pattern or practice of denying Negroes the use of these public facilities, certified to by the Attorney-General, then the Attorney-General may sue for an injunction immediately. At his request and upon further certifying to the public importance of the case, a special three-judge court to hear the case will be designated.

TITLE II. PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS. The Hard Look

(A) The following situations are apparently not covered (In general, please note that the law does not apply to any establishment merely because it is open to the public; it must satisfy one of the tests described above):

(1)(a) Hotels, motels or other lodging which have five or fewer rooms for rent and in which the proprietor makes his home are not included.

(b) Similarly hotels, apartment houses catering to permanent guests and residents as distinct from "transients" are not covered.

(2) Bona fide private clubs are not covered; the law does not exempt restaurants, etc., however, which pretend to be private clubs but in fact are not and serve anyone who wants to enter if he happens to be white. Some of these tests as to whether or not a "club" is bona fide or not are:

(a) When was the "club" set up?

(b) Does it have real or nominal dues?

(c) How easy is it to obtain a so-called membership card? (In other words, is it really open to the general white public and only closed to Negroes?)

(3) Restaurants are not covered unless they cater to interstate travelers or the food which is served has traveled in interstate commerce.

(4) Retail stores in general. Unless they operate a restaurant inside or fall under one of the other covered categories.

(5) Barber shops, beauty parlors and other service facilities, unless they are housed in a place covered by the law, such as a hotel, and are part of the services offered by a hotel, for example.

(6) The sale or rental of private houses or housing.

(7) Taverns or night clubs which sell little or no food. (Restaurants having bars can be covered if they mainly sell food.) An interesting question concerns whether taverns or bars which have an operating television to entice customers to come in and spend money may possibly be included under the section covering places of public entertainment even though they are not covered by the restaurant section. Likewise, night clubs which provide entertainment or offer dancing may possibly be covered by the same section although food may not be the principal source of income, but rather drinks together with an admission or cover charge will be the main source of income.

(8) Active customer-participation places of entertainment (i.e., bowling alleys, golf courses, tennis courts and swimming pools) are apparently not covered. If, however, one of these do-it-yourself places is located within an amusement park which contains other spectator entertainment and is covered, we can strongly urge that it should be covered by Title II.

Also, should the golf course, bowling alley, or swimming pool, for example, offer tournaments or exhibitions open to the public with or without a fee, this too might bring it under the section covering places of public entertainment and exhibitions.

Please note here that the exhibition in the bowling alley or the tennis court must presumably involve people giving exhibitions in various parts of the United States. A couple of local fellows giving a bowling demonstration would not bring the place under the Act. But if the place had a restaurant which was of the covered type, then the bowling alley would be covered.

(9) Private hospitals are not covered unless they are state facilities or have sufficient state or federal support or interest to bring them under Title III.

(B) A private person may sue in federal court for relief where a state or local agency such as a Human Rights Commission exists covering discrimination problems, only after he has given that state or local agency 30 days' notice. Even after that notice, the court has further discretion to stay the action pending the termination of state or local proceedings.

(C) A private individual cannot sue for money damages for violations of this Title; only injunctive relief may be granted.

(D) In any event, an operator of a place of public accommodations is not required to service all customers (e.g., drunks, patrons in bathing suits). The section merely bars discriminatory application of any such rules. But, of course, he cannot use this as an excuse to refuse people service on grounds of race.

(E) Where a law suit has started, the court may delay any action for up to 120 days in order to give the Federal Community Relations Service an opportunity to gain voluntary compliance. This is the new service set up under this law and presently headed by former Governor Collins of Florida.

(F) The section prohibiting discrimination supported by state action does not apply to professional services of doctors, lawyers, dentists, for example, simply because they may be licensed by the city, county or state since nowhere in the 1964 Act are such services described as a place of public accommodation.

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TITLE III. DESEGREGATION OF PUBLIC FACILITIES
What The Law Does

(A) When the Attorney-General receives a written complaint that:

(1) anyone because of race is denied the use of a facility owned, operated or managed by the state (except a school, which comes under Title IV), and

(2) he believes that desegregating this particular facility is important to the orderly progress of desegration, and

(3) he certifies that those complaining can't afford to bring the action themselves or, if they can, they will be subject to abuse or hardship,
then he may sue to end the discrimination by the state or city.

(B) Private persons may still take legal action in these circumstances as they could before the passage of the Act.

TITLE III. DESEGREGATION OF PUBLIC FACILITIES The Hard Look

(A) Facilities that are merely licensed or regulated, but not owned, by the state are not included under this Title, including such services as rendered by electricians, plumbers, doctors, etc. They must be owned, operated or managed "on behalf of the state" to be included within the intent of Title III.

(B) Broad on its face, this Title does not, however, apply to public schools or colleges. Whatever benefits are applicable to schools are included under the narrower Title IV discussed below.

(D) Before the Attorney-General may act, he must receive a complaint in writing from the person affected. Nor may the Attorney-General act unless he certifies that the complainant cannot maintain appropriate proceedings. This will require investigation and clarification, and how it will be interpreted is open to question. Should the complainant have any assets it is possible that the Attorney-General may believe that he cannot proceed; similarly, should CORE, or any civil rights group, be interested in the person involved, the Attorney-General may refuse to handle the case even though the person involved cannot afford the expense, on the grounds the person does not need help.

TITLE IV. DESEGREGATION OF PUBLIC EDUCATION
What The Law Does

(A) The U. S. Commissioner of Education is directed to submit a report within two years on the lack of availability of equal educational opportunities for individuals in public educational institutions at all levels throughout the country.

(B) The Commissioner is authorized to provide grants for these purposes:

(1) technical assistance to schools, etc., and

(2) to set up training institutes to help train personnel to deal with problems incident to desegregation.

(C) Upon receipt of a written complaint from a student or parent or group of parents that students are being denied admission or are not permitted to continue in a public college by reason of race, color, religion or national origin and being satisfied that they cannot bring the action either for financial or other reasons, the Attorney-General may ask the federal courts for any appropriate relief.

TITLE IV. DESEGREGATION OF PUBLIC EDUCATION
The Negative Look

(A) Primary schools, secondary schools and colleges which are not predominantly supported by state funds are not covered by this Title. What the word "predominantly" means at this time is difficult to understand. Whether it means that more than 50% of its budget comes from governmental sources, or instead will consider it sufficient if governmental sums are the largest single operating resource is an important question here.

Should it be the latter, it is possible that a college receiving less than 50% of its funds from the state and receiving various smaller grants from private sources will be covered by the law. This question will be important in the case of colleges, but not likely to involve schools below this level. Not to be ignored in considering the proposals for support of private schools by the federal government is the effect this will have on whether such support would bring the school under the law.

(B) While almost all private schools are licensed by the state with standards set by the state, with substantial credits granted to schools in the form of benefits both state, local and federal, it is doubtful that private schools are covered unless perhaps it can be shown that these various benefits can be shown to support the school "predominantly" in the terms of this title of the statute. In the cases of colleges and universities we may have a different story; so many special group student-aid programs exist that "predominantly" may be less difficult to prove. It should be kept in mind that federal grants to schools may perhaps be withheld under the authority granted by the federal government to terminate or withhold such grant to any private institution which discriminates. Whether this power would apply to any individual who receives a grant and then uses it for study at a discriminating school is doubtful. This is one of the great dangers in legislation that contributes money to individuals to be used for education; policing the use of money may be difficult and segregation supported unless rigid controls are maintained to guarantee that no student will use the money in any school that discriminates.

(C) Racial imbalance in any school by requiring bussing

of students from one school district to another may not be corrected by this statute. But it is arguable that bussing may be ordered by the court if that is necessary to achieve desegregation as distinguished from correcting racial imbalance.

(D) Any deprivation of equal protection of the law in public schools must be by the "school board" itself. Improper acts of a principal or teacher, as agents of the Board, are not likely to be considered as acts of the board itself unless the Board refuses to correct the situation. Under the definition of "school board" is included any agency responsible for the assignment of pupils so that any other state agency, or perhaps the state itself, which has as its official policy segregation in education may properly be classified as a defendant and be ordered to take appropriate action by the court.

(E) A college student will be protected only should he have been denied admission or have not been permitted to continue in attendance at a public college. Note that discriminatory facilities, therefore, in a public college (such as a segregated dormitory or eating facility) won't be grounds for action under this title unless these irregularities force the student to discontinue his education at the school.

(F) The law is cumbersome. The Attorney-General must in every complaint involving school segregation in public schools give the school board involved reasonable time (as if 10 years were not enough) to adjust the grievance before beginning a court proceeding. In addition, here, also, the Attorney-General must certify that the persons or the organizations interested in the case cannot bear the expense. In effect, the Attorney-General must get financial reports from parents or organizations who ask the U.S. for help. Why a person with a little money should be required to use his funds to achieve a constitutional right long withheld by the state is somewhat hard to understand. The statute thus raises a form of economic discrimination, although what amounts must be owned in order not to receive the help of the United States is not set forth in the law itself.

(G) The statute does not demand the end of all forms of segregation and discrimination in colleges. Protection is granted only for "admission" or "continuance" in college. A broad area is left uncovered. In the case of lower schools, on the other hand, the protection is broader and includes any denial of equal protection of the laws. Since many colleges and universities are the beneficiaries of federally-assisted or financed programs, Title VI to a limited extent may beef up Title IV in this regard.

TITLE V. COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS. What It Does

(A) This title changes and expands the procedures of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights and further defines its duties with regard to the investigation of voting rights, education, housing, employment, etc. The life of the Commission has been extended to January 31, 1968.

(B) The Commission may not:
(i) investigate the denial of civil rights,
(ii) evaluate the policies of the U.S. in regard to discrimination.

Presumably the Commission will not only look into discrimination as it may involve the Federal Government directly, but also what effect the policies of the Federal Government are having on discrimination in the many areas outside the Federal Government.

TITLE V. COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS. The Hard Look.

Despite its investigative power, its educative authority, its important clearing-house function, the Commission has no authority to enforce any laws involving discrimination. Powers to enforce under the new law were carefully given, in large part, to new agencies such as the Community Relations Service and the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, thus merely creating a multiplicity of federal agencies when one experienced agency might be better able to do the work. Different agencies may have different standards as to discrimination.

TITLE VI. NONDISCRIMINATION IN FEDERALLY-ASSISTED PROGRAMS. What The Law Does

(A) i. Discrimination is prohibited against any person denied the right on the grounds of race, color or national origin to participate in or receive the benefits under any program or activity receiving federal financial assistance.

ii. Unlike the requirement in the education title where the Attorney-General must receive a complaint in writing, the federal agency or department involved may act on its own initiative without the receipt of a formal complaint and offer specific steps to cut off federal funds.

(B) Each federal agency or department who extends federal financial assistance to any program in the form of loan, grant or contract to enforce the above prohibition may refuse to grant or may terminate federal assistance to the particular program or activity where discrimination has been found. Many such programs exist in agriculture, health, commerce and industry.

(C) Such action may only be taken after mediation.

TITLE VI. NONDISCRIMINATION IN FEDERALLY-ASSISTED PROGRAMS
The Negative Look

(A) This title covers only federally-assisted grants, loans or contracts. Employment practices by the employer under the federally-supported program do not appear to be affected unless employment is the primary objective of the federal assistance contract. Thus a federal beneficiary, so long as it carries out in a non-discriminatory manner the particular program, may continue to discriminate in its employment policies.

(B) Federal assistance by way of contracts of insurance or guarantee (all the usual benefits in the purchase of housing such as mortgates, guarantees of savings and loan accounts) are specifically exempted from the coverage of this title. Since housing discrimination is not covered by this Act at all and protection is explicitly withheld by virtue of the exclusion of guarantees, we must, in order to prevent discrimination in the sale and rental of housing, fall back upon the general provisions of the Fourteenth Amendment, or the rules of various state statutes to prevent discrimination in those cases where the building has had the benefit of federal guarantees in obtaining mortgage loans, etc. What effect the exclusions in the Act will have upon the thinking of the court is speculative, but hopefully the federal courts will decide that regardless of what Congrees does, the name and credit of the U.S. cannot be used to uphold discrimination.

(C) In order to gain the benefits of this title, a cumbersome procedure must be gone through; the title is not self-operating.

(1) The federal agency must issue rules and regulations under the 1964 Civil Rights Law. These regulations have now been issued. Many faults appear in them, often having a weakening effect on the law.

(2) The President must approve them, which he has.

(3) A voluntary compliance agreement must be attempted before any action can be taken against the offending party or group.

(4) If this fails, there must be a hearing and an expressed finding of violation of the law.

(5) Despite all these precautions, the federal department cannot act until it files a full report with the committee of the Senate or House of Representatives covering the particular activity (e.g., if the discrimination is an an agricultural program, the report must be filed with the committees on agriculture in the House and Senate; 30 days thereafter the federal agency can act to cut off a program. What will happen if the congressional committee rears its head, we can only guess. The Act gives Congress no power at this point, but calling the head of the agency before the committee of Congress can well discourage

the federal agency from acting.

(D) This is still a piecemeal attack against a state which is still carrying out a massive campaign of discrimination. It means that each program must be attacked separately at great loss of time.

TITLE VII. EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY. What The Law Does

(A) Race, color, religion, sex or national origin may not be an excuse used by (1) employers, and (2) employment agencies to discriminate in hiring, referral for hiring, discharge, terms and conditions of employment, and (3) unions to exclude or expel anyone from membership, or discriminate in regard to apprenticeship programs, or (4) advertise for people in a discriminatory manner.

(B) An EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY COMMISSION is created to enforce these rights.

(C) A proceeding commences when

(1) either a written sworn complaint is filed with the Commission by someone discriminated against, or,
(2) a member of the Commission himself may file such a charge in order to begin a proceeding

(D) Conciliation is first attempted. Should this fail and the Commission finds, after an investigation to which it can subpoena books and records as well as persons, that the complaint has merit, then the person or persons affected by the discrimination may seek an injunction in the U.S. District Court to prevent the employer, union or employment agency from discrimination.

(E) A complainant may request the appointment of a lawyer by the court, and the court not only can do this, but may award counsel fees and costs.

(F) Where there is a pattern or course of conduct of discrimination, the Attorney-General can begin an action in court and ask for a three-judge court.

(G) Should the court find the intent to discriminate it may issue an injunction against the discrimination and award back pay if the person discriminated against has lost earnings.

(H) Also illegal is discrimination by employers or unions against employees, members or applicants who have opposed practices made illegal by this title.

(I) The employer must post notices explaining to employees

how to file complaints under this title.

(J) Any labor organization or employer discriminating against individuals on grounds of race, color, religion, sex or national origin in admitting persons to any program to provide apprenticeship or other training also violates Title VII.

(K) Employment agencies regardless of size are covered by this title.

TITLE VII. EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY. The Hard Look.

(A) Coverage is limited to employees, agencies and labor organizations concerned with industries which affect interstate commerce, i.e., any industry or activity in commerce in which a labor dispute could obstruct commerce or the free flow of commerce. Many smaller employers are not covered by the law.

(B) No requirement is made as to the hiring of members of minority groups to balance past improper acts. All that is required is a lack of discrimination in employment in the case of new qualified applicants. In other words, preferential treatment to right past wrongs is not required. What can be accomplished by negotiations with an employer or a union is not covered by the Act, and the Act does not present new hiring practices designed to attract persons of minority groups.

(C) Enforcement of the nondiscrimination requirements against employers and unions will not begin until July 2, 1965. At that time only employers with at least 100 employees and unions with at least 100 members will be covered. Coverage will thereafter be extended year by year so that beginning July 2, 1966 the minimum number will be 15; July 2, 1967, 50, and finally July 2, 1968, when companies or unions with 25 or more workers or members will be covered. Thereafter, no union or employer with fewer than 25 workers will ever be covered by this title. Since many employers have fewer than 25 people, even at its best, in 1968, large gaps exist in the law.

(1) Thus even though a company is actually engaged in interstate commerce and has fewer than 25 employees, it can continue to discriminate. On the other hand, a company or union, no matter how large (not engaged in interstate commerce) may also continue to discriminate.

(2) The definition of what companies are covered under the Civil Rights Law is different from that of the National Labor Relations Act. Since the NLRB is also concerned with certain aspects of discrimination in employment, some confusion will result because of the different standards. Generally speaking, those of the NLRB are preferable.

(D) The United States government, corporations under its control--such as TVA, and states and political subdivisions of states are not included within the definition of employer. The first two, however, are covered by executive order and the President's Commission on Equal Employment Opportunity, the latter two by the Fourteenth Amendment to the U. S. Constitution, but this may have to be battled case by case in each state.

(E) A bona fide private club is also exempted from coverage under this title (see the tests for a bona fide private club under Title II, The Hard Look.

(F) Educational institutions, in regard to the employment of persons in connection with educational activities of the school, and church organizations in connection with their religious work, are not covered by the law and may discriminate. In addition, church related schools may hire persons or only one religion, apparently, regardless of whether the work done by such persons has any connection with religious activities.

(G) (1) What constitutes the educational activities of a school is somewhat uncertain, but would certainly include teachers, librarians, technicians of various kinds, etc.

(2) Similarly in a non-school religious organization; whether or not janitors, office workers or similar employees are covered is uncertain. What are "religious" activities is nowhere defined.

(H) Only employers who hire employees for more than twenty weeks of the year are covered, therefore excluding employers of seasonal employment and permitting discrimination.

(I) Seniority or merit systems are not covered by this title. Built-in discrimination practiced in prior years, whereby older employees with seniority cannot be affected, is protected. Reading this section carefully, an argument may be made that past seniority, built up on discriminatory practices of the past, may be the basis for a complaint with the Commission, since such seniority is not bona fide as required by the Act.

(1) Similarly, ability tests may be used in employment provided the test is not intended to discriminate. Any test, however apparently fair, can be designed to protect the status quo.

(J) Past discrimination is protected, and employees, beneficiaries of prior wrongful practices, may retain the benefits of knowingly discriminatory conduct by either employers or unions; nor may wrongfully maintained imbalance of numbers of employees created in the past be corrected. Only with current and future employment is the act concerned.

(K) The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission has limited authority. The one harmed may not obtain an order from the Commission protecting him; his remedy lies in bringing a suit in the federal court. Once a federal court order in his favor has been entered in a civil law suit brought by the injured person against the employer or union, the Commission may then obtain an order for compliance if the employer or union does not comply.

(L) The Commission must allow any state which has a Fair Employment Practices Law at least sixty days to act under the local law to remedy the situation. This period may be extended to 120 days in the case of a state law which has been in effect for less than one year. Whether some states, to delay action under this title, may pass their own Fair Employment Practices (F.E.P.) Law, which they will be lax in enforcing, we will have to watch and see.

(M) Every charge must be filed with the Commission within 90 days from the date of the alleged illegal practice, or, if there is a state F.E.P. law, the filing must take place within 210 days of the alleged practice or 30 days after the termination of the state proceedings, whichever is earlier. This means that action must be taken promptly and civil rights organizations must be vigilant.

(N) The Commission may enter written agreements with state F.E.P. agencies not to process charges in certain classes of cases. Although the Law does not say so, presumably such cases will be prosecuted under state law. However, the Commission shall rescind any such agreement "whenever it determines that the agreement no longer serves the interest of the effective enforcement of this title." This can have dangerous possibilities should many states pass F.E.P. laws and the state agencies enter into discriminatory agreements with the federal agency.

(O) The Commission may not determine whether any act is unlawful. It may only decide whether there is reasonable cause to believe the charge true, not make a firm decision; it may not issue cease and desist orders. Its authority is limited to attempting to eliminate the alleged wrongful conduct through conciliation and persuasion.

(1) It can only act negatively in that an aggrieved person may go to court at such time as the Commission has made a finding of reasonable cause. What can be done should the Commission not indicate reasonable cause to believe the charge is true, is unclear. No remedy is set forth in the statute, and likely none will be available.

(P) While Counsel fees are allowable, they are awarded to the prevailing party. Thus the employer or the union

accused may receive fees from the person complaining if a charge is not proven. This may act as a damper on bringing cases unless there is a certainty of winning. Such a certainty rarely exists. Under usual American practice, giving counsel fees to the prevailing party is not common, since we believe it prevents a person with little means from suing for fear of a big counsel fee award against him in the event of a loss, keeping in mind that such a loss means often that the evidence was not sufficient to sustain the burden of proof which is on the plaintiff, and not that the employer or the union did not discriminate.

TITLE VIII. VOTING STATISTICS. What The Law Does.

In selected areas the Commerce Department at the request of the Commission on Civil Rights is directed by this title to conduct a survey of persons of voting age by race, color and national origin and to determine to what extent such persons have registered and voted in such areas as the Commission suggests.

TITLE IX. INTERVENTION AND REMOVAL IN CIVIL RIGHTS CASES

What The Law Does

(A) Trying a civil rights case in a segregated court room, or in court in the North where the judges often have little conception of civil rights, is very difficult. This section provides that civil rights lawyers may remove many civil rights cases to the federal courts, which are generally better able to understand the problems. Should a federal court refuse to accept a civil rights case and send it back to a state court, this "remand" to the state court may be reviewed on appeal.

(B) The Attorney-General is authorized to intervene in any suit filed by a private person seeking relief from the denial of equal protection of the laws on account of race, color, religion or national origin.

TITLE IX. INTERVENTION AND REMOVAL IN CIVIL RIGHTS CASES.

The Hard Look.

This valuable procedure has sometimes been used indiscriminately. A substantial number of cases have been removed

which really cannot be accepted by the federal court. The appeal process is expensive, time-consuming and the delay causes those people involved to be uncertain of their position about trials, etc. Should any people fail to appear over the years, additional costs and expenses are involved (i.e.: forfeiture of bonds). When used properly, in a well-documented case, the procedure can be very helpful. As of the moment, however, those cases, indiscriminately and thoughtlessly removed, may come back to plague us at a time when we should be looking forward, not backward. It is highly unlikely that traffic cases will be retained by the federal courts. When they are remanded to the state and the people are no longer available to testify, we may be in difficulties.

TITLE X. COMMUNITY RELATIONS SERVICE. What The Law Does.

Those who have seen the valuable assistance provided by mediation in the often very knotty problems in labor relations know that Title X, if properly utilized, will be of importance to the future of civil rights. Often an outside person of considerable understanding can help white communities learn to accept the future society, one built on equality. Local people, even those well-meaning ones, are so much a part of the structure of the local society that they are unable to take any meaningful action.

This title provides that a Community Relations Service be established in the Department of Commerce to provide assistance to persons or communities who can use help in establishing equality under federal civil rights laws. In general, the Service will aid in conciliation and attempt to bring about voluntary settlement of such problems.

TITLE XI. MISCELLANEOUS. What The Law Does.

(A) Upon demand by the accused, i.e., one who has refused to carry out an order of the court, a jury trial must be granted in any proceeding for criminal contempt arising out of any Titles to the 1964 Act except Title I, which retains the more limited jury trial provisions of the 1957 Civil Rights Act (in that case a jury trial must be granted in the event the punishment exceeds $300 fine or 45 days' imprisonment, which is the more common experience).

(B) No jury trial is available to such a person if the contempt is committed in the presence, or very close to the presence, of the Court itself. The theory is that criminal

contempt is very similar to a criminal trial and should involve a jury. A conviction for a criminal contempt is punishment for a past wrong and generally is not punishment to prevent the continuance of a current wrong or failure to carry out a decree of the court.

(C) Civil contempt of federal court orders are still heard without a jury. The purpose of civil contempt is to persuade someone to mend his ways and carry out a court order under the threat of imprisonment for continued refusal.

TITLE XI. MISCELLANEOUS. The Hard Look.

While the right of civil contempt is adequate in most cases for the carrying out of federal court orders in favor of civil rights, in some flagrant situations (Meredith case) only criminal contempt will suffice to uphold the federal court. A jury trial in such cases in effect means that the prejudices of local communities will govern a conviction or acquittal as the case may be. This has been the general experience.

CIVIL RIGHTS AND THE ANTI-POVERTY PROGRAM

Andrew E. Norman
President, CORE Scholarship,
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President Lyndon Johnson has declared "war on poverty," and Congress has passed the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. Now there is an Office of Economic Opportunity, four months old, headed by Sargent Shriver, on the eighth floor of a new office building at 1200 19th Street, Northwest, with a little under a billion dollars of federal funds to spend in its first fiscal year. This is one war where everybody concerned hopes for "escalation."

"War on poverty," of course, is just a slogan. One can fight wars against people, not against descriptive nouns. But slogans are not meant to be logical statements. They are calls to action and attempts to make the action seem simpler, more purposeful, more conclusive than action can ever be. What matters is the action, rather than the slogan, though slogans can have dangerous side-effects. One of the commonest side-effects of militant slogans is over-commitment to impossible objectives, which often leads first to disastrous rigidity and then to disillusionment and reaction. Another danger is inherent in the "war on poverty" slogan--the danger that the analogy to war may inspire a warrior morality, a willingness or even eagerness to suspend civil rights and ignore competing values "for the duration" of the glorious war. Wars on crime, wars on slums and urban blight, wars on various other social evils have given us plenty of examples.

But, even though Mr. Shriver is fond of using the "war on poverty" slogan, so long as he heads the Office of Economic Opportunity , there is little reason to fear this kind of abuse. As in his conduct of the equally if oppositely sloganistic Peace Corps, he seems to have a clear perception of the tools he has been given, the limited but important work he can do with them, and the potential for raising both his sights and his budget if he does the job well. The Shriver approach has been a b illiant success with the Peace Corps--though it has not brought the world peace--and it seems equally suited for the Office of Economic Opportunity--though it will not rid the country of poverty.

But before talking about what the O.E.O. will not do, it might be wise to examine what it will do, touching on civil rights questions along the way. The O.E.O. is not a program but more of a campaign headquarters for a variety of remedial education, vocational education and loan and grant programs, most of which will actually be administered by other government and non-government agencies.

In brief outline, the Office of Economic Opportunity is initiating these projects:

I. A two-part Job Corps for young men. The plan for this first year is 20,000 in small one or two-hundred man Conservation Camps, working under federal conservation agencies and receiving a heavy course of instruction in the basic skills they lack, beginning with reading, writing and arithmetic; and another 20,000 men in vocational training centers set up in former military camps and other available facilities. The 1,900 existing Employment Service offices, supplemented by Youth Guidance Centers, serve as the primary selection points.

II. A Work-Training Program for both men and women, 16 to 21, to be administered by the Department of Labor, in which up to 200,000 trainees in this first year will be put to work full-time or part-time in projects initiated and controlled by state and local governments and private, non-profit organizations. The O.E.O. will pay 90 per cent of the total cost of these programs.

III. A Work-Study Program for college and graduate students, to be administered by the U.S. Office of Education, paying 90 per cent of the cost of providing part-time jobs for about 145,000 students in selected colleges and universities.

IV. Capital grants up to $1,500 and loans by the Farmers Home Administration to poor farm families, either for investment in their farms or to buy equipment for non-agricultural enterprises on their farms.

V. Expansion of the Farmers Home Administration's program of loans, grants and direct technical assistance to rural and farmers' cooperatives.

VI. Loans and grants to state and local non-profit corporations for the purchase of farm land on the open market, which will then be resold to low-income farmers as additions to their present farms or as new family farms. FHA loans are to be used to finance the resales. The corporations will be buying at market prices and selling at appraised or "normal" values, and the O.E.O. will make up the difference. The initial budget is expected to allow for a turnover of about 200,000 acres, benefitting an estimated 2,500 families.

VII. Expansion of the Area Redevelopment Administration program to make direct loans, or to guarantee conventional loans, to businesses which will hire the long-term or hard-core unemployed.

O.E.O. loans will be made where A.R.A. requirements cannot be met--such as where the "pocket of poverty" is too small or where sufficient local participation in the financing is impossible.

VIII. Expansion of the Small Business Administration's program to make loans for longer periods, on easier terms, and outside present SBA eligibility requirements, to establish or expand small firms--even one-man businesses. These loans may be for the purpose of, and may be conditioned on, the borrower taking management training courses.

IX. Expansion of work-training programs for unemployed parents. Pilot projects of the Aid to Families of Dependent Children (AFDC) program and the Manpower Development and Training Act program will be expanded to perhaps 80,000 unemployed fathers not previously receiving public assistance and 20,000 who are receiving AFDC checks but no training. In addition, some 30,000 female heads of families, now on welfare, will be given basic education and job training. O.E.O. estimates that these programs would affect more than 530,000 dependents of these 130,000 heads of families.

X. Two groups of Volunteers for America, with the first-year goal approximately 2,500 in each. One group will be given a month's training by the O.E.O. and then be assigned to work for any of a number of federal agencies (including O.E.O. itself) on poverty related programs. They will be paid for by O.E.O. for the entire year. The other half will be assigned to state and local governments, which will foot the bills after the Volunteers finish their O.E.O. training.

XI. The largest, most diverse, most fascinating, and undoubtedly the most problem-generating item in the O.E.O. budget is a fund for grants to local community action programs. Before discussing it, it might be well to survey the civil rights aspects of

the other programs.

From the published statements and public records of the top personnel of the Office of Economic Opportunity--Sargent Shriver, Jack Conway, Hyman Bookbinder, Edgar and Jean Cahn, Judah Drob, and others--it should be clear that the O.E.O. is likely to be one of the most enlightened agencies in the federal government on civil rights matters. Where the O.E.O. alone is concerned, a minimum of policing by the public seems to be indicated.

You will have noticed, however, that there is almost no part of the program where the O.E.O. alone will be concerned. The Departments of Health Education and Welfare, of Labor, and of Agriculture will be administering much of the O.E.O's program. The Small Business Administration, Area Redevelopment Administration, and Farmers Home Administration will be making the O.E.O.'s loans. Trainees financed by the O.E.O. will be working under the Forest Rangers, the Bureau of Indian Affairs and many other federal agencies, and also under state and local governments. Where overt or covert discrimination is practised by any branch of these agencies in the course of its own regular activities, the tendency will be to follow the same practices in O.E.O.-connected activities.

What I would like to suggest is that a wait-and-see policy <u>not</u> be chosen by those who are dedicated to civil rights. I would suggest, instead, that Mr. Shriver be informed of discriminatory practices, even of the subtlest kind. Anyone who has evidence that a U.S. Employment Service office conforms to local discriminatory traditions would do well to inform Mr. Shriver. If you have evidence of S.B.A. or A.R.A. loans to businesses that discriminate in hiring, or of Agriculture Department agents who discriminate or pursue anti-

Negro policies, or of bias in the administration of welfare or training programs, I suggest that you warn the Office of Economic Opportunity against becoming an accessory to the practices. The O.E.O. will probably be responsive and may, indeed, become an effective source of pressure for improvement.

Of course, a significant area of civil rights problems relating to the O.E.O. will be its direct dealings with state and local governments, educational institutions, and other non-profit organizations, old and new (new ones would include the corporations to purchase and redistribute farm land). For example, there will be some 20,000 Job Corps people and Volunteers trained to work for local government and non-government agencies in the first year: surely none of them should be trained in segregated facilities or assigned to discriminatory employers. Work-Study grants for 145,000 college and university students are planned: institutions which discriminate, or which accept Negro students only when they come with a court order, should not be permitted to benefit from this program. If the Office of Economic Opportunity is kept supplied with information--and pressure--the anti-poverty program can be, in some measure, an anti-discrimination program as well.

As for the Community Action Program, same /the civil rights considerations are equally relevant. The Office of Economic Opportunity has conceived its Community Action Program as both comprehensive and experimental. New Haven's Community Progress, Incorporated, and New York's Mobilization for Youth and HARYOU-ACT are among its models, but there is a serious determination to learn from them rather than to sow a crop of replicas around the nation. And while the big money will probably go into the big projects--the city-wide or neighborhood-

embracing, comprehensive, multiple-service, big-budget operations, there will also be support for small, inexpensive, single purpose demonstration projects.

One kind of "anti-poverty" program which the O.E.O. seems to be especially interested in, for example, is the provision of the full range of legal services to slum-dwellers. Applications for O.E.O. funds for this kind of work may be included in comprehensive, large-scale programs of the New Haven or New York type, but they may also come from an independent "neighborhood law firm" of two or three or more members.

Some of the guidelines for "anti-poverty" legal services are clearly illuminated in part III of a July 1964 article in the Yale Law Journal entitled "The War on Poverty: A Civilian Perspective," which I hope most of you have been given here. The co-authors are now both at the O.E.O.; Dr. Edgar Cahn is special assistant to Sargent Shriver, and his wife, Jean, on whose experience with C.P.I. in New Haven the neighborhood law firm proposal is largely based, has among her duties the appraisal of applications for legal-services grants.

Earlier this month, the House of Delegates of the American Bar Association voted to support the O.E.O.'s "developing programs for expanding availability of legal services to indigents and persons of low income," despite the Canon of Ethics that bars a lawyer from accepting employment from an organization to represent its individual members. This vote does not eliminate all the problems, though. Local bar associations are not necessarily bound by it, and some of them will be sure to make trouble. And not only bar associations, but many local government officials and landlords and businessmen will hardly be overjoyed at the prospect of all those people who always

did what they were told and took what they were given suddenly being shown what their rights are and having lawyers to help to assert them. Of all the projects and programs connected with the Office of Economic Opportunity, this is the one that is most likely to make enemies.

The assault on Mobilization for Youth last year was a sample of what may be in store. The charges against MFY ostensibly concerned the irregular handling of expense accounts and alleged political affiliations of some employees, but a Republican city councilman from Queens put his finger on the real issue. If you help the poor people of New York City organize to air all their grievances, and if you give them legal assistance to assert all their rights every time they are infringed, he pointed out--and he was quite sincerely distressed--you are trying to revolutionize our whole way of life. It may not be against the law, but does that mean it should be supported by taxpayers' money?

I do not want to dwell on the legal-services projects in such a way as to make them seem to be the major thrust of the Community Action Program, or even to be typical of it. For the great bulk of the CAP's grants will be used for special educational programs--for day care and pre-schooling, for adult illiterates, for students with special problems and adults with special needs--and for vocational rehabilitation, for physical rehabilitation, and for various familiar kinds of social work. But one aspect peculiar to legal-services projects that I think is more significant for civil rights than anything else in the "anti-poverty" program is that it deals with the poor as poor, the slum-dweller as slum-dweller, that it speaks directly to his rights within his present status. The rest of the O.E.O. program--the whole "anti-poverty" approach of this administration--treats poverty as a

social disease, essentially a "bug" in our educational system. It is a constructive approach, a wonderful approach, a beautiful and desirable approach--as far as it goes. It will, I am sure, help thousands, even millions, of poor Americans and their families and even their unborn descendants, as it is intended to. I do not mean to be hypercritical in saying that it does not go far enough, for I think it is a great step in a right direction, but I do think it would be disastrous if we were to lose sight of the fact that there are two other directions that are at least equally important.

One direction, of course, must be the attempt to match our unused and underused human and material resources to our still staggering unmet needs, of which the greatest and most basic is housing and decent neighborhoods. The O.E.O. program has something to offer in this general direction, to be sure. It will give thousands of people the education, skills, and motivation to fill job openings that already exist and go begging, and thus to do work which is not now being done. Further, it will supply the rationale and the funds to put some people to work at necessary jobs for which our public and private economies are not otherwise providing adequately--supplementary education, social work, conservation work, and the like. But we will be very stupid indeed if we let enthusiasm for re-educating and rehabilitating and remotivating the poor blind us to the basic, long-term underfunctioning of the economy, the social and economic malady described by, for example, J. K. Galbraith in "The Affluent Society," the intended irony of whose title seems to have been forgotten by many who read it and all who didn't.

For the fact is that this country, this economy, is not producing demand as fast as it produces the capacity to produce goods; is not producing

jobs as fast as it produces people. The O.E.O. approach will work up to a point--and I don't mean to imply that the point is unimportant or that it is going to be easy to reach--but after that point it will only be raising the educational level of the unemployed and under-employed, unless in the meantime we have developed our economic and political institutions by prodigious acts of will and imagination. The problem might be summed up as the need to stop technological progress from being a threat instead of a blessing.

We have made some progress in dealing with the productivity problem in this generation, to be sure. We have succeeded in increasing the proportion of the population that shares the blessings and escapes the costs. We seem, for the time being, to have done away with the boom-and-bust cycle in which almost everybody prospered for a while and then almost everybody got knocked for a loop. Instead, for fifteen or twenty years now, we have had a rather steadily expanding productive economy, with its gains rather broadly shared by all who manage to get into it and stay in it, but at the same time a rather steadily expanding group on the outside looking in. And now that the war-babies are looking for jobs and having babies of their own, this group has begun to expand even faster. I trust we are all familiar with the racial dimensions of this phenomenon, and need not rehash the grim, familiar figures, just to remind ourselves that the right to participate in our affluent economy is the number one civil rights problem of this or any other day.

The second missing direction has to do with social progress rather than economic progress.

Of course the social and the economic dimensions are inseparable,

but that does not mean that they are indistinguishable. Economic status is the great determinant of social status, and more so in this country than in any other, we are often reminded. Minority groups are the great historical exception to this rule, but their special status is traditionally transitory. And now, at long last, thanks to an effort unparalleled in our history, the American Negro is proving to be the exception that proves the rule. The most prestigious universities and corporations, the most prestigious echelons of government, even the most prestigious cocktail parties are beginning to make integration the mark of prestige. Most of the battles still lie in the long years ahead, but the outcome is no longer in doubt.

What so often happens when a previously all-white group integrates is perhaps the best symptom of the problem I am trying to define. What happens is that the white members suddenly discover that, contrary to their deep-rooted beliefs, a Negro doctor or lawyer or poet is more like a white doctor or lawyer or poet than he is like a Negro field-hand or freight-handler or street hoodlum. What they discover, in fact, is that they really don't mind Negroes so much, though it may take some of them a generation to get completely adjusted to Negroes as 100 per cent equals in everything. What they didn't like all along was the lower-class people! And they still don't. All that changes is that they no longer project all their stereotypes about lower-class people onto all Negroes.

In other words, to the extent that race prejudice is merely a special case of class prejudice, to that extent racial integration can be achieved without real social integration. It is the realization of this, I think, that has led some of the most perceptive and sensitive Negroes to ask whether White America is all that worth being

integrated into. The question is more pointed than fair, though, for the very same tendency is just as apparent in segregated Black America as in segregated and integrated White America.

Wherever you look around the United States, people are racing madly to segregate themselves by income, regardless of race or national origin. Just last week, the United Housing Foundation was joined by Mayor Wagner and Governor Rockefeller in unveiling plans for a 300-acre, 55,000 person "Co-op City" in the Baychester area of the Bronx. It is to have five shopping centers, four elementary schools, two junior high schools, and 15,500 apartments, and every apartment will be restricted to families whose "middle incomes" fall within quite narrow limits. Is the percentage of Negroes or Puerto Ricans the real integration problem there?

Last November a proposal for a bond issue to finance a tiny pilot program of building public housing apartments right in middle-income developments was voted down by the people of New York State. A similar proposal was defeated in the previous election.

Last month, a New York Times reporter went to Governor Rockefeller's brother David's office to ask why he and the Downtown-Lower Manhattan Association which he heads were so eagerly involved in the effort to have a crosstown expressway replace the rather run-down residences and stores along Broome Street, even though the scope of the Association's interests stops some blocks to the south. Mr. Rockefeller was not available, but one of his two top personal aides, Mr. Warren Lindquist, "explained the connection," according to the Times. "That area is our neighbor," he said. Nobody likes to have an unfortunate neighbor next door.

Mr. Lindquist has, perhaps, given us the key to the social dy-

namics of the United States today. If you have an unfortunate neighbor next door, you can do one of three things: you can move away, or move him away, or try to make him less obnoxiously unfortunate. If you move away and he tries to follow you, the fact that your move has driven up the price of living in your new neighborhood will probably keep him out, and if it doesn't, the zoning laws will. If you want to stay where you are and so does he, or if he got to where you want to go first, you can urban-renew him, because we are still waging "war on slums," instead of providing decent housing at low cost. And if he still makes you uncomfortable by his unfortunateness, you can pay somebody to social-work him and educate him until he is fit to inhabit your consciousness.

Of course, if running away from the unfortunate is demeaning and driving the unfortunate away is vicious, helping them is surely good. But it is, again, good only as far as it goes.

And this brings us back to legal services: the only aspect of the O.E.O. program designed for the poor <u>as</u> poor, the slum-dweller <u>as</u> slum-dweller, regardless of where he is going or how much one may hope he will not be poor by and by. All the rest of the program is indeed anti-poverty. That is to say, it is for poor people insofar as it can make them less poor. Which is also to say that it is a really American program, with all the blindness of "Americanism," all of its solipsistic assurance that the middle-class American way is the only way, that the only cure for the ills of the Vietnamese peasant or the Cuban sugar worker or the American Negro is to become a middle-class American. This way of looking at social problems is really very optimistic and very generous, but it does have a few

shortcomings. For one, not everybody in the world, or even in the United States, wants to be a middle-class American. For another, not everybody who wants to can become one overnight, even with remedial education and job training and a loan. But the most pernicious fallacy is the implicit assumption that the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness is the exclusive prerogative of the middle and upper classes.

In its modern dress, this fallacy has covered its robes of divine right and neo-Calvinist morality with a rationalist argument that the poor simply cannot afford to be free. We conveniently forget that what we call poverty in America the late 20th century would pass for plenty in any other time or place. The price of freedom is what it is not because of any iron law of economics, but because we as a society have set it there. While we try to help more people meet the price by raising their income, we might also give a thought to lowering the price.

And this approach is just as "American" as the other. Every great movement in American politics has had it as its objective, from Jefferson to Jackson to Lincoln to Franklin D. Roosevelt. Today, we are moving again, in at least two important ways. The first, of course, is the movement toward racial equality. And more and more in the last few years, that movement has been carrying over into and invigorating the second, the assertion of political rights by the dispossessed citizens of the decrepit, American city.

This is the movement in which we must enlist the Office of Economic Opportunity's Community Action Program. We must see to it that it does not become the pork barrel and bounty-from-above of

entrenched power. It must become a means for the poor to fight not just poverty but also the imposed social consequences of poverty, and to do it as they, and not just the politicians and business leaders and social workers and pillars of the local bar, see fit.

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LAW STUDENTS CIVIL RIGHTS RESEARCH COUNCIL
156 Fifth Avenue
New York, N.Y. Yu-9-2522

FOR: CORE Lawyer Conference

PREPARED BY: The Council's New York University Law School Affiliate.

SUBJECT: Complaints under Title VI, Civil Rights Act of 1964.

The following information has been culled from the departmental and agency regulations implementing Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and a few available publications such as the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights pamphlet"Civil Rights Under Federal Programs" (CRR Special Publication--Number 1, January 1965). The regulations are basically the same with some variation due to the specialized functions of the various agencies.

First some background information:

The Title prohibits discrimination on the grounds of race, color, or national origin in any program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance. A "progra" is any program, project or activity for the provision of services, financial aid or other benefits to individuals, or for the facilities for furnishing services, financial aid or other benefits to individuals.

"Federal financial assistance" is likewise so broadly defined as to include just about any Federal assistance. Specifically included are the following: 1) grants and loans of Federal funds; 2) grants or donations of Federal property or interests in property; 3) the detail of Federal personnel; 4) the sale or lease of, or the permission to use Federal property or interest in property without consideration, or at nominal consideration, or at a consideration which is reduced for the purpose of assisting the program or in recognition of the public interest to be served by the sale of lease; and 5) any Federal agreement, arrangement, or other contract which has as its purposes the provision of assistance. (Contracts of insurance or guaranty are specifically excluded).

Some of the specific discriminatory actions prohibited are: 1) Denial to an individual of any service, financial aid, or other benefit provided under the program on the ground of race, color, or national origin; 2) Provision of services or benefits different, or provided in a different manner, from that provided others under the program; 3) Subjection of an individual to segregation or separate treatment in any matter related to his receipt of a service or benefit under the aided program; 4) Treating individuals differently with regard to admission, eligibility, membership or other requirements that must be met to be provided a service or benefit under the aided program.

There are several areas of Federal assistance not covered by Title VI: 1) Money paid, property transferred, or other assistance extended before the effective date of the regulation implementing the Title for the agency or department involved. The effective date is thirty (30) days after publication of the regulations in the Federal Register. Included at the end of this memorandum is a list of the dates of publication of the various implementing regulations. 2) Programs involving a contract of insurance or guaranty. 3) The Title applies to employment practices only where a primary objective of the Federal assistance is to provide employment.

With this background, what can we say about filing a complaint of violation of Title VI.

In drafting the Civil Rights Act, Congress attempted to provide every possible means for voluntary compliance. Regulations issued pursuant to Title VI reflect this congressional intent by directing Federal officials to seek cooperation of recipients and to provide guidance and assistance to help them comply voluntarily with the act.

Investigations and compliance are initiated by complaints. The regulations uniformly have this to say concerning complaints:

Any person who believes himself or any specific class of individuals to be subjected to discrimination prohibited by this part may by himself or by a representative file with the responsible departmental official a written complaint. A complaint must be filed not later than 90 days from the alleged discrimination, unless the time for filing is extended by the responsible departmental official. A complaint shall be signed by the complainant or his representative.

This isn't muct to go on, but the following general points can be made:

1) Complaints should be filed with the appropriate Federal agency or department--the one supplying aid to the discriminatory program. The complaint should be sent to the chief administrative official of the agency or to a regional director or official if one is known.
2) Complaints should include sufficient information to serve as a basis for an investigation.
3) Complaints may be filed by individuals or organizations. One need not be personally subjected to discrimination to file a complaint.
4) Complaints must be signed by the complainant or his representative.
5) Complaints must be filed within 90 days from the date of the alleged discrimination.

6) Regulations provide that no recipient (program receiving Federal assistance) or any other person shall intimidate, threaten, coerce, or discriminate against any individual for the purpose of interfering with any right or privelege secured by this Title because he has made a complaint, or participated in any manner in an investigation, hearing or proceeding. The identity of complainants shall be kept confidential insofar as practicable.

Drawing from the above points and from forms developed by civil rights groups for other Titles of the act, we have drafted and enclosed a complaint form that should be adequate.

Most of the regulations published so far create a suspicion that complaint forms may be available through the agencies. The regulations with a few exceptions include the following paragraphs.

> Forms and Information. Each responsible Department official shall issue and promptly make available to interested persons forms and detailed instructions and procedures for effectuating this part...

We are writing the departments to check on this and will pass on any additional information received.

Implementing regulations were published in the Federal Register on the following dates:

December 4, 1964--Department of Agriculture, General Serviced Administration, Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Housing and Home Finance Agency, Dept. of Interior, Dept. of Labor, National Science Foundation.
December 31, 1964-- Treasury Dept., Dept. of Defense, Atomic Energy Commission, Civil Aeronautics Board, Veterans Administration, Federal Aviation Agency.
January 7, 1965-- Public Housing Adminsstration.
January 9, 1965-- Small Business Administration, National Aeronautics and Space Administration, Dept. of Commerce, Tennessee Valley Authority, Dept. of State, Office of Economic Opportunity.

COMPLAINT

To: _____.
(Gov't dept. or agency supplying
assistance to discriminatory program)

Today's Date_____

In accordance with section 602 of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, it is requested that you initiate an immediate investigation of discrimination based on race, color, or national origin practiced by _____
(Give the complete name of the discriminating institution,

_____ This is a _____
program of agency). (The nature of the

_____
program--e.g. vocational training program. providing services and benefits to individuals and receiving Federal financial assistance through the _____
(Agency or dept. administering aid)

It is located at _____
(Number) (Street) (City) (State)

I was discriminated against (or witnessed discriminastion) by

_____

(Give names if known of individuals actually involved in the

_____ on _____ in the
discriminatory practieces) (Month, Day, Year)

following manner: _____
(Describe generally what happened, how your

_____
treatment differed from that given others, how the program is

_____
discriminatory. Include any other information you think will

_____
be useful in an investigation)

_____

_____

_____

_____

I swear that the above is true to the best of my knowledge.

_____
(Signature)

My name is_____

My race is_____

I live at_____
(Number) (street) (city) (State)

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LAW IN TRANSITION QUARTERLY

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As the accompanying index shows, the first volume of LAW IN TRANSITION QUARTERLY included articles and reviews on civil liberties and civil rights. There have been practical articles on the federal law of habeas corpus, federal criminal discovery, and pleading under the Civil Rights Act; articles on the ethical questions underlying both the legal issues of civil rights and the lawyer's changing role in this field; and articles on basic constitutional questions concerning church and state, rights of citizenship, the relevance of scienter to due process, and the United States' relation to the United Nations.

The contributors included: Richard Lichtman, a philosopher on the staff of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions at Santa Barbara; Robert F. Drinan, S.J., Dean of Boston College Law School; Clarence Clyde Ferguson, Jr., Dean and Professor of Law, Howard University Law School, formerly General Counsel, United States Commission on Civil Rights; Joseph B. Robison, Acting Director, Commission on Law and Social Action, American Jewish Congress; Arval A. Morris, Professor of Law, University of Washington, ACLU Counsel for the prevailing parties in *Baggett v. Bullitt* in the United States Supreme Court; and Richard A. Ibanez, Counsel for the Southern California Society for Psychiatry and the Law, and for the Psychiatry and Law Foundation.

Already scheduled for publication in Volume II of LAW IN TRANSITION QUARTERLY are articles including: *Substantive Due Process for Students in State Universities,* by William Van Alstyne, Professor of Law, Duke University; *In Defense of*

the Balancing of Interests, by Dean Alfange, Jr., of the Department of Government and Law, Lafayette College; Jacobellis *and the Law of Obscenity,* by Stanley Fleishman, prominent defense counsel in cases involving prosecutions under state and federal obscenity laws; *Pleadings Under § 1983 of the Federal Civil Rights Act in Cases Involving Police Malpractice,* by Hillel Chodos, who has frequently litigated cases for the American Jewish Congress and the ACLU; and *Treatment of Police Malpractice Claims by Appellate Courts,* by Hugh R. Manes, who is active as a defense attorney in criminal cases and is a member of the Board of Directors of the ACLU of Southern California.

We hope that the above résumé will provoke you to subscribe to Volume II (1965), LAW IN TRANSITION QUARTERLY.

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The National Labor Relations Board and Racial Discrimination

by

Robert L. Carter

One of the most critical problems facing the Negro today is discrimination in employment. We are inclined to think the trade union movement, with its liberal political orientation, as being liberal in the race relations field as well. Unfortunately, this is not true. Union policies and practices have often been barriers to the Negro in his search for equal employment opportunities.

Since about 18 million of the nation's 70 million workers are covered by collective bargaining contracts, these policies and practices of labor unions significantly affect the employment opportunities of minority groups. As documented in the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Book 3, Report on Employment 2 (1961), some industrial unions have misused their powers by discriminating racially in their membership policies and negotiating contracts with separate racial lines of seniority and other discriminatory provisions.

About three years ago, the NAACP began to explore possible methods of reinterpreting the National Labor Relations Act [1/] in order to assist racially disadvantaged workers. The duty of fair representation was the cornerstone of the inquiry. This doctrine originated in Steele v. Louisville & Nashville Railroad, 323, U.S. 192, 202, in which the U.S. Supreme Court made an apt analogy between a legislative representative and a union which is a statutory bargaining representative.

> We think that the Railway Labor Act imposes upon the statutory representative of a craft at least as exacting a duty to protect equally the interests of the members of the craft as the Constitution imposes upon a legislature to give equal protection to the interests of those for whom it legislates.

The Court enjoined performance of a discriminatory contract between the union and the railroad, and ruled that a union which gains statutory prerogatives has a statutory duty to represent non-union or minority union members of the craft "without hostile discrimination, fairly, impartially and in good faith." Steele was

---

1/ 61 Stat. 136 (1947), as amended, 29 United States Code §§151-68 (1958), as amended, 29 United States Code §§153-64 (Supp. II, 1959-1960)

followed by other cases decided on similar grounds under the Railway Labor Act.[2] See Tunstall v. Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, 323 U.S. 210; Conley v. Gibson, 355 U.S. 41; Howard v. Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, 343 U.S. 768. The same reasoning was applied to cases arising under the National Labor Relations Act in Syres v. Oil Workers, Local 23, 350 U.S. 892, and Wallace v. National Labor Relations Board, 323 U.S. 248.

While Steele and its successors explained very fully the rationale through which the duty of the union was read into the Railway Labor Act and the National Labor Relations Act, they did not clarify the question of what, aside from flagrantly hostile discrimination, constitutes evidence of unfair representation. Nor were the courts always able to implement these decisions effectively.[3]

An administrative body such as the National Labor Relations Board, with its daily contact with its labor problems, has a better opportunity than the courts to evolve definitions of fair representation in specific situations. Moreover, the litigant before the Board is spared the expense involved in a court trial and possible appeal.

The NAACP first dealt with the implementation of fair representation in the context of rescission of certification. Where a union is certified by the National Labor Relations Board as the representative of employees in a bargaining unit, no new representative may be elected within twelve months; if the union and the employer sign a contract of three years or more, the Board will not hold a new election for three years. General Cable Corporation, 139 NLRB 11 (1962). A union may still be a bargaining agent without certification, but a large number of unions seek the certified status in order to gain these "no raiding" advantages.

The Board had stated for almost twenty years that it would "police" its certification to insure that they would not be used to perpetrate discriminatory acts. In Larus and Brother Co., 62 NLRB 1075, 1083 (1945), the Board said:

2/ 44 Stat. 577 (1926), as amended, 45 United States Code §151 (1958).

3/ Howard v. Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, 343 U.S. 768, was a suit by a Negro brakeman arbitrarily designated as a "porter" whose employment rights were affected by a discriminatory contract between the railroad and the Brotherhood representing white brakemen. Although the Court rendered a decision in plaintiff's favor, the NAACP is now handling a suit on his behalf to eliminate other discrimination arising out of the same situation (Case No. 62 C 385 (3), Eastern District of Missouri, Eastern Division).

> These holdings give support to many decisions in which we have said that there is a duty on the statutory bargaining agent to represent all members of the unit equally and without discrimination on the basis of race, color, or creed.

See also Veneer Products, Inc., 81 NLRB 492, 494 (1948). However, in these very case it was held that segregation and exclusion of Negroes from membership do not indicate or constitute unfair representation; see also Atlanta Oak Flooring Co., 62 NLRB 973 (1945); and the Board continued to issue joint certifications permitting segregated locals to represent workers in the same bargaining unit.

On October 25, 1962, the NAACP brought a proceeding on behalf of a Negro local of Independent Metal Workers Union in Houston, Texas, to rescind the certification of the white Local No. 1 of the same union. Local 1 was jointly certified with the Negro local to represent employees at the Hughes Tool Company. The white local had sole bargaining power, and carried its segregated membership policies over into the bargaining contract under which white employees held the more skilled jobs, while Negroes were confined to the unskilled work and excluded from apprentice training programs. In 1961, this contract was put into effect even though the Negro local would not sign it. The white local refused to process the grievance of a Negro employee deprived on racial grounds of the opportunity for apprenticeship.

The trial of the motion to rescind certification was consolidated with unfair labor practice proceedings against Local 1. The argument of the NAACP with respect to rescission was that segregated unionism is inevitably accompanied by discrimination in collective bargaining. Racial exclusion is both the sympton and the cause of unfair treatment of Negro workers. On the one hand, it is racial discrimination which leads to the establishment of racial criteria for full membership. On the other hand, the fact that Negroes have no role in the formulation of bargaining policies in an all-white union leads to discrimination in the contract and its administration. Thus, segregation or exclusion from membership is incompatible with the duty of fair representation and is cause for rescission of a union's certification. The National Labor Relations Board's Trial Examiner adopted this view, holding:

> Such 'separate but equal' treatment resulted in this case in Negroes being precluded from eligibility for the higher paid

> jobs and even training as apprentices. Similar results of 'separate but equal' locals were condemned by the courts in Betts v. Easely, 161 Kan. 459, 169 P.2d 329. See also Sovern, supra, 62 Columbia L.R. at 602 and fn. 148. Assuming arguendo that the doctrine of 'separate but equal' retains any vitality in this area, the record here shows that separateness was accompanied by inequality. In any event, the same logic which led to the overruling of Plessy v. Ferguson, 347 U.S. 537, in Brown v. Board of Education, 347 U.S. 483--namely that 'separate but equal' in the area of race relations is self-contradictory and that separateness of itself both connotes and creates inequality--leads here to the conclusion that racial discrimination in membership in itself creates an inequality inconsistent with the bargaining agent's duty of fair representation.

The Examiner recommended that the certification of Local 1 be rescinded.

On July 2, 1964, the National Labor Relations Board affirmed the Examiner's report (Independent Metal Workers Union, Local No. 1 and Hughes Tool Company, 147 NLRB No. 166):

> In the light of the Supreme Court decisions cited herein and others to which the Board adverted in Pioneer Bus, we hereby expressly overrule such cases as Atlanta Oak Flooring Co., 62 NLRB 973; Larus and Brother Co., 62 NLRB 1075; and other cases epitomized by the language of the Board's Tenth Annual Report, quoted by the Trial Examiner at footnote 9, insofar as such cases hold that unions which exclude employees from membership on racial grounds, or which classify or segregate members on racial grounds, may obtain or retain certified status under the Act.

Rescission was also based on Local 1's negotiation of racially discriminatory contracts.

The decision in Hughes Tool was a landmark not only in dealing with the Board's powers under §9 of the National Labor Relations Act to strip unions of the advantages of certification, but also in applying the unfair labor practice sections of the Act to racial discrimination. The Board has broad powers to order injunctive and affirmative relief against unions which commit an unfair labor practice described in §8. Particularly relevant are §§8(b)(1)(A), 8(b)(2), and 8(b)(3). Section 8(b)(1)(A) forbids a union to restrain or coerce employees in the exercise of the right to bargain collectively or the right to refrain from bargaining collectively. Section 8(b)(2) prevents an attempt by a union to cause an employer to discriminate against an employee for membership or non-membership in a union. Section 8(b)(3) requires the statutory representative to bargain collectively with the employer. Prior to 1962,

these sections had been held by the Board and the courts to relate only to discrimination based on union affiliation or non-affiliation, and to have no applicability t racial discrimination.

This rule was abrogated in Hughes Tool. As previously stated, unfair labor practice charges were tried together with the motion for rescission. The representative of the General Counsel of the National Labor Relations Board, whose offic issues such charges, had based the case on the white local's refusal to process the grievance of a Negro employee. He charged that this refusal violated §8(b)(1)(A) because it restrained a non-member of Local 1 in his right to bargain collectively, but did not allege violations of any other section of the Act nor bring into issue the question of the discriminatory contract and Local 1's policy of racial segregation. We urged that violations should not be confined to §8(b)(1)(A), and that the union's racial discrimination in bargaining and membership was violative of the Negro employees' rights to be represented without arbitrary discrimination. The Trial Examiner ruled that Local 1's refusal to process the grievance deprived the Negro complainant of the benefit of union representation and thus violated §8(b)(1)(A); that the union violated §8(b)(2) in withholding benefits from a non-member which it would have given to a member, on racial grounds; and that §8(b)(3) was also violated because Local 1's refusal to process a grievance was a breach of the duty to bargain collectively. The National Labor Relations Board affirmed these rulings in its decision in Hughes Tool, and also indicated agreement with the NAACP's argument that racial segregation in membership and the negotiation of racially discriminatory contracts constitute unfair labor practices.

In finding that under §8 a statutory bargaining agent may neither refuse representation to employees on racial grounds nor make bargaining decisions on the arbitrary basis of race, the Board was in effect reading the duty of fair representation into the unfair labor practice sections. This was made explicit in the Board's September 14, 1964 decision in Local 1367, International Longshoremen's Association, and Galveston Maritime Association, Inc., 148 NLRB No. 44, a case concerning segregated longshoremen's locals. The white local maintained a 75-25% wor distribution between the two, allotting 3/4 of the work to its own members, and also maintained a "no doubling" arrangement forbidding the assignment of white and Negro

gangs to work together in ship hatches. The Board found:

> ...Respondents have failed to comply with their duty as exclusive bargaining representative to represent all employees in the bargaining unit fairly and impartially and thereby violated Section 8(b)(1)(A) of the Act. (emphasis added).

A violation of 8(b)(2) was found in the discriminatory work apportionment.

The opinion also contains a full discussion of the relation between §8(b)(3) and the duty of fair representation:

> We hold that under the National Labor Relations Act a labor organization's duty to bargain collectively includes the duty to represent fairly as that duty has been enunciated in the line of cases of which Steele v. Louisville & Nashville Railroad, 323 U.S. 192 (1944), was the first. Section 8(d) speaks, inter alia, of a mutual obligation of employers and unions 'to confer in good faith' and to sign 'any agreement reached.' These quoted phrases contemplate, in our opinion, only lawful bargaining and agreements, for the statute does not sanction the execution of agreements which are unlawful. Because collective bargaining agreements which discriminate invidiously are not lawful under the Act, the good-faith requirements of Section 8(d) necessarily protect employees from infringement of their rights; and both unions and employers are enjoined by the Act from entering into contractual terms which offend such rights. Contrary to the Trial Examiner, Section 8(d) cannot mean that a union can be exercising good faith toward an employer while simultaneously acting in bad faith toward employees in regard to the same matter.

Relying on Hughes Tool, the Board ruled that there was no reason to interpret the union's duty to bargain in good faith as owed only to the employer; nothing in the statutory language would require such a restriction, and the employer's corresponding duty to bargain runs both to the union and to the employees in the unit.

On December 16, 1964, a new breakthrough in the protection of Negro workers under the National Labor Relations Act was achieved in Local Union No. 12, United Rubber Workers, 150 NLRB No. 18. This involved Negro union members of the United Rubber Workers at Goodyear. One of the aspects in which this case differed from previous ones was that the complainants were union members, rather than being excluded from an all-white union. The decision, therefore, could not rely to any extent on the traditional interpretation of the National Labor Relations Act as protecting non-members from union discrimination, but was framed entirely on the racial issue.

At the Goodyear Tire and Rubber Company in Gadsden, Alabama, Negro workers were enrolled in the union local without segregation but the union had maintained

prior separate seniority rosters on a racial basis, and skilled jobs had been allocated to white employees only and plant facilities were segregated. After the company received a U.S. government contract and had covenanted not to discriminate racially, the union agreed orally in March, 1962 to cease interpreting its contract as authorizing racial discrimination in jobs and seniority. However, at the time of trial, the union still refused to process a grievance concerning backpay for Negro employees who had been laid off (under the prior unlawful application of the collective bargaining agreement) while white employees with less or no seniority continued on the job.

In addition, there was plant-wide segregation in toilet, restroom, and dining facilities, and a plant golf course for employees excluded Negroes. The union not only refused to process a grievance concerning plant segregation, but stated that it would "actively oppose" any attempt to integrate the facilities. The Negro employees appealed to the President of the International Union, who directed the local to process the grievance, but this direction was not followed.

The Trial Examiner found no unfair labor practice in Local 12's conduct, ruling that the "wide range of discretion" allowed a statutory bargaining representative in determining the demands to be made and when to make them, justified the union's position. He did not award backpay, ruling that the parties believed that their practices before 1962 were valid at that time.

In its briefs appealing the Trial Examiner's decision to the Board, the NAACP took sharp issue with this position, urging that the range of discretion allowed to a union included only consideration of factors such as relevant skills and seniority, and that there was no "discretion" to discriminate on the clearly arbitrary and hostile basis of race. On the backpay question, precedent such as Central of Georgia Railway v. Jones, 229 F.2d 648 (5th Cir. 1956), and Richardson v. Tennessee & New Orleans Railroad, 242 F. 2d 230, 236 (5th Cir. 1957), was cited to show that financial responsibility for past unlawful acts of discrimination is frequently found by the courts where plaintiff seeks to be made whole for demonstrable damage.

The Board reversed the Trial Examiner, adopting the NAACP's position. It ruled that the duty of fair representation can be violated by inaction as well as action, and that the bad faith refusal to process a grievance violated §8(b)(1)(A),

8(b)(2) and 8(b)(3) for the reasons cited in Hughes Tool. The violation of 8(b)(2)--the prohibition against an employee on the basis of membership or non-membership in a union--was found even though the Negro complainants were members of the union inducing the discrimination. The Board found that it would be illogical to accord less protection to those employees following the route of self-organization than to those who do not. The crux of the offense is the union's attempt to persuade the employer to derogate the employment status of an individual, for arbitrary reasons. Reliance for this rationale was placed upon Hughes Tool and the prior case of Miranda Fuel Company, Inc., 140 NLRB 181, enforcement denied, 326 F.2d 172 (2nd Cir._____). Miranda did not involve any racial issue, but did deal with the validity of union discrimination on an arbitrary basis (in this case, resentment of an employee's taking a vacation allegedly in violation of a union rule). Although the Second Circuit denied enforcement, the Board found that Miranda was still applicable precedent because the court's denial had been based partially upon the doubt of some of the justices as to whether the union's act was arbitrary, whereas racial discrimination is always clearly invidious.

On the issue of segregated plant facilities, the Board made a thorough analysis of the effect of such segregation on equality of opportunity, finding that it limited job and promotional chances for Negroes. Studies were cited to show that the financial cost to an employer of installing and maintaining segregated facilities for Negroes constitutes a barrier to hiring them for jobs other than those already open to Negroes; such a barrier is equally present in promotions and transfers.

Finally, the Board again emphasized that a violation of the duty of fair representation can be enforced through the unfair labor practice sections:

> Under these circumstances, we must conclude that the Respondent breached its duty of fair representation and thereby violated Section 8(b)(1)(A), (2), and (3).

Thus, under present interpretations of the National Labor Relations Act, union discrimination against a Negro employee, when based solely on that employee's race, may lead to rescission of certification and the issuance of "cease and desist" or mandatory injunctions against such conduct.4/ Past experience indicates that the

---

4/ However, in situations where the discriminatee is not employed by the employer or a member of the bargaining unit, there would be no duty on the union's part to represent such a person, and thus the Board might have no authority under these precedents to remedy discrimination.

articulation and enforcement of fair standards of union activity in racial situations will not ultimately damage unionism. Employees, when weighing the possibility of losing the higher wages and other advantages accruing from bargaining collectively against a commitment to racial segregation and exclusion, have often chosen to give up discriminatory policies. See e.g. Fleischman, "Equality and the Unions," in Religion and Labor, February, 1961, p. 6. This will hold true to an even greater extent if the Board's position insures that all competing unions must abide by the same standards in order to continue as bargaining agents. Certainly, the Board decisions will strengthen the power of International Unions to deal with discriminatory locals. Internationals generally have powers under their constitutions to fire locals, suspend their charters, or to take over their control.[5/] It is to be hoped that in view of the clear legal duty imposed upon statutory bargaining agents and the consequences of its breach, these powers will be utilized by those internationals which have made known their commitment to racial equality.

Prior to decision in these cases, the prevailing view had been that unfair labor practices sections of the Act were not intended by Congress to cover any discrimination but that resulting from membership or non-membership in a union.

The Rubber Workers decision is being contested in the courts, and we are, therefore, likely to have this question finally determined by the United States Supreme Court, particularly if the Court of Appeals upholds the Board.

5/ Summers, "The Right to Join a Union," 47 Col. L.Rev. 33, 67 Note 198 (1947).

Commentary on "Bail and Civil Rights"

by David J. McCarthy, Jr.
Director
D.C. Bail Project
Georgetown University Law Center
Washington, D.C.

With regard to Stephen Wizner's paper, "Bail and Civil Rights," I have read it thoroughly and am quite impressed by the paper's obvious attempt to present an important subject in a brief, understandable manner.

The treatment of the history of bail is excellent. This particular facet of the subject has been done frequently, but I have read no treatment as succinct, clear, and yet complete as that of Mr. Wizner.

The author presents a good treatment of the law in the area. However, he is too kind to the present bail system. I think that it would be proper to indicate that the abuses illustrated--and many not illustrated--are not limited to the area of civil rights, but pervade the entire administration of bail. This is not to say that discrimination in civil rights cases is not demonstrable. Rather, many of the problems faced by the demonstrators are commonly faced by all defendants before the courts.

The paper does not give due emphasis to two facts which perhaps are obvious: some of the demonstrators prefer to be jailed rather than released on bail because their jail status further emphasizes the cause which they are fostering. In addition, some of the demonstrators are poor risks in terms of their return for court appearances. Thus, without more, courts cannot be faulted for asking financial assurances from out-of-state students, for example, who have participated in a demonstration. Recognizing these facts, however, the abuses of the bail system and its perversion to achieve ends not properly contemplated by bail are rampant in the civil rights area.

The author has suggested the proper legal remedies for one imprisoned for want of discriminatory or unreasonable bail. It is submitted, however, that however proper these remedies may be, they are, as the author admits, inadequate and ineffective as a practical matter. These failings result not only from the jurisdictional and procedural concepts underlying remedies, but also from the long periods of time consumed in their exercise. In addition, the unfortunate, though perhaps sometimes intended, result of the exercise of these remedies is that the funds of organizations such as CORE are depleted for purposes tangential to the main cause being served.

The following suggestions appear at least to have a surface practicality and may in fact have already been attempted. I feel, however, that I should mention them. In the long run it might be less costly to attempt to obtain a landmark court decision in a case or cases involving bail and civil rights demonstrations or even civil disobedience. The theory of the test case would, of course, at least by way of analogy, be that the testing of an unconstitutional law should not be barred or precluded by an abuse of the bail system. Cf. Williamson v. United States, 184 F.2d 280; Bandy v. United States, 81 Sup. Ct. 197, 82 Sup. Ct. 11.

As the histories of the various bail projects and of bail reform in general indicate, the system seems more amenable to direct attack by reform movements than it is to reform from within by way of judicial decision. Perhaps the best suggestion I can make (I guarantee no success) is that organizations such as CORE borrow a page from gamblers and other racketeers. The organizations should attempt in advance to make high-volume, low premium commercial arrangements with a national bonding company, providing not only the premiums but perhaps some form of retainer.

This high-volume business arrangement, with the organization such as CORE agreeing to stand behind the arrested demonstrators as well as to pay the bondsmen's premiums, might tempt the national company sufficiently to overcome its reluctance to pressure local agents to write "unpopular" bonds.

Mr. Wizner's paper will be an important contribution to the CORE Legal Conference in that it succinctly presents not only a picture of the bail system but also an illustration of its often perverted application in civil rights cases. In addition, Mr. Wizner has set forth a very helpful discussion of the proper legal remedies all too often unknown by those working in the field.

Commentary: "Bail and Civil Rights"

John M. Pratt
Counsel to the Commission
National Council of the Churches of Christ
New York, N.Y.

I have read Mr. Wizner's paper and find it to be a very thorough and scholarly contribution to the understanding of bail problems...

...I hope (that) particular stress (is placed) on the point that the misuse of bail in civil rights cases is not restricted to the southern states. The examples from the New York World's Fair found in the text and from Chester, Pennsylvania...are striking examples of the way in which northern courts have used the bail system to fit their understanding of societal needs. These abuses by northern courts should, in my judgment, be given the fullest exposure so that they are nipped in the bud before a pattern becomes established.

...Mr. Wizner quotes Justice Jackson's opinion in Stack v. Boyle that "admission to bail always involves a risk that the accused will take flight. That is a calculated risk which the law takes as the price of our system of justice." This appears to me an accurate statement of the principle underlying our present bail system. I should like to suggest that the time may be at hand to begin a concerted effort to replace this principle with its converse which I would state in these words: "denial of bail always involves a risk that an innocent man will be unjustly detained. This is a risk which the law takes at the expense of our system of justice. It is better to have a guilty man skip bail than an innocent one incarcerated for want of bail." What I am suggesting in essence is that while we speak of bail as a right we act as if it were a privilege. Subsequently, as Justice Jackson indicates, we think in terms of risk when we admit to bail. If,however, bail is a right, then ought we not to think rather in terms of the risk involved to our

judicial system when it is denied either overtly or covertly? With regard to the question of proving excessiveness in a Federal habeas hearing...where civil rights demonstrations are involved, I must admit I have great difficulty understanding how this can be shown without showing discriminatory practices. That is to say, I understand the conceptual difference, the either/or of the excessive-discriminatory dichotomy, but I can't conceive of a clear case where you can establish one without the other.

Mr. Wizner suggests that an alternative to the long and tedious exhaustion of state remedies would be to place reliance on the last words of Section 2254 ... This route was tried in the Golden Frinks habeas application in North Carolina before Judge Larkins, who is apparently a fairly liberal judge, but he refused to grant the writ even though in that case it was made clear to him that Mr. Frinks' six-month sentence would be exhausted long before his available state remedies were. I do not know of a decision yet where the simple fact of delaying the petitioners freedom has been held to constitute the existence of a circumstance rendering the exhaustion route ineffective. Thus, if neither confinement nor such delay as would either make eventual application in Federal courts moot or would substantially curtail the applicant's freedom is a sufficient circumstance, the question is, what is? The suggestion Mr. Wizner puts forward from the Grimes case is that a showing that the confinement was the result of allegedly unconstitutional state action constitutes a sufficient circumstance. Are there any others, and if so, what might they be? This I believe is one of the key questions on which the conference should focus because, in my judgment, we desperately need to find ways to break open Section 2254 and escape the exhaustion-of-state-remedies dilemma.

With regard to the Federal injunction relief route, I have a strong feeling that the Federal court would be more apt to grant Federal habeas

than it would to issue an injunction where the ground of the injunction being sought is the extreme arbitrariness or discriminatoriness of the bail. In other words, I suggest that if he can show a denial of due process because the bail was so arbitrary or discriminatory, then you ought to have met the requirements for showing the existence of a circumstance rendering the state-exhaustion-of-remedies process ineffective to protect the Federal rights of the prisoner and thus be entitled to release under Section 2254. I should like to hear some discussion of this at the conference...

BAIL AND CIVIL RIGHTS

by

Stephen Wizner

In Americus, Georgia, civil rights workers were arrested after a desegregation demonstration and charged with violating that State's "insurrection" statute. Insurrection being a capital offense under Georgia law, the court refused to release the demonstrators on bail and they were jailed pending presentment to a grand jury.

A 67-year-old California minister arrested during a "pray-in" at an Atlanta, Georgia, church was convicted of "disturbing public worship," and bail on appeal was set at $20,000. The Georgia Supreme Court reduced it to $5,000, but the minister spent seven months in jail because his tender of $5,000 in cash was refused and he was unable to post that amount in unencumbered real estate as required by the court.

In Atlanta, a local judge set bail at $15,000 for an 18-year-old college girl charged with trespass, a misdemeanor under state law.

In Chester, Pennsylvania, a minister arrested during a civil rights demonstration was charged with unlawful assembly and inciting to riot. The court set bail at $26,500.

In New Orleans, Louisiana demonstrators peacefully attempted to desegregate a theater. They were arrested and required to furnish bail on each of eight separate charges: "trespass," "resisting arrest," "disturbing the peace," "refusing to move on," "criminal mischief," "blocking an entracne," and two counts of "contributing to the delinquency of a minor."

In New York, civil rights demonstrators at the World's Fair, many of them prominent Americans, were all required to post bond in a uniform amount. A similar group of non-civil rights demonstrators protesting an anti-Zionist display at the Jordanian exhibit were all released on their own recognizance without posting bond. And recently in New York, members of Parents and Taxpayers ("PAT") (an organization opposed to "busing" public school students to schools outside of their district to achieve integration) were not required to post bond even though their demonstration was not peaceful and had resulted in several acts of violence by the demonstrators.

On the day before the "stall-in" which was to take place on opening day of the New York World's Fair, the local magistrate and law enforcement officers publicly announced that a certain amount of bail had been agreed upon for every person arrested in connection with that proposed demonstration. The acknowledged purpose of this announcement was to deter individuals from participating in the demonstration.

Almost without exception, when national figures such as James Farmer or Bayard Rustin are arrested during a civil rights demonstration, they are required to post bond in order to obtain pre-trial release, despite the fact that there can be no reasonable doubt about their appearance for trial.

If one did not know better he might conclude from observing the administration of bail in civil rights cases that the purposes of bail are harassment, punishment, deterrence, imprisonment before trial, and the imposition of unnecessary expenses on civil rights organizations. At a time when the American bail system is finally being subjected to wide-spread critical scrutiny, when newspaper editorials characterize present bail practices as "an outmoded and now nearly senseless procedure," [1] when a National Conference on Bail and Criminal Justice is called under the auspices of the Department of Justice "to focus public attention on the defects in the bail system," [2] local authorities and courts, in their opposition to meaningful integration, are making increasing use of the bail procedure as a "legal" weapon against civil rights demonstrators. This paper will examine the theory and practice of bail in relation to civil rights cases and will suggest ways in which civil rights lawyers might oppose such improper use of bail by local officials.

The practice of bail originated in medieval England as a means of granting freedom to persons accused of crime during the long pre-trial delays associated with the system of traveling justices. The original procedure was essentially a bailment or delivery of a defendant to jailers of his own choosing, [3] into the personal custody of his sureties, usually relatives or friends. These sureties had to surrender either the accused for trial or themselves, should the former fail to appear. [4] In time, the forfeiture of money replaced the surrender of the of the sureties' person where the sheriffs, who exercised almost complete discretion in questions of bail, so approved. In 1275

the first English bail statute which limited the discretionary power of sheriffs by specifying bailable and non-bailable offenses, was passed.[5] Later the sheriffs' functions were transferred to justices of the peace,[6] and the procedure for obtaining bail was clarified.[7] The English Bill of Rights[8] established the prohibition against excessive bail, although the granting or denying of bail has remained almost entirely subject to the discretion of the Courts.[9]

The development of the bail procedure in the United States followed a different course. The Judiciary Act of 1789 provided an absolute right to bail in all but capital cases, and a conditional right of bail in capital cases subject to the discretion of the court.[10] Similar practices have been guaranteed by the constitution or statute in all but seven states.[11]

The absolute right to bail and the open frontiers which allowed great mobility to defendants considerably diminished the usefulness of the old private surety system, and necessitated the development of new techniques to supplement that of the personal bailment. In time, the surety's personal promise to produce the accused was supplanted by an impersonal promise merely to pay a sum of money should the accused fail to appear, an innovation which gave rise to the professional bondsman who performed the service for a fee. Today, in the typical criminal case in an American court, the legal right of an accused to be released on bail, is normally exercised through a commercial

bail transaction with a professional bondsman whose "interest to produce the body of the principle in court is impersonal and wholly pecuniary."[12]

In accordance with the usual procedure, the police present the accused to a committing magistrate, judge, or commissioner, who sets bail in a monetary amount. If the accused is able to furnish bail in that amount or to pay a bondsman to post bond for him, he is released; if he can not, the accused will be confined to jail from the time of his arrest until his trial ends in conviction, acquittal, or dismissal.

The absolute right to bail thus is not an unqualified right to freedom before trial. An individual charged with a criminal offense may be required as a condition of pre-trial release to furnish such security as the court believes will reasonably insure his appearance for trial. The court does not, however, have complete discretion in this matter. Certain general limitations restrict the exercise of judicial discretion in the setting of bail. First, bail can properly be required only to insure the defendant's appearance at trial, and "the fixing of bail for any individual defendant must be based upon standards relevant to the purpose of assuring the presence of that defendant."[13] Second, that some defendants are more likely to flee than others can not justify the denial of bail:

> Admission to bail always involves a risk that the accused will take flight. That is a calculated risk which the law takes as the price of our system of justice.[14]

Guaranteed certainty of appearance could be achieved only by keeping in custody everyone accused of a criminal offense. Third, excessive bail, that is, any bail set at an amount higher than that reasonably calculated to assure the appearance of an accused for trial and sentence if found guilty is "excessive.[15/]

Standards for measuring reasonable bail are frequently specified by statute or court rule. Rule 46(c), for example, of the Federal Rules of Criminal Procedure provides:

> If the defendent is admitted to bail, the amount thereof shall be such as in the judgment of the commissioner or court or judge or justice will insure the presence of the defendant, having regard to the nature and circumstances of the offense charged, the weight of the evidence against him, the financial ability of the defendant to give bail, and the character of the defendant.

Several state legislatures have established similar standards;[16/] in other states comparable criteria have been set forth in judicial opinions.[17/]

A number of propositions follow from these general principles. Bail may not be used to deter individuals from committing particular acts deemed undesirable by the state. Nor may it be used to harass or punish individuals or groups for committing such acts. High bail may not be set to confine a defendant in jail prior to trial. When a number of persons are arrested, a court should make an individualized determination of bail amount for each defendant. A defendant should be realesed on his own recognizance where relevant factors reasonably assure his appearance for trial.

Clearly, these propositions have not been observed by local officials in civil rights cases. A report presented to the National Conference on Bail and Criminal Justice in Washington last summer concluded:

> ...it is plain that in many Southern communities (and perhaps elsewhere) bail requirements in civil rights cases did much more than merely assure the defendant's appearance in court. In many instances the net effect of bail demands was to arrest the demonstrations, by exhausting the organization's treasury or temporarily removing the participants, or their leaders. Doubtless, that consequence was sometimes unintentional. But, in other cases, bail was obviously used, even manipulated, to achieve that end. The nature and number of the charges, the amount of the bonds, and the form of security required, in some instances, were plainly intended to delay or prevent release.18/

Commonly, the prohibition against excessive bail has been disregarded in several ways. Exorbitant bail for a minor offense, is merely set by the judge as in the case described above where a Georgia judge fixed bail at $15,000 on a misdemeanor charge; or a defendant can be charged with several petty offenses, and be required to post bail on each charge separately. Thus in the New Orleans case cited above, individuals arrested in connection with an attempt to integrate a theater were each required to post a total of $4,500 bail on eight separate misdemeanor charges. Serious, even capital, charges have been lodged against civil rights workers in order to justify prohibitive bail or a denial of bail, as in Americus, Georgia, where four domonstrators were held without bail on the capital charge of "insurrection."

Widespread imposition of unnecessarily high bail in civil rights cases prevents many of those arrested from obtaining pre-trial release. Even in those cases where bail is furnished, Civil Rights Organizations must bear considerable expense, since the premiums paid on bailbonds are not refunded when the defendants appear for trial.

Objectively speaking, liberal standards in the administration of bail seem most appropriate in civil rights cases as well as in numerous relatively minor offenses. Often the defendants welcome litigation, and the offenses with which they are charged normally carry comparatively small penalties, even though bail is high. In addition, most of those arrested normally are local residents. Hence, the risk of their non-appearance is small. High bail in these cases can be explained only as harassment, punishment, or a deterrent to continued demonstrations.

The setting of excessive bail by state courts violates not only many state constitutions, not only disregards the Eighth Amendment to the United States Constitution,[19/] but also should offend the conscience of honorable people. Moreover, where a state court deprives an accused of pre-trial liberty by the arbitrary, unreasonable, and discriminatory setting of excessive bail, particularly in minor offenses, it violates his Federal Constitutional rights under the Fourteenth Amendment. As the court stated in Mastrian v. Hedman, 326 F2d 708,711 (8th Cir.1964):

> As to the offenses...for which a state has provided a right of bail it may not, any more than as to other substantive or procedural benefits under its criminal law system, engage in such administration as arbitrarily or discriminatorily to effect denial or deprivation of the right to a particular accused.

To assert the unconstitutionality of excessive bail does not define it. In general it may be said that bail set at an amount higher that that reasonably calculated to assure the presence of the accused at trial is "excessive," since it exceeds the amount necessary to effect the sole legal purpose of bail. However, the mere inability of the defendant to furnish bail in the amount fixed by the court does not of itself render that amount excessive.[20] Nevertheless this results in an economic discrimination against indigent defendants, as compared with those with means in the operation of the bail system, a well-documented injustice requiring no detailed discussion here.[21] Suffice it to say that a disturbingly large proportion of criminal defendants in the United States are incarcerated prior to trial because of their financial inability to furnish bail, without adequate consideration of possible alternatives, or without sufficient care as to the consequences. This situation is being ameliorated somewhat by such programs as the Manhattan Bail Project and the District of Columbia Bail Project, which seek to introduce into the bail system an increased utilization of non-financial deterrents to flight, and consequent release of defendants on personal recognizance.[22]

Ordinarily, an accused does not have an absolute right to be released without bail.[23] But he may, under some circumstances, be entitled to release on his own recognizance where relevant factors make it reasonable to believe that he will appear for trial.

> It is to be borne in mind, however, that the prohibition is only against requiring excessive bail. It does not afford a basis for one accused of crime to insis t that he is entitled to be released on his own recognizance....A State may properly require bail in some amount, and the mere fact that an accused is unable to furnish it in any sum, and so wants to be released on his own recognizance, does not present a federal question. [25]

Nevertheless, Mr. Justice Douglas has suggested that to condition release on a price that some can pay and others cannot discriminates between rich and poor so as to constitute a denial of equal protection of the laws.[26] Recent Supreme Court decisions such as Griffin v. Illinois, 351 U.S.12 (1956), Coppedge v. United States, 369 U.S. 438 (1962), Gideon v. Wainwright, 372 U.S.335 (1963), and Hardy v. United States, 375 U.S.277 (1964), indicate that monetary bail may at some future date be held unconstitutional when applied to an indigent defendant. Clearly this points to the desirability of demanding that the state set forth its proof as to the necessity of a particular amount, as for that matter, any amount at all.

A related injustice often involving the impostion of excessive bail is the discriminatory application of bail requirements to civil rights demonstrators as distinct from others charged with breach of the peace and related offenses. The two demonstrations at the New York World's Fair have been mentioned earlier, one by civil rights demonstrators, the other by Jewish demonstrators protesting an anti-Zionist display at the Jordanian pavillion. These demonstrations were identical in almost every respect. Nevertheless, the civil rights demonstrators were required to furnish bail, while the others were all released on their own recognizance. No consideration was given to either the capacity to place bail, or to the necessity; it was done automatically.

Instances of this type of unequal treatment have occurred throughout the South. For example, in Chapel Hill, North Carolina, during a recent wave of demonstrations, the initial bond for demonstrators was normally $175 on trespass and resisting arrest charges, whereas like offenders in non-civil rights cases were customarily admitted to bail upon posting $25 or $50 bonds.[27/]

Where excessive bail has been imposed, or where the bail procedure has been administered in a discriminatory manner against those arrested in civil rights cases, at least three possible remedies remain available:

(1) a motion for reduction of bail in the state court, (2) a petition to the United States District Court for a writ of habeas corpus, (3) an action for federal injunctive relief. In all instances lack of due process of law under both Federal and State Constitutions as well as the 8th Amendment may be raised.

Where the amount of bail required is excessive, an accused should move for the reduction of bail. Upon appeal from the denial of this motion and exhaustion of state remedies, the defendant may then pepition the Federal District Court for a writ of habeas corpus claiming unlawful detention as a result of the imposition of arbitrary or discriminatory bail requirements. 28/ Therefore,

> what the state court did would have to be beyond the range within which judgments could rationally differ in relation to the apparent elements of the situation. It would have to amount in its effect to legal arbitrariness in the administration of the bail right provided, so as to constitute a violation of due process, or to discriminatoriness in the application of the right as against petitioner, so as to constitute a violation of equal protection. 31/

This would not be difficult to establish in the obvious cases where bail is set in exorbitant amounts for local residents charged with petty offenses, or where high bail results from the unnecessary multiplicity of charges instituted for a single course of conduct. However, in the usual case, where the amount of bail required is high but not clearly arbitrary

or discriminatory, a federal court would probably not intervene to order the state court to reduce the petitioner's bail and release him on that reduced bail.

The practical value of the foregoing course of action is of course, limited because of the amount of time it requires. By the time a defendant has applied for reduction of bail, appealed from the denial of the motion, exhausted available state remedies, and finally petitioned the federal district court for a writ of habeas corpus, the question of excessive bail will normally have become moot. Direct application to the district court for a writ of habeas corpus, without the time-consuming procedure of exhausting state remedies, would be a more practical remedy, and in a proper case might be successful.

Section 2254 of Title 28, United States Code, provides:

> An application for a writ of habeas corpus in behalf of a person in custody pursuant to the judgment of a State court shall not be granted unless it appears that the applicant has exhausted the remedies available in the courts of the State, or that there is either an absence of available State corrective process or <u>the existence of circumstances rendering such process ineffective to protect the rights of the prisoner</u>. (Emphasis supplied.)

Where individuals are confined in prison because of their inability to comply with arbitrary and discriminatory bail requirements imposed by a state court, it might be argued that there exist such extraordinary circumstances as to render available state remedies ineffective to protect the rights of the prisoners. At least one federal court has held exhaustion of state remedies to be unnecessary in a civil rights

case where the principal "extraordinary circumstance" relied upon was the petitioner's present confinement in a state prison pursuant to allegedly unconstitutional state action.[32/]

A federal court, however, will only entertain an original habeas corpus petition where the constitutional violation is clear and an adequate state remedy is at least doubtful.[33/] A petitioner, therefore, would have to allege more than the mere fact of his confinement, especially where this confinement results from an inability to comply with bail requirements. A claim of arbitrariness or discrimination in setting bail is somewhat more complex a matter in the case of bail amount than in the administration of other substantive and procedural rights provided by the State because of the discretion and latitude and for evaluative judgment allowed in regulating bail.

A third possible remedy, where state officials have imposed arbitrary or discriminatory bail requirements, is an action for federal injunctive relief. The application for a federal injunction could be brought under either of two theories: (1) an action under the Civil Rights Acts (28 U.S.C. 1343; 42 U.S.C. 1983) to enjoin the denial by the State of petitioner's rights under the Eighth and Fourteenth Amendments; (2) an action before a three-judge federal district court to enjoin prosecution, and detention, of the petitioner under an unconstitutional state statute.

An application for an injunction under the C ivil Rights Acts must allege facts sufficient to demonstrate such arbitrariness or discrimination that the bail requirements imposed by the state court constituted a denial of due process or equal protection of the laws to the petitioner. Once this was shown, the district court could then enjoin further detention of the petitioner unless bail was reduced to a reasonable amount.

Even where the bail amount is not "excessive," but the accused cannot furnish bail, a federal court will sometimes issue an injunction to protect a prisoner, from certain types of treatment to which defendants who are free on bail are not subjected. Thus, a United States District Court in Philadelphia recently enjoined local officials from requiring a prisoner to participate in a police "line-up" where that prisoner was confined solely because of his inability to furnish bail.[34] In this action brought under the Civil Rights Acts, the court, in granting the injunction, held that requiring the petitioner to participate in a line-up, when defendants free on bail were not subjected to such treatment, constituted an invidious discrimination depriving petitioner of the equal protection of the laws.

Incarceration under an apparently unconstitutional state statute, either because the state has refused to admit the defendant to bail or because it has set bail at an excessively high level owing to the nature of the offense

charged, a three-judge District Court, convened to determine whether the enforcement of the statute by the state should be enjoined as unconstitutional,[35] may order the defendant released on bail in an amount which it specifies, even though the statute is not found to be unconstitutional. In the Americus, Georgia, case referred to earlier in this paper, a three-judge District Court held the Georgia "insurrection" statute unconstitutional, and enjoined the prosecution of defendants under other state statutes unless they were given an opportunity to obtain pre-trial release by posting bail bonds in the amounts specified by the Federal court.[36]

In addition to the specific problems of excessive bail and discriminatory bail practices in civil rights cases, there is the general problem of expense to civil rights organizations in providing bail for arrested demonstrators. The premiums paid to bondsman constitute their fees and are not returned when the defendants appear for trial. The professional bondsman system has come under increasing attack in recent years from courts and from those seeking reform of present bail practices.[37] The general argument is that

> Encouragement to appear should not be in the form of loss of the bondsman's money, but rather in loss of the defendant's liberty. Actually, under the professional bondsman system the only one who loses money for non-appearance is the professional bondsman, the money paid to obtain the bond being lost to the defendant in any event.[38]

alternatives to the system of professional bondsmen, assum-

ing that a court is not disposed to release defendants on their own recognizance, do exist. One, which would avoid the irrecoverable expense of bond premiums, is the direct deposit of cash in the amount of the premium with the court, which sum would be refunded upon defendant's appearance for trial. This, of course, turns on the willingness of the court to accept cash in lieu of bond, and, probably, on the existence of a statute authorizing such procedure.[39/]

In other cases, civil rights organizations such as CORE might obtain the release of defendants without monetary bail by guaranteeing their appearance at trial, agreeing to forfeit the bail amount set by the court should a defendant fail to appear. This procedure would be analagous to the personal bailment practice of common law England. Of course, the court would have to agree to this procedure, whereas bondsmen, however, are normally regulated by the state and required to maintain minimum cash reserves to cover possible forfeitures,[40/] an organization like CORE, however, is not subject to such state control, a factor which might hinder its efforts to act in this capacity. A further possibility is legislation requiring no bail for certain offenses but making it a separate offense, not to be present at trial.

The absolute right to bail is not an unqualified right to freedom before trial. It is a procedure intended to

give effect to what are often conflicting judicial considerations: the traditional presumption of innocence which requires that a defendant not be punished prior to the time he is found guilty at trial, and the practical necessity of preventing an accused from taking flight from justice. The only legally relevant consideration in determining the appropriate amount of bail in a particular case is the risk of non-appearance.

A trial court has wide discretion, probably too wide, however, in making this determination. Unless the bail amount set is a given case reflects a clear abuse of that discretion, there is very little a defendant can do to obtain relief from an unfair bail requirement. The defendant bears the burden to demonstrate that the amount set is excessive, arbitrary, or discriminatory. The court need make no showing of necessity for a bail requirement which is not on its face an abuse of discretion.

Nevertheless, in many civil rights cases bail requirements are obviously arbitrary and discriminatory. In these situations, when motions for reduction of bail are denied, resort should be had to the federal courts for relief from the unconstitutional use of bail.

NOTES

1/ Washington Post, Jan. 23, 1965, p. A12.

2/ National Conference on Bail and Criminal Justice, Washington, D.C., May 27-29, 1964. See Freed, Bail in the United States; 1964, a report to that Conference.

3/ The word "bail" is probably derived from the French "bailer," meaning "to deliver." On the history of bail generally, see Note, Bail: An Ancient Practice Reexamined, 70 Yale L.J. 966 (1961); Sullivan, Proposed Rule 46 and the Right to Bail, 31 Geo. Wash. L. Rev. 919, 922-926 (1963).

4/ 4 Blackstone's Commentaries *297; Foxall v. Barnett, 2 El. & Bl. 928, 932, 118 Eng. Rep. 1014, 1015 (1853); 2 Pollock & Maitland, The History of English Law 588 (1895).

5/ 3 Edw. I. Ch. 15 (1275).

6/ 34 Edw. III (1360-61).

7/ 1 & 2 Philip and Mary, Ch. 13 (1554).

8/ 1 Wm. & Mary 2, Ch. 2, §§ 1, 2(10) (1688).

9/ Regina v. Campbell, 1 Weekly L. R. 646 (Liverpool Crown Ct. 1959)

10/ 1 Stat. 73, 91 (1789).

11/ Thirty-nine states guarantee that "all persons shall, before conviction, be bailable by sufficient sureties, except for capital offenses when the proof is evident or the presumption great": Ala. Const. art. I, § 16; Alaska Comp. Law Ann. § 69-5-1 (1948); Ariz. Const. art. II, § 22; Ark. Const. art. II, § 8; Calif. Const. art. I, § 6; Colo. Const. art. II, § 19; Conn. Const. art. I. § 14; Del. Const. art. I, § 12; Fla. Declaration of Rights § 9; Hawaii Rev. Laws § 256-3 (1955); Idaho Const. art. I, § 6 ; Ill. Const. art. II, § 7: Iowa Const. art. I, § 12; Kan. Const. Bill of Rights, § 9; Ky. Const, § 16; La. Const. art. I, § 12; Me. Const. art. I., § 10; Minn. Const. art. I, § 7; Miss. Const. art. III, § 29; Mo. Const. art. II, § 24; Mont. Const. art. III, § 19; Nev. Const. art. I, § 7; N.H. Rev. Stat. Ann. § 597:1 (1955); N.J. Const. art. I, § 11; N.M. Const. art. II, § 13; N.D. Const. art. I, § 6; Ohio Const. art. I, § 9; Okla. Const. art. II, § 8; Pa. Const. art. I, § 14; R.I. Const. art. I, § 9; S.C. Const. art. I, § 20; S.D. Const. art. VI, § 8; Tenn. Const. art. I, § 15;

Tex. Const. art. I, § 11; Utah Const. art. I, § 8; Vt. Const. Ch. II, s. 32; Wash. Const. art. I, § 20; Wis. Const. art. I, § 8, Wyo. Const. art. I, § 14.

Four states limit the power to deny bail to treason and murder cases: Ind. Const. art. I, § 17; Mich. Const. art. II, § 14; Neb. Const. art. I, § 9; Ore. Const. art. I, § 14.

Three states grant an absolute right to bail only in misdemeanor cases: Ga. Code Ann. § 27-901 (1953); Md. Ann. Code art. 52, § 13(b) (1951); N.Y. Code Crim. Proc. § 553. (The Maryland Court of Appeals has adopted rules granting an absolute right to bail in non-capital cases: Md. Rules of Procedure 777a (1962)).

Four states follow the common law practice of allowing the judge almost complete discretion in the matter of bail: Mass. Ann. Laws ch. 276, § 42 (1956); N.C. Gen. Stat. § 15-102 (1953); Va. Code Ann. § § 19. 1-109 -- 19. 1-124 (1960); W. Va. Code Ann. § 6152 (1961)

12/ Leary v. United States, 224 U.S. 567, 575 (1912).

13/ Stack v. Boyle, 342 U.S. 1, 4-5 (1951). See also Bandy v. United States, 8: S. Ct. 197 (1960); United States v. Foster, 278 F. 2d 567 (2nd Cir. 1960); Reynolds v. United States, 267 F. 2d 235 (9th Cir. 1959); Heikkinen v. United States, 208 F. 2d 738 (7th Cir. 1953); United States ex rel. Rubinstein v. Mulcahy, 155 F 2d 1002 (2nd Cir. 1946); Regina v. Rose, 68 L.J.Q.B. 292 (1898)

A similar limitation is imposed on state courts. See, e.g., State v. Clark, 234 Iowa 338, 341, 11 N.W. 2d 722, 724 (1943), cert. denied, 323 U.S. 739 (1944); Craig v. Commonwealth, 288 Ky. 157, 161, 155 S. W. 2d 768, 770 (1941); State v. Chivers, 198 La. 1098, 1102, 5 So. 2d 363, 364 (1941); Ex parte Malley, So. Nev. 248, 256, 256 Pac. 512, 514 (1927).

14/ Stack v. Boyle, id. at 8 (separate opinion of Jackson, J.).

15/ U.S. Const., amend. VIII; Stack v. Boyle, supra. Althought the earlier cases held that the Eight Amendment's prohibition against excessive bail did not apply to the states, see, e.g., Barrow v. Mayor of Baltimore, 7 Pet. (32 U.S.) 243, 247 (1833); Collins v. Johnston, 237 U.S. 502, 510 (1914), it would appear that the prohibition may now be regarded as applying to the states through the Fourteenth Amendment. Pilkington v. Circuit Court of Howell County, Mo., 324 F. 2d 45 (8th Cir. 1963); Mastrian v. Hedman, 326 F 2d 708 (8th Cir. 1964), cert. denied, 376 U.S. 965, (1964).

A number of state constitutions prohibit excessive bail. See e.g., Ala. Const. art. I,§ 16; Ark. Const. art. II, § 9; Fla. Const. Declaration of Rights § 8; Ga. Const. art. I, § 2-109; Hawaii Const. art. I, & 9; La. Const. art. I, § 12; Miss. Const. art. III, § 29; N.H. Const. pt. 1, art. 33; N.C. Const. art. I, § 14; S.C. Const. art. I, § 19; Tenn. Const. art. I, § 16; Tex. Const. Bill of Rights § 13.

16/ E.g., Calif. Penal Code § 1275; Ill. Code Crim. Proc. § 110-5 (1964); 15 La. Rev. Stat. § 86 (1950); Mich. Stat. Ann. § 28.893 (1954); Ohio Rev. Code Ann. § 2937.23 (1954).

17/ In People ex. rel. Lobell v. McDonnell, 296 N.Y. 109, 111 (1947), the court stated that the relevant factual matters to be considered in setting bail are:

> The nature of the offense, the penalty which may be imposed, the probability of the willing appearance of the defendant or his flight to avoid punishment, the pecuniary and social condition of the defendant and his general reputation and character, and the apparent nature and strength of the proof, as bearing on the probability of his conviction.

See also Gusick v. Boies, 72 Ariz. 233, 233 P. 2d 446 (1951); In re Newbern, 55 Cal. 2d 500, 360 P. 2d 43, 11 Cal. Rptr. 547 (1961); Trujillo v. District Court of Weld County, 131 Colo. 428, 282 P. 2d 703 (1955); People ex. rel. Sammons v. Snow, 340 Ill. 464, 173 N.E. 8 (1930); Ex parte Chandler, 297 S.W. 2d 616 (Mo. App. 1957); State v. McLeod. 131 Mont. 478, 311 P. 2d 400 (1957); Application of Kennedy, 169 Neb. 586, 100 N.W. 2d 550 (1960); State v. Bentley, 46 N.J. Super. 193, 134 A. 2d 445 (1957); Ex parte Cremati, 99 Ohio App. 402, 117 N.E. 2d 440 (1954); Delaney v. Shobe, 218 Ore. 626, 346 P. 2d 126 (1959).

18/ Claiborne, Bail and Civil Rights, unpublished staff report to the National Conference on Bail and Criminal Justice, Washington, D.C., May 27-29, 1964.

19/ See note 15, supra.

20/ White v. United States, 330 F. 2d 811 (8th Cir. 1964); United States v. Rumrich, 180 F. 2d 575 (2d Cir. 1950); State v. Chivers, 198 La. 1098, 5 So. 2d 363 (1941); State v. Alvarez, 182 La. 50, 161 So. 17 (1935); Heard v. Clark, 156 Miss. 355, 126 So. 43 (1930); Ex parte Oliver, 127 Miss. 208, 89 So. 915 (1921); Ex parte Malley, 50 Nev. 248, 256 Pac. 512 (1927); Ex parte Spoon, 18 Okla. Cr. 703, 192 Pac. 698 (1920); Ex parte Glass, 81 W. Va. 111, 93 S. E. 1036 (1917).

The early cases placed greater emphasis on the financial ability of the defendant in determining what constituted excessive bail. In United States v. Brawner, 7 Fed. 86, 89 (W.D. Tenn. 1881), the court, in reducing bail, held that "to require larger bail than the prisoner could give would be to require excessive bail and to deny bail in a case clearly bailable by law."

21/ See, e.g., Compelling Appearance in Court -- Administration of Bail in Philadelphia, 102 U. Pa. L. Rev. 1031 (1954); A Study of the Administration of Bail in New York City, 106 U. Pa. L. Rev. 693 (1958); Report of the Attorney General's Committee on Poverty and the Administration of Federal Criminal Justice (1963).

22/ Ares, Rankin, and Sturz, The Manhattan Bail Project: An Interim Report on the Use of Pre-trial Parole, 38 N.Y. U. A. Rev. 67 (1963).

23/ Pilkington v. Circuit Court of Howell County, Mo., 324 F. 2d 45 (8th Cir. 1963); Ex parte Turck, 87 Cal. App. 601, 174 P. 100 (1918); Ex parte Hall, 63 Cal. App. 775, 220 P. 23 (1923); Williams v. Stoutamire, 114 Fla. 68, 152 So. 850 (1934); State v. Dowling, 91 Fla. 236, 107 So. 267 (1926); People v. Gregory, 221 N.Y. S. 2d 241, 31 Misc. 2d 620 (1961), rev'd. on other grounds, 242 N.Y. S. 2d 892 (1963).

24/ Rule 46(d), F.R. Cr. P.; Bandy v. United States, 81 S. Ct. 197 (1960); 82 S. Ct. 11 (1961); Silver v. Gassman, 171 N.Y. S. 2d 314, 12 Misc. 2d 58 (1957), aff'd. 174 N.Y. S. 2d 277 (1958).

25/ Pilkington v. Circuit Court of Howell County, Mo., supra, note 23 at 46.

26/ Bandy v. United States, supra, note 24.

27/ See note 18, supra.

28/ 28 U.S.C. 2254; Pilkington v. Circuit Court of Howell County, Mo., supra, note 23; Mastrian v. Hedman, 326 F. 2d 708 (8th Cir. 1964).

29/ Kaufman v. United States, 325 F. 2d 305 (9th Cir. 1963).

30/ United States ex rel. Hyde v. McMann, 263 F. 2d 940, 943 (2d Cir. 1959), cert. denied sub nom. United States ex rel. Hyde v. Lavallee, 360 U.S. 937 (1959).

31/ Mastrian v. Hedman, supra, note 28 at 711.

32/ United States v. Grimes, 229 F. Supp. 289, 292-293 (N.D. Ga. 1964)

33/ Fay v. Noia, 372 U. S. 391 (1963).

34/ Butler v. Crumlish, 229 F. Supp. 564 (E.D. Pa. 1964)

35/ 28 U.S.C. § 2281.

36/ Aelony v. Pace, 8 R.R.L.R. 1355 (M.D. Ga. 1963)

37/ See, e.g., Pannell v. United States, 320 F.2d 698 (D.C. Cir. 1963): Note, Bail: An Ancient Practice Reexamined, 70 Yale L. J. 966, 973 (1961).

38/ Pannell v. United States, supra, at 699 (concurring opinion of Wright, J.).

39? Under the common law, cash or property could not be accepted as or in lieu of bail, and is acceptable now only when authorized by statute. Badolato v. Molinari, 174 N.Y.S. 512, 106 Misc. 342 (1919). See N. Y. Code Crim. Proc. § 586.

40/ See, e.g., 40 Penn. Stat. § 831 et seq.

November 23, 1962

Dear Jack,

I regret not writing sooner, but there was a reason, and as I tried to tell my rising aggrivation, a misunderstanding behind my not hearing from St. Augustine and Dean Robinson ("You'll hear from me"). Even a sociologist, j.g., I thought, has a right to be intolerant of C.P.T (colored people's time) now and then, but it seems that they wanted a questionaire before THEY asked students to work, interviewing; and I was determined to be sure (THIS time) I had cooperation before doing a stitch more work on a questionaire. I can see their point, even if they didn't bother writing to me about it; they were waiting FOR ME.

I thought I'd better see how the demands of time were shaping up respecting my little project before I agreed to take on this Durham report. Interest in the thing is hardly the question; the contacts in Durham would be informative and useful for later work, etc. It's just a matter of you know what. When do you want the report turned in? Do you want "just the facts" of the matter-the answer to the questions contained both in outline form AND on the first page, (I would presume, for purposes of comparison with other reports, that you would); or do you want something approximating an organic whole-like a paper, article, etc with some personal hunches and observations thrown in? At first glance, the outline "snowed me", or rather its length did, but on second, third, ...nth perusal, maybe not sobad I think. A long interview is a long interview. I should know better with four papers next month and before exams, but, assuming you are willing to wait until Feb 1 (with Jan 1 a fair-to-middling possibility), I tentatively agree to do it. Let me know who the people are and the time limit you have in mind. (But I really should know better....) (I know of no one around here remotely interested in doing this, ulps-just thought of someone, well, anyhow).

Your difficulties with Tulane's theoritical revulsion (and SRC's for that matter) were very interesting. That's one problem I fortunately don't have here, although I went to some lengths to make sure it would not. The theoritical tendencies of our dept. chairman (even if much of his work appears untheoritical dryly empirical) assure that. I could even write a dissertation with NO FRESH EMPIRICAL research in it-just theory. This is one of the few things that makes me apprecaite this place.

As for the length of my study. In the first place I haven't taken the prospectus seriously since I wrote it. I felt a small vacuum growing in the ol imagination when I tried to conceive of viable questions one could ask of lower-class respondents about who influenced them politically. Not that I doubt such questions exist. But. Also from my theoritical interests, the importance of influence diminish as my class-interaction idea collapsed. Now I'm most receptive to any persuasion from you about its importance. I would say, referring to your second letter, that I'm much more interested in the factors "which tend to preclude the prospective registrant's acting in the prescribed manner, REGARDLESS OF HOW EFFECTIVE the communication may have been..." than in factors "which tend to impede communication between the registration drive and the prospective registrant." Perhaps because I assume, without proof, that "selective inattention" is widespread; or rather, that factors behind the first are largely behind the second.

Actually,that last paragraph had little to do with the size of the project,more with tentative plans to exclude influence,unless, as I said,you can talk me back into it and it doesn't take too many questions. Now, however, there are plenty of other things I'd like to include, tho with no more theoritical justification ,or less at this point, than influence:stuff like "political alienation;" anomie,". I guess it would be simplier to enclose a copy-most definitely a first draft of any finally used questionaire, which I sent to the two Shaw students who will incorporate part of whole (can't write tonight) all of it in their interviews with businessmen in Raleigh. I'm sure I'll include more "empathy" questions, although from the questions themselves, the concept could appear one of the most ludicrous I've ever liked. Anyway, look at the questionaire. Empathy, inter-class interaction and media participation(and of course occupation,education-these were already on the Shaw questionaires) are the least expendable; I'm interested in anomie because I'm skeptical about it-it explains "too much." The social anchorage bit comes from an article by Prof Turk here, in Duke's LAW AND CONTEMPORARY PROBLEMS-spring issue; he thinks he can explain the presence or absence of old age political participation on the basis of "community implication" or social anchorage. I'm not too fired up about it and wouldn't mind prooving it wrong, at least among Negroes. But like the Prospectus, I may drift away from part of this. I'm still waiting for Prof Thompson(local sage on race relations)'s evaluation of empathy; I hope it fares well-it's indirectly the heart of my theoritical interest in the subject of non-registration,at this point.

But to have a third try at the subject of project size, I figure I'll call the more productive results of my roaming studies a Thesis and hope to do something with the whole works in some other context. I tend to shy away from a dissertation which enlarges on the same subject that I deal with on my masters. I am very much against overspecialization in sociology, and while it may be unrealistic in the status rat race to avoid becoming,by fact of concentrating all one's work in the area, an "expert" in, in this case, race relations. I hope to do something in underdeveloped countries soon after my doctorate, and something in sociology of religion of critical theoritical importance to me and hopefully to Kolb.

A comparison of VR efforts in Raleigh and Durham, from the standpoint of organizational background, looks, at first glance, too theoritically unexciting and limited(in possibilities for generalization) to me at this point.

I won't venture an "opinion"on your questionaire, since except to say it covers the descriptive waterfront; beyond that I feel hindered in giving much thought about something like this when I can only guess and impute what you are after,as in the sense of a unifying theoritical theme or pattern.

Why don't you suggest some questions,rationale,etc on opinion, influence; I'll try to put down succinctly this empathy business, unless you get a clear enuf idea from the stuff I wrote Dorothy; I think I'll give myself to work out the questionaire until Feb 1, after which the students might be most willing and free to work.

Stay

Bob Althauser

Supplement to Interview schedule- 11/10/62 - Bob Althauser

first 0 by figure
(IBM card-ignore)

TOPIC	QUESTION	CODE
REGISTRATION & VOTING RECORD	1." Are you presently registered to vote in Raleigh?	1-Yes, 0-No
	if 1 is YES, go on to	
	2."May I ask, were you able to vote in	
	a. the last governer's election? did you support Sanford?	2a- 1-Yes, 0-No 3-Senf. 4-No
	b. the last city councilman's election? did you support Mr. Winters?	2b- 5-Yes 6-No 7-Yes 8-No
	c. the recent bond election-for schools & the auditorium?	2c- 9-Yes x-No (3) 1-Yes 0-No school 3-Yes 2-No aud
	d. the November 6 General Election? for Ervin?	5-Yes 4-No 7-Yes 6-No R-DN
	3/"May I ask if you plan to support Mr. Winters with your vote in next's spring's councilmen's election?	9-Yes x-No

(NOTE" The five different elections are brought in for two reasons-to see which elections draw what sort of participation, and to derive an measure of extent of participation-5 very active, 4 active, etc to 0-not active)

EMPATHY by PROJECTIVE TESTS	4. "If you were put in charge of a radio station, what kinds of programs would you like to put on?"	Code 4 No opinions-0, same kind he hears now-9, number of ideas-1-8 with 8 standing for eight or more ideas.
	5. "Suppose you became a Raleigh city councilman. What are some of the things you would do?"	Code 5 5 No op-0, number o things-1-9.

Here goes applicable to whole class - another set for lowers

INTER-CLASS INTERACTION	6. Determine the following objective facts about respondant:	
	a. Years with this business	Code 6 determine later
a. Prestige Anxiety	b. Years with other, other kinds of business (Learn what kind of businesses he worked for before his present one, or what he did if not business).	
	c. Occupation of his father (or if she was head of the household-his mother).	
	d. Birthplace of his father; of his Mother	

(Note 6d is important because mobility(and "arrival") is one thing if respondant is "imitating" his parents-he has "seen it done," while respondant is more likely to be prestige anxious if he is the one in the extended family to make the break.)

e. Years at present address(you already have the address I presume).
f. Previous addresses IN Raleigh, number of years at

(No better sign of having "made it" than acquiring a prestige address in a bran new house,or having joined a country club-see g)

g. Has he joined the country club(forgot its name).

b. Contact with whites-recognition from	7. (rephrase to make more natural if you like)"May I ask if you know any white people as GOOD friends:" in what context does the association occur?-find out	Code 8 1-Yes 0-No 1-9 is number of friends 9 0-business-hours, 1-off hours but as a businessman, 2- recreational-excluding 1, 3- voluntary assn. 4-boyhood friend, 5-what other?
	8. "Do you SEE any white friends you know regularly(i.e. there are the"good" and just casual friends)?"	Code 10 frequency/week 0-9.
c. Attitudes about classes	9. "Do you see any group of groups of Negroes today, particularly in Raleigh, which seem to be holding back the progress of the whole race?"(Rephrase as you wish-this is the first of two questions designed to get the respondant "going" on the vices-as he sees them-of the "lowers" or some other group).	
	(10.If 9 is no)ask 9 again with the word "class" replacing group.	Code 11 1-Yes,0-No
	11."Roughly speaking now, in which social and economic class do you consider yourself a part of? As opposed to the ____,____,etc class?"(Let the respondant decide how many classes there are and their designations)	Code 12 1-6 for six classes, each halved.
	12.How would you describe a typical person in this group?	
optional,but interesting	13."What do you think, this person thinks about you?if anything?	your CLASS

14. "How frequently do you, or your wife, or your children, associate, in any way with this group? (per week-in what context Code 14 0-No assn, 1-5 context 6-y freq.

15. (structured class placement question) "If we were to break down the Negro classes into upper, middle, working and lower, in which would you place your family? Code 15 4,3,2,1, UC,MD,WC,LC.

16.

SOCIAL ANCHORAGE

16. Determine the following with informal queries-this is in addition to 6 a-g.

a. Do you rent or own your home? Code 16a 0-Rent,1-Payments on, 2-Own outrigh

b. How long have you worked for your present employer(or if self-employed-owner of business-how long so? 16b 17 0-Self employed 1-9 numb of yrs.

c. Are ALL or MOST, or just SOME of your friends living in Raleigh(i.e. good friends)? 18 1-All,most, 2-Some

d. Do you have children in school? What grades? 19 determine later

e. rather-number in grade, high(7-12)school college-0-none,1-~~grad~~ pre-grade school, 2-Grade, 3-High, 4-College,5-out of school.

e. Are you responsible for the care of another person, outside of your own family in Raleigh? 2-0 1-Yes 0-No

f. Is there any other reason or thing hindering your family from leaving Raleigh is you desired to? 21 0-No op, 1-Yes 2-No

g.

MEDIA PARTICIPATION and VOLUNTARY ASSNS.

17. "How often do you GET to read the papers, see a newscast on TV or hear news on the radio?" Ascertain if he subscribes to or regularly reads both the CAROLINIAN and EITHER Raleigh paper, and if he reads the latter and sees(hears) the newscast, ~~once a day~~ each day, few times a week, once a week or less. 22 Code later,much later-will relate all three in 8 place continuum.

18. "What organizations, clubs, associations, civic groups, or lodges do you belong to? " List each, and whether he goes to more than or half the meetings or less. Ask specifically about membership in NAACP, Raleigh Citizens Assn. PTA?.

19. "Are you a member of a church?" ~~and w~~ learn if he goes twice a month or more, or less than twice a month.

ANOMIE

20.a. "Do you seem to get more than your share of bad breaks?"

20b. "Would you agree, have no opinion or disagree with ~~seep~~ a person who says these things:

-A person does not really know whom he can count on these days.

-It's hardly fare to bring children into the world with the ways things look for the future.

-In spite of what some say, the lot of the average man is getting worse, not better.

-It takes more luck and "pull" than skill and knowledge to get places these days. Code 25-30: 2 for disagree,0 for disagree or undecided or no opinion.

Code 31 Sum of 25-30 range of 0-10(x)

POLITICAL ALIENATION:

21. "Do you think it true that almost all candidates for office in local,state, or national elections, run more to advance their own self-interest, or to carry out a program they campaign for, or to help their constituents?

Code 32 2-Program 1-Help 0-Self interest

22. "Do you feel that most all elections are fairly carried out, or rigged?

Code 33 1-Fair 2-Rigged

23. " Would you expect to get any satisfaction from taking a ~~complaint about~~ personal complaint to a city or county official?" C 34 2-Yes 1-Listen-pass buck, 0-ignore me

24. "Do you think it's important to vote, even if your side expects to loose?

C 35 2-Yes 0-No

Code 36 sum of 32-34,range 7-0.

B4
2-18-63

February 14, 1963

Mr. Robert Althauser
MCG Box 1109
Durham, North Carolina

Dear Bob:

In the press of other things I overlooked replying to your letter of January 4. I'll not offer you any excuses, reasons, or rationalizations; will you accept my apologies?

I had hoped to be able to say something that would be helpful to you in devising your survey research. I suspect that I might have been able to prevent your making some of the mistakes that I have made but I suppose it is too late for that.

It has just come to my attention via Mr. Branton that you may have had some difficulty securing the full cooperation of the Durham Committee on Negro Affairs in gathering material for your report on the Durham project. I understand from Mr. Branton that Mr. John Wheeler was not aware that you were doing the work for us until you appeared in his office. There seems to have been some question in Mr. Wheeler's mind about just who you were working with an what your objective was. On November 27, I wrote to Mr. C. Elwood Boulware, Executive Secretary of the DCNA, asking that he give you his fullest cooperation. From' what Mr. Branton tells me it appears that there may have been a breakdown of communication between Mr. Boulware and Mr. Wheeler. I would like to know whether you have made any progress on the report for us and whether you feel that a greater degree of cooperation from DCNA would enable you to do a better job.

I realize you are busy with your studies and that you may have lost interest in giving us a report because of my failure to reply any sooner to your letter of January 4. I hope this is not the case because we do need an analytical report of the Durham project and we are confident that you would do a good job.

In view of my performance I hesitate to suggest that you reply promptly; on the other hand I would like to hear from you as soon as possible.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Jack Minnis
Director of Research

JM:jl
cc: Mr. John Wheeler

JAN 7 1963

January 4, 1963

Dear Jack,

when it even can't legit in American (Thonat European) Soc.!

Ah-so. Agree most heartily with honorable sociology of knowledge approach. Is wondering how it ever creep into political science camp?? However, I must question rational image of man assumption, the calculating of self interest model of man, in terms of which you appear to define communication as"meaningful". Problem of meaning, valued ends, goals, partly non-rational,not so?

motherhood, etc

I am of course all for analytical purposes. I have a little bit of difficulty in restructuring Mr. Mannheim into factors "external" and internal" to the actor. Maybe I just don't like the terminology, for its physicalistic overtones. As for factors arising out of communicative relattionship vs. those brought to same, humm. I thought you make three distinctions, and thought I questioned overlap between 1 and 3. ANyway, aren't you going to get your theoritical pants caught on a rusty positivistic nail with factors "internal"to the actor.Tsh-tsh. subjectivity and all that jazz is out of bounds ain't it?

I give a few bottom dollars to see a report from an "agency" which proceeds in the manner of seeking out informal leaders. Any such available on loan or'something.

opinion leadership

Also. in the Speak Now or Forever Hold Your Peace dept. I have to turn in the ol research desigh Jan 18; I AM interested in ~~influence~~, so ~~are there~~ is there something like questions or research plans,etc, of your own work I can see. How"d you do it?

Here is the sequence of questions I have in mind, for eliciting consistent but contrasting responses from ..well, respondents, as to the kind of neighborhood they live in, vis-a-vis the informal neighborhood structure, amount of interaction, existence of informal leaders, close personal friends, some of whom in the neighborhood context, should be the opinion leaders, should not they(revises"AM interested in influence"to"in opinion leadership".? :

After appropriate introductory remarks by interviewers: something like

with feelers up

1. Who all do you know in this block(get last name, family role, house location)
2. Of these, ~~the~~ who do you see and talk with (at least) occassionally(like onece a week).
3. Of these, who do you particularily respect(pause) perhaps take your problems to,etc. —what kinds of problems etc
4. Of these, ~~do~~ who do you call your close personal friends, if any.

Lazersfelds personal INFLENCE questions have been suggested to me; I haven't looked them up yet, but I don't think I am going to trust their validity in Negro Raleigh.

The above would be asked, first in the context of who is known, etc, in the neighborhood(within walking ~~distance,~~ distance; then in terms of driving distance,i/e.elsehwere in Raleigh. I would have a veritible sociogram of who likes, interacts with whom on a block level; some operational definition of intra-neighborhood structure, existence of informal leadership needs to follow.

Let me revise the bukk passing bit to a small complaint about the present apparent necessity of working my way down the prestige ladder of the organization, just so I can get at the grass-roots workers, canvassers, and immediately superior leaders. On the other hand, I shouldn't complain; what I am really interested in here is the factors behind the apparent effectiveness of the Durham Committtee, especially at the grass roots level. I'm hunting street corner contacts; do the elite get DOWN and make said contacts. This of course may or may not intertwine with the ol report. Mr. Wheeler, of the F&M Bank, was too busy just before Christmas to give me the kind of time he supposedly wanted to give me. So we try for a Monday appointment tomorrow.

I am still thinking of using some of those questions I sent you, tho there will be some question of how much of the little stuff like anomie, political alienation I will get in, after the empathy questions and informal neighborhood structure questions ala the above, plus the standard fare on residence history, occupation. The project will start first of next St. Augustine semester; Dr. William Gaines' Urban Soc glass doesn't know it yet, but they've been volunteered as interviewers, thanks to the remakkable cooperation of Dean Pretzle R. Robinson of St. Aug"s. Was ein mann. The big problem as I see it is training the students.

The above questions are part of an attempt to predict and verify the relationship between certain socioeconomic census characteristics of heterogeneous,vs. homogeneous neighborhoods and the

existence or non-existence of informal neighborhood structures, which would presumably be at least slightly amenable, through semi-enlightened informal leaders, to political mobilization, the support of canvassing efforts, etc.

The other half of my effort, as I mentioned before, is empathy, as Lerner defines same, as "psychic mobility," the personal ability to project oneself into a wholly unfamiliar role which is associated with the possible conceptualization of social and economic and political change. I won't get to work on the necessary theory behind this, as well as problems which Lerners almost sloppy work raises when I try to generalize his technique to a non-mid East locale, until next semester. This is not part of the expected thesis. I think this is repetition of earlier letters. This, with the intra-neighborhood structure investigation, is "what I'm doing, for better or worse, and sometimes I think the latter. But ~~ch-in~~ chin up Robert; first time out and all that rot...

Sincerely,

Bob

Bob Althauser

January 2, 1963

Mr. Robert Althauser
MCG Box 1109
Durham, North Carolina

Dear Bob:

My apologies for having taken so long to respond to your letter of December 8.

I suspected at the time I included some comments about "communication" in my last letter that those comments would be misleading. Your "strong, unfair" critique confirmed my suspicions. The communication I am talking about in connection with VEP's research design occurs in the matrix of a painfully evolved sociology of knowledge approach. I agree wholeheartedly that the idea of communicating with a group of "auto-responsible monads" is pretty useless for anything but articles appearing in some of the professional journals. It is my assumption that the human entities with which we are dealing perceive a kind of reality matrix and that if communication of given subject matter is to be meaningful to them (that is if the communication is to provide a basis for their own rational action in what they perceive to be their own best interest) the communication must be structured according to their perceptions and not ours. I realize that the classifications of factors to which you object do involve some overlap. However, I think it is necessary for analytical purposes to separate factors external to the subjects from those internal to the subjects.

I remain uncertain about the utility of separating those factors which arise out of the communicative relationship from those facts which participants bring to the communicative relationship. What I am trying to do is isolate, in the

context of a general theory, areas toward which empirical research can be usefully directed.

Dorothy has told me of the incident of the bartender who seemed to act as an informal leader in Raleigh. I think probing for persons who can or do play this role is a very necessary part of our research and probably an essential part of any really effective registration program. Some of the agencies which are conducting registration programs do proceed in this manner and we are very interested in observing their results.

If you run into anything which you perceive as buck-passing in connection with your working into the Durham program we would like to have all of the details as well as your analysis of the caustion. How's that for jargon?

I hesitate to make a further comment on what you said about your progress to date on the Durham project. I hope you find time in the near future to let me know how and what you are doing.

Best regards.

Sincerely yours,

Jack Minnis

JM:jl

MCG Box 1109
Durham, N.C.
December 8, 1962

Dear Jack,

I called Mr. Boulware today; he referred me to Mr. John Wheeler, "President of Farmers' and Mechanics" Bank"; who will then supposedly refer me to the people involved in the project. I hope this is just a "starting at the top" and not the beginning of a long sequence of "buck-passing;" Mr. Boulware spoke of our getting together, AFTER I see Mr. Wheeler. So I'll call the latter Mon., get an appoint for Wed or so. Mr. B says the project is still not finished here, but apparently activity is at a low pitch, concentrating on block by block followup. He said at one point they had 150 women at in the field at one point canvassing! Whadda organization-there aren't 5 people in Raleigh's RCA who'd do the same; there has been NO follow-up there despite expectations to the contrary expressed to us. And all that paper work...

I didn't see even a tinge of proselytizing of opinion leadership or of "influence structure" in the last letter. As it has turned out, I find myself moving back in that direction, without intending to do so; I guess because of a slightly different conceptualization of it. Anyhow, I'm breaking up the survey into two parts: one built around this "empathy" business-it requires a large amount of theoritical preparation and review of the literature-mostly psych stuff-on measures of empathy in all its myrids of different meanings. It also involves some math techniques which I can't seem to find. Anyhow, the second half has at present little theoritical investment in it, is deliberately practical and not as easily screwed up by young college interviewers-I hope. I wake up nights sometimes fretting over the uncertain factor which they represent in all this-if I just HAD the data!... When I say practical, I mean practical to VRP's. It involves the testing out of two alternative predictions about the association between certain ecological (by block) measures of socioeconomic (housing conditions, rent value, density of people) measures and the existence, extent and character of informal "intraneighborhood structures," i.e., informal neighborhood leaders and followers. These lower class leaders I suspect are people who are looked up to for a variety of little reasons which we middle class blobs might ordinarily miss-things like getting up in the morning regularly, having a little more education, or in some way having the personal resources to lead and help other neighbors in an advisory and consoling capacity; perhaps he's just the "wise man" of the block. Operationally, he'll be the man with the most contact and presumably personal influence in the block or street. More generally my plan is to take all the blocks in the Negro census tracts, randomly sample these in proportion to their population; then arbitrary divide up parts or all four street sides of that square block into equal numbered segments, adjacent to one another, then randomly sample within each-shall we call them sub-blocks-equally (one interviewer to each sub-block) interviewing again, with respect to the total number sampled in the entire block, in proportion to the population of that block. As our craker-jack, ecology-statistics man here said, "I'm stratifying the hell out of it." But in a way I might add, which will eliminate the need to come back and get people not home. Anyway, I'll send the interviewer teams into the same blocks I do the ecological analysis on-a connection, however logical, I did not but recently conceive, as I had separated the ecological dabbling (I can't really take "human ecology" seriously, but it's a lot of fun-all those maps, etc) and the interviewing on empathy. But the practical point it this: if I can establish some systemmatic association between ecological block attributes and the informal neighborhood structures (in effect taking a sociogram of each block-"ecological sociometry"??), then we may have easier access in unfamiliar cities, to these informal, lower-class "leaders. Maybe future VRP's, insteading of doing house to house

canvassing right off, will individually do some sleuthing in each area, finding the informal leader, talking him into mobilizing his people into registering,etc, since I doubt if many or all of these leaders,in R leigh, at least, have done just this, because the Raleigh middle class,inter-racial leaders are afraid to seek these people out and organize(and reward) them; I shall be very interested to see if this sort of contact is made here in Durham. While Raleigh has a paper precinct and block organization, the people selected are also middle class, prestige consciousne, newly arrived people, and they probably skip most of the dirt surface streets as a matter of principle(there'are too stupid to vote,etc). With Durham as well-organized as it is reputed to be, I would assume that their grass root's people are also the effective informal leaders on other matters. But we shall see.

This whole gambit of informal leaders that I'm taking follows an indident which Dorothy may have told you about; a bartender pulled Roy Smith(the other staff member) off the street one night, said we were working with the "wrong people", i.e.,not the real leaders. Roy, Tracy Rogers(Talledega,now at Drake)and I went back down to the bar, had a nice earnest talk with the bartender and his wife. They promised up 50 people waiting to register at their bar at 8PM one evening shortly afterwards. We only got 8... But the bartender mentioned the apparent existence of these informal leaders,some of them supposedly in areas where we were to have no luck at all, but I never got the list,and he had "left town" the day of the evening we were due back for a second evening of registering waiting people. He was later arrested for possessing"white whiskey," no doubt a blow to his very apparent striving for respectibility-he was building a business across the street, etc. I hope to go back when there is time,next semester, and try to coax a list of these leaders from him. They might not even exist in significant numbers, but if do exist in scarce but systemmatically predictable places, then I could be in a position of backing up a suggested modification in VR stragedy. What do you think??

I got the message straight on the outline; do I also understand that this-being a dry run, isn't being done to all the other projects finished last summer. I had that impression from your saying you were trying to put something respectible together on the summer's VR projects,etc. It doesn't matter a whole lot I guess.

Now. I have some critical comments on your "communication" frame of reference,unlike my reticence on your questionaire. I also have a POQ reference for some support:"Bandwagon and Sandbagging Effects: Some Measures of Dissonance Reduction",by R.F. Carter, pg. 279, Summer 59,Vol 59-that's Public Opinion Q.--the significant thing being, I think, the constancey of the "C greater than A" leveles, where C is communication level,A is activity level. I really don't see how you can proceed so confidently within a communication frame of reference, after the noted inadequacies of communication in elections studies-it supposedly doesn't change a lot of votes,etc. I saw a Lazersfeld article somewhere explaining the notable difference in findings about the effect of "communication," as between experimental,social psych. small group research, and survey research voting. And this isn't even with already registered but "undecided" voters! I saw another article I can't locate which tore the dickens out of this idea that communication impinges efficaciously on the individual if only those darn intermediary factors preventing its access to the individual weren't there. I suppose this amounts to saying that selective inattention to communication is NOT amenable to broadening BY communication of the same order.

Referring to your three classifications of factors, I find # 3 and 1 identical in substance, although the jargon(our common occupational hazard)hides the fact-this external,internal stuff. Those factors external to the communicating parties and relationship(No.3) are ALSO what each communicating party brings to the relationship(No.1)-those factors which"tend to preclude

the prospective registrants acting in the prescribed manner regardless of how effective the communication may be."

As for No. 2; well I'm glad somebody else suspects interclass frinctions exist-try talking Miss Dawson into that! But here again, both selective inattention and interclass friction don't originate or "arise" sui generis, from the "communicative relationship" (relationship?). Both exist prior to same, and arise, do they not, from sociological causes?? (YOU'RE in the wrong field, bud....)

I could go on, about how you might as well face the fact that you're trying to so something in political sociology without thinking sociologically, that you're applying an artificial and abstract, ideal-type concept- "communication" to a concrete reality, requiring, essentially, "communication between auto-responsive monads, etc. All of which is too strong, unfair, etc. If what's a "clear idea (in your mind) of how I would apply it" persists intact, more power to you. POQ, forever! Science, by definition, is potentially fruitful, no?, in any form, shape,....

I enjoyed that part about a "nominal fee, just how nominal we can't say now, etc." Well, that nominal fee is going to be applied to gasoline costs for the yet-to-be-found Raleigh car's to drive the-as-yet-unvolunteered Raleigh students. The University will reportedly consider funding the data analysis part, computer time, etc, which..is nice, if I can learn enuf computer jargon to know what in dickens to tell it. I'm afraid the IBM 610 is-as was as obselete then, as the course I had on it then (3 yrs ago) is to me now.

Your kind thoughts about working in the report as one of the term papers unfortunately...uh...shall we say, don't correspond with empirical possibility,, unless I were to formulate hypotheses from the data to be gathered-data that are pretty straight-forward and not terribly amenable to theory anyway, but rather post factum (horrors) analysis. This wouldn't improve the report any and costme more time working out the ecology and empathy messes.

I see in the Texas Observer that the VEP is financing a Fort Worth VRP next summer. One of these days I hope you get into Dallas, althought I probably won't be free the year you do, and I'd rather wait till the poll tax is repealed and THEN have a field day. The Negro preechers have got West Dallas divided and conquered so damn well that it'll be a battle tooth and nail..a regular revolution. And with the reactionary Dallas Morning News down our back, it would be great fun to answer that question, "All right you damn Yankee agitator, where ARE you from", and I'll Blast back, "Dallas-is 20 years long enuf??" Chortle...

Sincerely,

Bob

Bob Althauser

November 27, 1962

Mr. C. Elwood Boulware
Executive Secretary
Durham Committee on Negro Affairs
P.O. Box 321
Durham, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Boulware:

We have asked a sociology graduate student at Duke University to give us a report on some aspects of the voter registration project which we supported for the Durham Committee on Negro Affairs last summer. His name is Bob Althauser and we have asked him to get in touch with you within the next month or so to begin his research.

We would greatly appreciate your fullest cooperation with Mr. Althauser on this research project.

If you have any questions as to the nature of this research we would be pleased to answer them at any time.

Very truly yours,

Jack Minnis
Director of Research

JM:jl

November 27, 1962

Mr. Bob Althauser
Men's Graduate Dormitories
Box 1109
Duke Station
Durham, North Carolina

Dear Bob:

I have some comments which I think may be helpful on your questionnaire but I shall defer them until a later letter. What I want to do in this one is clarify the matter of the report on the Durham registration program.

Please understand that the outline I sent you is a kind of an experimental thing on the basis of which we hope to develop a standard procedure for this kind of report. Your use of it will be, in a manner, a field test of the efficacy of the outline.

With reference to the question you ask about how we want the outline used, we would like to have a report which combines the two modes you mentioned; i.e., we want the facts called for in the outline as well as personal hunches and observations, all of this in the form of an organis whole. I can appreciate your concern about the research design underlying the outline. Briefly this is it; We are defining our research problem as one of communication and we are attempting to isolate factors which seem to inhibit the effectiveness of the communication. There are, as we see it, three classifications of these factors:

1. Factors internal to each communicating party - that is, those factors which each party brings to the communicative relationship;

2. Factors which arise out of the communicative relationship - these would include the interclass frictions which we suspect exist as well as the selective inattention which you mentioned. I might point out here that we, too, assume that selective inattention is widespread; we are interested in developing techniques for narrowing that spread with reference to political participation. Consequently, we want to go into the cause of selective inattention relative to politics;

3. Factors external to the communicating parties and to the communicative relationship - here I think we would place those factors in which you say you are considerably interested, "which tend to preclude the prospective registrants acting in the prescribed manner regardless of how effective the communication may be."

I am not sure that this classificatory scheme is operable the way it stands although I, myself, have a pretty clear idea of how I would apply it. A part of the field test of the outline would be to determine how a reseerrcher in the field makes out with this outline given this basic research orientation.

If all of this is not now clear to you, as I am sure it well may not be,please let me know and I will try to be less abstruse about it.

The Durham Committee on Negro affairs conducted the registration drive. Mr. C. Elwood Boulware, P.O. Box 321, Durham, is the Executive Secretary of the organization. We are sending him a letter asking that he give you is fullest cooperation in this venture. If you have any questions or if we can assist you in any way incompleting this report, you have only to ask. The time of completion is not really as important as our getting this phase of our research program under way and getting started or, as it were, a shakedown cruise for our research design. I would suggest, because of the inevitable cooling of the data, that you arrange to get on with it at your earliest convenience. It occurs to me that you might be able to work it in as one of those term papers you mentioned coming due. Is this a possibility?

As I said above, I'll write again shortly with some observations on this questionnaire.

My very best regards.

Sincerely,

Jack Minnis
Director of Research

JM:jl

File pers.

NOV 13 1962

Men's Graduate Center
Box 1109, Duke Station
Durham, North Carolina
November 11, 1962

Mr. Jack Minnis
Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

I understand from Dorothy Dawson that we have both been recently on the short end of a (vanishing) research effort into Negro registration and voting. I would be most interested there(misery loves co.,QED)fore in corresponding with you on the matter, as you reportedly are. I would be most interested in reading a copy of your dissertation, both as a means of laying a common ground for discussion and as means of facilitating a decision on my part as to the scope and content of my efforts-in short, whether what I've got dimly in mind with respect to "opinion leadership" is what you've already done in New Orleans,etc.

There has been an unexpected resurrection of my original research effort since you last spoke with Dorothy. I was checking out what the jargon-intoxicated might label a "null hypothetical hunch" that there was no one at St. Augustine's College that would be interested in getting a group of students to interview Raleigh Negro residents. But the Dean there-Dean Robinson, turns out to BE a sociologist(PhD-Cornell) and very much interested in such a project. So I'm back "in business" with little or no time to get adequately ready a full-fledged research design, if I want to take advantage of students in classes now meeting at St. Aug. Assuming I hear from the Dean next-this week rather,and go down to give forth on my various and sundry "theories" this week, I should be going down again over Thanksgiving to get them going, oriented,etc. This gives them till Christmas vacation to interview, hopefully, over 200 people.

It would be very useful for me to receive your dissertation sometime this present week, if that is not impossible. In the meantime I hope Dorothy will supply you with the information, ideas,etc I sent her. There are all sorts of items I'd like to include in the interview schedule, measures of "anomie"-for what IT'S worth, political alienation, intolerance of political ambiguity,etc. The primary foci of my questions however relate two "theories" I've played with: the first, which I have more or less downgraded now, concerns the "prestige anxiety" of the newly "arrived" Negro middle, upper-middle or upper class however we define it, and the effect one might logically expect such "new rich" people might have on the sensitivities of "lowers" voting for, and registering to vote for said new rich uppers in local elections; the second is more or less stolen from Lerner's(Daniel) THE PASSING OF TRADITIONAL SOCIETY and involves both a modification of his typology and more importantly his rendition of "empathy", the personal possession of which seems to define a "Transitional" personality style (vs. Modern and Traditional) among Middle East respondants.

I should like to close with a little polemic about current literature on the subject of Negro registration, and more generally what provides theoritical motivation for my efforts, what prospects in my research drive me on to do fresh empirical research for a lowly Master's Thesis.

In the first place, I am an avowed disciple of my former prof at Carleton, Dr. William L. Kolb, formerly, by the way, of Tulane. Perhaps Dorothy will lend you the copy of Carleton's ABOUT issue which has an article about Carleton's sociology department. It's really a very long and, for me, exciting story-Kolb's position vis-a-vis "orthodox sociology." I have no idea how much of T. Parson's difficult cant you have ploughed through, but Kolb takes his early ~~ster~~ book-THE STRUCTURE OF SOCIAL ACTION as his (Kolb's) starting point, turning the voluntaristic theory of action which Parson's carefully documents as converging from or in the works of Durkheim and Weber, into a "Judeo-Christian image of man" with "conditioned freedom",etc.(No Kolb isn't trying to prove the existence of God!)

To tie in the current literature at this point, coming from a "Kolbian" school of thought, I find straight correlations of socio-economic variables as they determine registration and voting extremely aggrevating. A composite, registered and voting human being emerges-the usual monied, upper class, white collar, educated, non-anomic, un-alienated and probably adjusted. Common sense knew this all along, and goes on to reason that, if the presence of these properties imply the kind of people who register, then their absense must automatically define those who don't, and there's nothing more to it. There seems to be nothing more that sociology can tell SRC or anyone else, about the people they are trying to mobilize politically. At this point, I say orthodox sociology and statistical behaviorists have put themselves right out of business with their image of man and their scientific techniques, for even such important groups as SRC can imagine no questions for problem-oriented research, beyond those which enlightened common sense has already answered. One might as well concentrate voter registration efforts on the rest of the white collar middle class that isn't already registered, and wait out the decade or more it takes for improved education, job opportunities, occupational mobility and the rest to condition our "apathetic" Negro masses into the kind of people who register. If you were to take Mathews and Prothro a little more seriously on this point of socio-economic determinism than their fense-riding would allow, I wouldn't be surprised if Voter Education people gave up in despair; just how many unreceptive, uneducated, poor Negroes can you "educate" into continual political participation?

But. As I keep saying, we registered a lot of "dumb, stupid,etc" Negroes in Raleigh. Then I wonder, for the Nth time, WHO ARE these people, why did they, and not others, register. The socio-economic variables are more or less constant among these people, so what gives? Those who do register, despite the predictions of registration, low SES correlation, have, some of them, eluded the "clutch of culture" as Kolb puts it. Or to put it another way, why do the uneducated, the poor become educated, occupational mobile? A very basic question behind the present questions answered by the pat correlations. Can we account for those educationally and occupationally mobile on the basis of that old oppressive socio-economic structure, which while oppressing some, lets others through its loopholes? I don't think so. What I hope to do in Raleigh shortly, is learn more about these people, determine if the possession of "empathy" as Lerner defines it seems to define these people, and whatever else I can find that will lead by implication to an approximation of a "maximal strategy" for voter registration-education efforts, and bear out Kolb's theory in the process. You might be interested in seeing his article in the Christian Scholar, Winter, 61.

Sincerely,

Bob Althauser

Bob Althauser

November 8, 1962

Mr. Bob Althauser
Men's Graduate Dormitories
Box 1109
Duke Station
Durham, North Carolina

Dear Bob:

Dorothy Dawson has talked to me about what you are doing in Durham and has shown me the prospectus you formulated. As Dorothy may have mentioned to you the dissertation that I am presently writing deals with the phenomenon you describe in paragraph 1.a) of the prospectus. Since my field is,nominally at least, political science, I am burdened on the dissertation with the weight of revulsion felt by the faculty I must please, with regard to theory of any kind. Consequently, I will not attempt, in the dissertation, to deal with the class factors, although I do think they are a very necessary part of any adequate theoretical approach to the problem of communicative influence or, if you will, influential communication. Also, I am afraid that my data are too gross to sustain any really sharp theoretical treatment. Thus, I fear that the dissertation will be strictly a degree-getter, although I, by no means, intend to let the thing lie there. I am hoping to be able, eventually, in connection with the VEP, to develope some data relevant to this area of research which would be independent enough to work into a fairly fine-toothed theoretical framework. However, I am afraid that I have my work cut out for me here in overcoming the same kind of revulsion I encountered at Tulane. Theory, I find, is a wholly unrespectable four-letter word outside of academic circles.

I would very much like to remain in touch with you because the similarity of our research interests is, I think, really striking and I may very well be able to gratify such an interest as this project grows in sophistication. Now to a more immediate matter.

We are attempting to assemble data on the registration programs we sponsor which will be, in some sense, academically respectable. To this end we are trying to get persons with some sophistication in research to give us reports on the various registration projects we sponsor. During the early summer we sponsored a voter registration drive in Durham which was hendled by the Durham Committee on Negro Affairs. I am wondering if you would have the time and the interest to do a research and writing job connected with a report on the Durham project? We would, of course, put you in touch with the people who directed the project and could assure their fullest cooperation.

I am enclosing an outline which we want such reports to follow. There would be a nominal fee in connection with such a report - just how nominal we are presently unable to say.

If you think you might be interested in doing such a report, or failing that, if you know of any one who might be, I would very much appreciate knowing about it.

I hope to hear from you soon.

Sincerely yours,

Jack Minnis
Director of Research

JM:jl
enc.

Preface: Don't be discouraged - it took a long time to write too! [If you can't read this... (God help me...)

Sat morning 11/3/62

Dear Dorothy,

First, for your information, some promised news:

1) went over to Chapel Hill Monday, found both Matthews & Prothro in, asked Prothro about the paragraph we looked at in the stacks, concerning the relation of % Negro White Collar and % Neg. Registered - you suggested, very correctly, that I ought to find out just what the curve looked like. Well Prothro, who had 5 minutes to give me before a pre-lim, [and he was pretty busy for the next two weeks getting a paper ready, etc - with more questions couldn't. I came back then... (fatal)] dug out a lone copy of "Social & Economic Factors and Negro VR in the South" and some graphs, explaining that the Duke conference article was to be broken into 3 forthcoming articles - one on socio-economic factors - the above mentioned, two, on the political factors alone, 3. on a state-by-state analysis - of both social & political factors. The social factors articles showed a number of qualifications and modifications when compared to the Duke article - none of which changed the general interpretation of findings, which seemed odd, in the sense of "methinks you doth protest too much." Some of the interesting additions:

1) Using registration lists to approximate voting behavior is hazardous, being twice removed from voting turnout

a) Some registered Negroes seldom vote
b) Registration lists in some counties out of date
c) There are exemptions made for some people from poll tax lists
d) Voter registration data collected by race (or divided between) only from Ark, Florida, Geo. La, S.C., Virginia, the REST LOCALLY ESTIMATED

Taking the # Registered as equal to % of all voting age Negroes in the county not an unqualified examination of the relationship of social, economic characteristics to Neg. Registration [and individual registrants] but rather a relation of some characteristics of various COUNTY AREAS to VARIATIONS IN NEGRO REGISTRATION by area, no link of political behavior to individuals but to county attributes. Maximizes what we can say about the county, minimizes what we can say about individuals

P.S. Bought Dr Carter's URBAN NEGROES IN THE SOUTH - Have you seen it - brought of interesting night on the St. with the actual names, not - unchanged - all sorts of details...

3. Correlation does not reflect absolute level of variables, i.e. a given amount and regularity of change in Negro Registration will produce the same correlation, whether the actual level of Negro VR is high or low

Now at this point, with your scant knowledge [me too] of statistics, correlation analysis, etc. you are no doubt asking the question, so-what effect does all this have on my use of the study, its results, etc. Well I second that question. There are places in the study's papers [the Duke and social, one above] where absolute levels are examined, perhaps at all important points - like in the effects of the decline in % Negro concentration on more Negro Registration - how if that decline started from a 1900 % Negro concentration (population) [in the county,] figures of 70%+, 30% or less, 70-30%, there is no effect, no effect and heavy effect on increasing VR rates for Negroes. Likewise with % Negro concentration, up to 30% Negro in a county, no effect, 30-60% increasing decline of VR, 60%+, no Registration.

Somehow I don't think many correlation-crazy scientists today have really closely examined the limitations of this sort of analysis. Considering the conceptual orthodoxy enveloping such analyses, it would be difficult to imagine such limitations in their full implications. Mathews + P have apparently anticipated or responded to some criticism by making many of the above qualifications, and YET they cannot see any difference made or any implications following for their analysis, and so far, I can't either! The part of a previous letter in which I cautioned the equation of "ecological" and "individual" correlation, you recall?, well, as FAR AS I CAN NOW SEE, that warning has no applicability to M+P's work [the reference here is the Am. Soc. Review, 1950, pg 351-57, "Ecological Correlations + the Behavior of Individuals" found in a footnote in a paper which led me to "warn you" - I have examined the article referred to in the paper - Francis "Relation of Data to Theory - Rural Sociology, Vol 12, Sept '57, #3, pg 258-66]

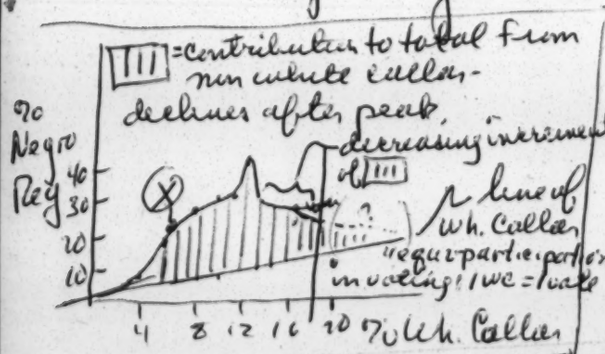
AND YET - M+P make the same qualifications as do Francis, which, without affecting their interpretation of their results, might affect some one else's interpretation, that presumably is the only

reason left for their caution.

Another qualification which might fault is in their use of COUNTY wide data, especially by VRP people interested in city registration. Do the socioeconomic and ~~polit~~ political factors have the same effect on county as on urban Negroes? Can we AVERAGE COUNTY and URBAN CENSUS DATA. The 1950 ASoc. Rev. article notes the decline in correlation in one study he examined - when divisions of US [SE, S, NEngland, etc] vs. states are used as unit areas; likewise correlations derived between social attributes collected on a county wide level might, some of them, (rise, others fall?) when rural vs. urban area data are used. M and P find "urbanism" of no importance in explaining variation in [no mention made of level of] Negro registration, although, in this second paper I've been describing - which shows the same socioeconomic characteristics correlated with white VR rates, urbanism) [the decline in amount of variation effected by "controlling" (accounting for) "urbanism" defined as urbanism = % of county living in urban areas - NOTE (DISCOVERY!), not % of NEGROES living in county but % of county white and Negro population living in urban areas - THIS IS an "ECOLOGICAL", not an "individual" correlation of the sort Francis (Rural Soc article) warned about] explains more variation in white VR than does % Negro concentration/county.

For VR people like yourself, all this may be beside the point, you want to derive from all this some idea, I would think, of 1) what cities, counties are "good prospects" for VRP's and 2) more important [since "good prospects" are not usually the "needy prospects"] what else characterizes the "dumb, stupid ignorant people" [assuming subtle white intimidation at worst, only] besides being unskilled laborers with no education, $, etc, and how can we "maximize" VRP strategy, perhaps in Voter Education aimed at certain groups of people found "susceptible" to Registration - among the dumb, ignorant, etc -. We can't give up efforts to register these people just because sociologists say they are unlikely to register, or as M+P question, because one must wait until the DETERMINING social characteristics "improve". Another point, and about the only useful fact

derived from Cleo Roberts', "Some Correlates of Registration and Voting Among Negroes in the 1953 Municipal Election in Atlanta," MA Thesis, 1953, Atlanta U which, carried here, was the importance of the Registered but not voted category, and the people who frequent this group [men more than women, unmarried more than married ~~on~~ etc]. Most of Roberts's findings are severely qualified by the effects of a small sample (150), where the number of people in certain divisions upon which %'s are derived, is so very small (N less than 5) that the results might not weather a test for statistical significance. It was a depressing piece of work - the standard, common-sense verification fare, no theory, etc. If this typical piece is all sociologists can tell UR people, then it isn't worth a continental D... ! This is value free, (scientific), value irrelevant (safe) research... There was another point about Mathews-Prothro's work to be made but it has slipped - nope - I recall. There work implies the existence of a continuum, a path along which all ~~sou~~ southern counties would move as certain factors change [% W collar, etc] and ~~along~~ in which all counties can be placed, with respect to time as well as "place - current status. But, take the relation of % Negro White collar vs. % Negro Registered % ~~Reg~~ WC % ~~WC~~ Reg, shown below, crudely, with the actual numerical data if you want to draw your own, is it necessarily true, that because the average communities taken together, make the shape of the curve thus - as present, that therefore X community presently on the curve as shown, will on the average, experience increasing % Reg with increasing % white collar. It's the old issue of unilineal (one line) vs. multilineal evolution in anthropology: is the primitive society of today destined to have to follow the same path, taking the same time, as the more modern primitive tribes have been seen to take from their primitive past? At this point an academic question, but I'm tempted were it not so hard to get data, to see if X county, had a % White Collar Negroes and b % Negro Regs, 10 years ago, and whether "evolution" to the present c % WhC + d % NR followed the curve alone - "on the average."



% WC	% Reg
1	4
2	4
3	8
4	11
5	15
6	20
7	20
8	28
9	32
10	31
11	32
12	42
13	29.5
14	27.5
15	31.0
16	27.5
17	25.0
18+	30

The Shaw visit, Thursday, was supposed confined to an 11AM meeting with 4 of the 8 students in the class, who might be interested in the tapes of VR. At 11AM, two showed, one Lewis Hall, doing a survey of downtown business men's attitudes toward their children's education, and Andrew Marangi (Kenya) doing a survey of businessmen's [negro in both cases] attitudes toward desegregation as it is related to their business. I proceeded to plaster three theories ~~across~~ across the blackboard:

1) the class-interaction theory of mine - broken down into logical steps so that all the qualifications and intervening factors which prevent the new rich behavior of new middle class ees from aggravating the "lowers"

2) Daniel Lerners, (The Passing of Traditional Society) typology (range of types) of transition of "personality styles" from Traditional to Transitional to Modern - a very intriguing work I had been referred to, for ideas from it applicable to VR. I strongly urge you to see this, since my 3rd reported theory, [~~and~~ what I hope to replace the class interaction thing with,] is taken by analogy from Lerner, I have rechecked what I read of it, and boil down the essential passages, for a jist, to, pgs 19-28, 47-51, 60-65, 69-75, and the more difficult 438-46. The key concept here is EMPATHY ('psychic mobility') what might distinguish, not only the Transitional from the Modern and Traditional Turk, Egyptian, etc, but the "receptive"-to-registration person who isn't ~~educated~~, while cocka, ~~cocka~~, educated, participation in mass media. This may be a first approximation to the answer to - why individuals, from lower-income, uneducated families fight the deterministic "clutch of culture" as my Carleton prof Kolb put it, and surpass the educational, occupational and income expectations of traditional, poor parents and surprised social scientists. If we could learn who these empathetic individuals are in any systematic way, we might be one step towards knowing who ~~and around whom~~ to concentrate registration, and voter education efforts through and at, or maybe what could be used to encourage empathy, or what is now making for the few empathetic people who now exist, potentially registerable, potentially participants in politics, etc.

3) The theory linking ~~for~~ a voter registration theory analogy

from Lerner, isn't as nice as the original, but it would replace Lerner's typology as follows

UR theory — Lerner's — Type of Person	white collar occupation urbanism	education literacy	media participation	empathy	range of opinions	
Modern is —	+	+	+	+	1	most
Transitional A is —	(not)	is (+)	is (+)	etc +	2	
B	—	—	+	+	3	
C	—	—	—	+	4	
Traditional is —	—	—	—	—	5	least

+ means attribute present in a "type" individual defined by the four characteristic spaces (+) (+) (+) (+), urban literate, imp. empathy ie modern man is urban living, literate, etc, Transitional C ---+ man, is not "urbane, literate, media participation, but is empathetic. The UR analogy to this man (and of course) TC man, the kind of guy who doesn't exist in current literature [voters are +++, non-voters are ----, no in-between's] is of particular interest to us [as is Transitional B] - he's the unregistered man who is not white collar, hasn't an education much above 4th grade [the literate], doesn't read the papers or go to movies much, but is empathetic: EMPATHY, in terms of the questionaire Lerner used, is operationally defined as "having opinions" about matters outside your personal, familiar realm

To make a long story short, I stayed through to the PM class, couldn't get anyone else interested (in the class) in this research, except one girl who wants to go into Chavis Hts. I have no one to interview "lowers" despite the help offered by the girl and Benny Hall. Despite the interesting additional area of study available in Durham - the Negro "power structure" [why aren't NC college Negro candidates elected in Durham, while NC Mutual Life backed Negroes are ??] and in Raleigh - [why can't prestige anxious BB get in working contact with the intra neighborhood leaders Plummer mentioned, as the Durham Council of Neg. Affairs does ? or do they ?]. I need $ to pay interviewers if the above research is not to die right now. Perhaps I could hire Negro Census workers from Raleigh, perhaps share costs with other researchers who will be asking NORC (national opinion research center of Chicago)

to do interviews for them. NORC, operating with NSF, has a new service to offer researchers - ~~Re~~ Survey Research Service. I enclose the Fall letter I got, being on the Am. Sociological Assn mailing list. They could ~~possibly~~ possibly do a regional urban, Negro sample too I think. But I'll check on this, and on costs. NORC might be a good idea for SRC too

Now - I would ask you to see Brunton, and ask him if he could CONSIDER S.R.C's supporting any UR research, and if so he would consider research design proposal from me, for work to be done in Raleigh or maybe by NORC. I would plan on having that design ready within two weeks of your notice to me that he could so consider the proposal. [I would presently prefer Raleigh as a scene, because the interviewing would be coordinated more closely with my experiences, despite NORC's admitted qualifications in interviewing.] I plan to go ahead with the two students at Shaw, visit St Aug sociology dept next trip (Wed) etc. But these two people can't at all provide an adequate preliminary test of the stuff I've outlined, altho being well probably give me a good idea of how well the limited class interaction idea fits - he's taking to Negroes who work for the businessmen too.

If Brunton isn't interested, fine. I don't know what I'll do, except feel, prematurely, a great burden lifted - I will have done all I can do, on a large scale, to contribute to UR work. I've said some pretty nasty things about Negroes lately, in the wake of disappointments like Dr Carter [while I admittedly should have talked to her again sooner than one month after the Sept visit, she did say then that "we [the class] would be looking for something to do."] and, one girl in the class, among the 5 who are doing their research projects "on campus" is investigating

that intriguing and value relevant question in the minds of all civil rights workers today:
WHY DO SHAW STUDENTS GO INTO THE "CAMPUS INN" !!!
If I were writing my buddies at this point, a stream of pure invective would litter the page. But then, you're a lady.... [how would they say it in New Jersey - a laydee?]

Well that, gosh, is it. Hope you managed to read this monster. My d... typewriter is still out.

Other tid bits to fill out the page:

The Survey Research Service provides:

1. Data collection - from national or special samples of population + organizations
2. Data Processing - coding, punching + tabulating results of surveys
3. Consultation - on design + analysis of surveys.

US. community wide data

[I would hope to cut costs by using only #1 service.

Variables, or items to be covered on a likely "inter-view" schedule, following from the theoretical base, include the following. (1) Work association - with Negroes for Negroes, for whites, skilled, unskilled, etc. (2) Residence history - born, moved, etc. (3) Registration, Voting on 4-5 past elections (4) Education - grade completed, (5) Age, (6) Estimate of socioeconomic status, (7) Series of questions on extent of exposure, content of exposure to mass media, (8) series of PROJECTIVE QUESTIONS measuring "empathy" (9)

7+8 are not in MTP's work, nor are the next two from individual surveys

Also possibly measures of "Anomie" ["normlessness, etc"], Social anchorage in a community, political alienation, Race identification - self hate, image of Negro class structure, etc.

Ray Pirate Perry + Mr. Spelman [WILLE idiot], the latter was all friendship and warmth when I walked into the Shaw library yesterday [Thu] - but he soon became his phony insincere self. [Judge not that....]; he was trying to find out what's going on. Perry says their faculty adviser told them to head off a possible selective buying campaign till after Founder's Day [Nov 16] around which time local whites may be disposed to give the college the #1 needs. I think they'll [Perry, etc] need some help with a selective buying campaign. I gave him Vann's address - he could use some literature + suggestions in what kind of an appeal he could make.

Bob

Monday night
October 22, 1962

Dear Dorothy,

That downtown bus came sooner than I expected; & I didn't recover the clippings from your case, nor retrive the enclosed cartoon from my room. I hope the latter can be posted in some space where various cohorts of yours and from SNCC can see it. The news article on UNC "Reds", from the front page of the Durham Sunday Sun or Herald on, might interest, tho not greatly inform you. I assume all the "communists" which could conceivably be involved in civil rights demonstrations past and present would be members of this Progressive Labor party, right?

I've been keeping an (sentimental??) intellectual diary of the inception and progression of this thesis brewing, sort of as a sub-study of the role of "intuition", personal experience, and free association, ~~in~~ as sources of sudden "insights" or new ideas-social methodology either doesn't know much about or won't admit the subjective aspects of inductive theory formation or formulation. ANYWAY, I was prompted after entering your response in the conversation in the carroll (sp?) to spin out and later type up the enclosed outline of a research project, written more with your forthcoming labor on the SRC research prospectus in mind and with the resources available to it (in mind) than with a possible Raleigh-Shaw U study. But you did say a study of "class" would be "good," and I would hope, since you, SRC and I are all supposedly interested in getting at the essential factors behind people not registering, and despite the fact that we participate in the phenomenon of super-criticism and sharp criticism of other's ~~p~~ work and ideas, common to young liberal intellectuals of the day, that there develops some consensus between us as to what should be looked into, whatever our different views on what will turn out essential in the end (in our cases- unexploited existential political and social issues, or cross-class contact, personal influence, etc, in addition to the tact implied in ~~an~~ review of socioeconomic, housing, etc data from the census). Perhaps I'm just hoping for this in a desire to interest SRC in my work or interest them in my working with/for them-whatever develops. ANYWAY, here's a "prospectus for a prospectus" to think about. How I start narrowing this down greatly bothers

me-given the three parts theoritical and empirical... interwovenness(?) We didn't talk much about personal influence except ~~by~~ in the limited example of the role of minister--I guess this lead me, as have recent arguements with Wally Mead about similar, voluntary contacts between "lowers" and middle class(MC) doctors to realize the unexamined importance of personal influence, a topic well explored in past election studies among whites in presidential campaigns. I suggest you see Elihu Katz and P.K. Lazersfeld's PERSONAL INFLUENCE, <u>especially</u> the summary on pages 130-134, for a quick idea of what has, and remains to be done, not only in white electorate-national election studies (there have been 14 of them since 1940) but in Negro voting and, prior to voting, political participation-registration-completely untouched so far as past social research goes. I would hope that the work SRC does is of such a scope and design, that whatever its practical implications for improving effectiveness of registration, political education efforts, etc, ~~that~~ it will constitute a viable contribution to sociological literature. I would also wonder if it wouldn't be "neat" if the SRC or your research idea with Robb's Harvard southern students, were carried out in a southern Alabama town in a situation where the county has over 70% Negro population, and where overt, political intimidation and other preventive efforts by WHITEs are sufficiently marginal as to allow the assessment of Negro class, personal influence, issue relevance, etc, perhaps taking a second town nearby, with the presence of these political factors and the workings of class, influence, etc ~~in~~ as the augment or perhaps are supplanted by the political oppression, as a contrasting case; in any event I wish you'd consider a two-city study (if Savannah, Charleston, etc were chosen) for extracting the benefits of similiarities, contrasts, and maxim implication for other southern cities of like, unlike socio economic characteristics. The 70% Negro population appeals to me because of my interest in this automattic and universal generalization: higher %age of Negro, lower %age registration. It just explains too much... Enclosed too are the Sensus sources, obtainable you note at local branches of the Commerce dept

I very much enjoyed your visit.

Bob

Did you like JFK's Cuba speech any better than the 'Ole Miss one?...

Sunday 10/28/62

Dear Dorothy,

Things aren't going too well on the Masters, although considering the virtual unanimity of advice against my class-interaction theory, it's really about time I finally fared things. The supreme court of appeals - the old sage on race relations - Edgar Thompson, had a 2½ hour visit on his schedule from me Sat. Like everybody else he had interesting ideas, but this time [it took long enough] I got him to comment on the likelihood that several assumptions (& main, & secondary) which constitute the logical transition from stating that newly arrived upper class rich act like nouveau riche, to "lowers" resent illegitimate prestige demands made on them by these uppers and don't register AND/OR VOTE for upper class candidates. 5 passed easily. he thought "class" was important - especially the middle Negro class etc - but 3 others had to be severely enough not completely qualified in their application, and when [the ultimate debacle] I "summed" up, he remarked, without warning, that it all had an "eerie quality of unreality" to it. I don't mind being all wrong except in the clear implication that seven weeks of field work going out all but two days - doesn't make any difference in the "insightfulness" of research in what, by any measure,

is a difficult question. But at long last I can "see" where theoretically, these experiences can be prevented from happening or having the expected effect. It was frustrating, being told that class and "prestige-anxiety" on the part of new rich Negroes did occur, but not having explained why it didn't effect voting.

Furthermore as a result to Dr Carter last Fri ~~turned~~ ~~turn~~ [wish my typewriter wasn't screwed up] turned up. They no means have the cooperation of her 8 pupil research class, ~~to~~ each of which was developing his separate project, in lieu of Dr. Carter's hearing from me again [i.e my fault] She is speaking to them Tue about it and I may get a chance Thursday to talk them or some of them into "measuring" variables of some lesser importance to me. I may have to try St. Augs + NC State for other similar classes, all of which takes time - by bus schedule, etc. The other half of my original theory is less exciting and if true, the explanation won't be as relevant or new and useful to VR work. Maybe the pieces of the class theory would be worth some testing.

I don't fully understand it yet, but I ran across an article yesterday cautioning the use of "ecological" [people per area density, general and specific social facts - illiteracy, housing conditions, % in white collar, etc] measures - in census averages - as if they index "individual" characteristics.

Frank Smith had an audience of 40 at Carleton, but his talk was too couched in emotionally religious "harangue" for some of the unreligious, tho socially sensitive intellects there. Tsk-tsk.

Bob

Hope to see Mathews next week - as well as some (say Durham figures - and, in Raleigh - the informant he started me on this class theory (wife) thing.

national opinion research center

NORC

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
5720 Woodlawn Avenue, Chicago 37, Illinois
PLaza 2-6444 Area Code 312
PETER H. ROSSI, *Director*

October, 1962

Dear Colleague:

The enclosed booklet explains a new venture in collaborative social research in which NORC proposes to undertake data collection for the general social science community.

Since the publication of this booklet, we have decided to move ahead as quickly as possible to bring our Survey Research Service into operation. An opportunity has opened up to combine several research interests in a national survey to be undertaken in January, 1963.

If you have some items to be collected from a national sample, we will be able to accommodate your interests in a survey which we will put into the field in January, 1963. Supported research will, of course, be given preference over unsupported work. If you are at all interested in this opportunity, please write to me as soon as possible. While we will not be able to accommodate all requests, if there is sufficient demand for such services, we may be able to put another survey into the field in late February or early March.

In any event, I hope you will take advantage of the existence of our Survey Research Service when you consider undertaking research on the scale which would be appropriate to the use of our Service.

If you have any questions concerning the Service, please feel free to write to me at any time.

Sincerely,

Peter H. Rossi
Director

PHR:po
enc.

EASTERN REPRESENTATIVE: Paul B. Sheatsley • 55 Fifth Avenue • New York 3 • New York Telephone: ALgonquin 5-5290 • Area Code 212

TRUSTEES: D. Gale Johnson, President • Wallace Carroll • Morton Grodzins • Chauncy D. Harris • S. Arthur Henry • Frederick Mosteller
Alfred C. Nelson • Peter G. Peterson • Frederick F. Stephan • Ralph W. Tyler • W. Allen Wallis • O. Meredith Wilson

A PROSPECTUS...FOR A PROSPECTUS OF A LARGER(SRC) OR SMALLER(RALEIGH)STUDY OF NEGRO POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Note: The following is simply an outline of the SCOPE and FOCI of a possible study of certain selected factors believed to be crutial to the understanding of the presence or absense of Negro political participation(registration, and once registered, voting) in local and regional elections; no references are here made as to its theoritical backdrop or theoritical implications, nor even of specific hypotheses which said theory, or more likely, opposing schools of theory would suggest. This is simply the proposal of some groundrules and aims of a sociological research fishing expedition; and anybody can bring his own theoritical expectations, ~~and~~ predictions and interpretations along on the expedition.

Further note: As should be inferred from the title above, no account has been taken in the following, of the FEASIBILITY of the scope in its entirety, especially given the resources, human, monetary and time available for interviewing, which could be found available for a Raleigh study. As I see it, it is simply a matter of how long the interview schedule comes out to be, given the inclusion and exclusion of whatever I can theoritically differentiate as "essential" or "non-essential" to a minimally significant research endeavor in the field of study.

This study would entail the investigation of the following three social phenomenon, first by means of (a guess at present) at least 100 or more interviews, interviewees to be randomly selected by some method, hopefully representative of age, sex and socioeconomic status(SES) breakdowns as found in the census tracts for the predominately Negro precincts. Longer interviews(longer than say, an arbitrary length of ½ hour for the random sample) with certain groups of people would be extremely useful in understanding certain of the phenomenon below and are suggested-the groups of people-after the listing of the phenomenon of concern. A list of other discrete variables of importance concludes the prospectus...of a prospectus.

1. The AIM of the study, then, would entail the ascertainment of the following three phenomenon:

a) The "influence structure"(who in the social and personal world of the non-White collar Negro(urban assumed) is the primary source of advice & support, in personal distress, financial matters, legal difficulty, and POLITICAL participation); the importance of various primary groups surrounding the Negro(middle class-MC-family, lower class nuclear family, matriarchy, gang, etc) as sources of moral support and direction of behavior; in particular we want to know who if anybody influences what sorts of people to register or abstain from same, and vote for middle and upper-class Negro candidates or abstain from doing so. This phenomenon comes under the rubric of VOLUNTARY, INTERPERSONAL CONTACT.

b) The extent, character and contexts of CROSS-CLASS contact and associations(lumping the Negro middle-or upper middle-with what upper class exists and thus dichotomizing the class structure into "lowers" & "uppers", with white collar, non-white collar occupational status a very likely final criteria of placement); attempting to substantiate possible typologies of cross-class (or inter-class) contacts, each mutually exclusive in analytical AND empirical character; determining the effects of each type, and the effects of emperical SEQUENCES of types of contacts on registration and voting.

typology series of mutually exclusive types

---Suggested non-random interview sources, taking related white collar worker and client(s): Negro doctors-patients; insurance ent-clients; certain Negro services-their clients; bankers-bank clients(if any "lowers" among same, ministers-laymen church members; landlords-clients; real estate-construction entreprenaurs-their home buying clients and construction labor; gas station, laundary attendants, barbers, beauty salon operators and their white collar clients; middle and lower class lodge members; lower class work associates; intra-neighborhood opinion leaders, bartenders, etc.

c) Positive and negative images of class structure(and by implication, extent and character of class consciousness)-the nature of the image of the class which the respondant identifies with, the nature(positive or negative or nonexistent) of HIS image of the "Other" class(es) up or below him, and his PERCEPTION of the image which the "Other" class has of his own class, positive or negative; the experiental sources of these images and their effect in political participation in so far as the consciousness of voting for an upper class Negro candidate is present.

B)above came under the rubric of NON-VOLUNTARY, INTERPERSONAL, CROSS CLASS, (vs. INTRACLASS as in a), contacts. There is clearly a factor of differential access to these contacts at work here to be determined from the interviews.

2. These three general phenomona-the patterns or structures of influence, cross-class contact and we-they class imagery, are clearly interrelated: the second feds into the formation of the third(contacts lead to formation of stereotyped images,assumedly); and the first two are two sides of the same coin of interpersonal association-Voluntary and Personal vs. Nonvoluntary(excepting work experiences) or at least impersonal(excepting doctors) associations. The primary-secondary group dichotomy does not entirely divide personal influence versus cross-class contacts into neat, mutually exclusive categories either; I would assume that with the possible exception of MC doctors and ministers, the most frequent loci of interpersonal and routine or regular contacts where influence is brought to bear, are within the primary reference group of the lower class members"life-space".

The determination of the respective importance of the influence ~~patt~~ and cross-class patterns would naturally follow from the above; in particular, the contexts-political, personal, legal, economic(consumption?) in which each or both is strong and effective or weak and unimportant, or existent, as each acts in combination with or in opposition(yielding "cross-pressures" upon the actor?) to the other; if in opposition, the determination of the values and norms related to the resolution of the "cross-pressures", be these values and norms of the following character: race identity; class solidarity, personal following-hence psychological reward for"obeying"an influence-the so-called easy way out; <u>or</u>, individual human dignity.

Without indulging the reader in the muck of my theory, I would in passing suggest that pervious studies of 1a) have presumed the unimportance or non-existence of 1b, particularly the effect of non-regular cross-contacts.

As an addendum to 1c,we suggest(pass along) the following paradigm of the development of class consciousness,as it theoritically progresses through:

1. Status awareness-perception of continuous, ranked range of status
2. Stratum awareness-perception of discrete ranked categories of class.
3. Stratum affiliation-self-aware stratum membership
4. Stratum consciousness-identification and commitment to the interests and ideology of the stratum
5. Stratum action-action of behalf of stratum.

MC middle class

<u>Note</u>: source,Morris & Murphy study; addendums:1) I would expect possible empirical combinations of 1&2,and possibly 3&4 to obtain from research; 2) I would suggest looking for a branch development of identification with <u>another</u> class than would be assigned by objective criteria to the respondant,branching off after 2 above,i.e. examples of identifying with MC values while having lower class placement,or less frequently,LC values with MC placement.

(LC) lower class

OTHER VARIABLES TO BE DETERMINED: Strength of "racial solidarity"-with national,local Negro leaders, racial organizations,etc; SIZE of weekly income and its SOURCE,i.e. from WORK CONTEXTS: 1) skilled,semi or unskilled;2)most important,working with a) other Negroes,for Negro MC,b) with other Negroes & whites,under white management,c)along for whites-domestics,etc; 3) unemployed, how many experiences of RESIDENCE HISTORY,did they leave home?; ~~[illegible]~~ leave home in another state, colony or city in state, part of Wake County, or stay home, SES, occupation, education, AGE, frequency of church attendance.

SES = social economic status

February 18, 1963

Mr. John Wheeler, President
Mechanics and Farmers Bank
Durham, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wheeler:

I have received word from Mr. Althauser that he has nothing to complain of with respect to the cooperation he has received from DCNA in researching his reports for us. In the light of what Mr. Althauser says we think now that either I misconstrued what Mr. Branton said or he misconstrued what you said about Althauser's work for us.

Please accept our apologies for any implied criticism of yourself, Mr. Boulware or DCNA.

Very truly yours,

Jack Minnis
Director of Research

JM:jl

February 18, 1963

Mr. Robert Althauser
MCG Box 1109
Durham, North Carolina

Dear Bob:

In view of your description of the cooperation afforded you by Mr. Wheeler and Mr. Boulware of the DCNA it appears that the breakdown in communications took place elsewhere than in DCNA. We are pleased to learn that you are making progress with your report and that we were wrong in thinking that your research may have been impeded by lack of cooperation fromDCNA.

When I did my study of political communication in New Orleans I attempted to find out what proportinn of the adult community had ever made contact with the political structure, how that contact was made, and what motivated it. I asked the respondents whether they had ever tried to get a local official to do something for them. Those who answered in the affirmative were then asked whom they first got in touch with and why that person.

At another point in the questionnaire they were asked whom they would get in touch with if they wanted to get something done.

I discovered that persons who proceeded through a political organization or who approached a politician whose official duties did not necessarily include the matter in question usually were satisfied with the results of their efforts. On the other hand, most of the people who simply telephoned or visited a department functionary in Cith Hall were convinced that the political structure was ill-designed to meet the needs which they placed upon it. I have not yet gotten

around to making the correlations that will be necessary for speculating about the significance of these findings. However, I do think that they have considerable significance for a study of opinion leadership. If you think of politicians as one class of opinion leaders then you can envision an informal structure of individuals functioning as block workers, precinct captains, ward leaders and public officials. On the other hand, you would have to envision, I think, a different structure leading to contact of bureaucratic functionaries.

I hope to be able, from a closer analysis of my results, to develop some speculation on the kinds of people who provide the opinion leadership which directs persons toward making an initial contact with the bureaucracy rather than with the politicians.

I don't know that this will be of any help to you but if you want me to explore it further let me know and I'll be glad to do so.

Very truly yours,

Jack Minnis
Director of Research

JM:jl

February 15, 1962

FEB 18 1962

Dear Jack:

Private Althauser reporting in Sir. Yes Sir, I am still here. Well, you see, sir, it's not that I've lost interest just because you haven't been on my tail. But I just haven't gotten very far along, due to the...as you say-"press of other things" (and not your"press" but mine).

I am frankly a little puzzled with Wheeler's apparent communication to Mr. Branton. I called Wheeler first, the week before Christmas vacation. He was very busy with holiday bank rush, etc., could I wait till after the new year? I may be in error here, but I think I called him just after vacation and he was still tied up. Then finishing four papers and three exams occupied my time until the mid-term break; during the break I flew to Pittsburgh Pa. to take care of a very pressing personal matter(like independent finance from a Grandmother for further, unsupported graduate study at any institution). Upon returning, the start of the Raleigh study project occupied an enormous amount of time, delaying important letters to graduate schools even. But after I got back from Pittsburgh, I phoned Wheeler, I believe on a Saturday.Mon. He suggested Tuesday and asked, as in December when he subsequently found himself tied up, for me to call back Tuesday to "reconfirm" my appointment. I did so, and he was free, coming back from a meeting accross town at 2:20; I had a class at 3:30, but it was plenty of time. He was fairly friendly, and I started in a rather unprofessional manner by showing him, (page one town off(where it says something about new leaders being generated in the VRP and differences between leaders) the three pages of information I had to collect. He immediately began to gather some of the necessary material and get at other info. He hauled out the bank book stubs for the money spent since his July report. It was almost entirely spent for IBM data processing of names and addresses. Of the I believe $2000 (notes elsewhere), he has spent very little so far (like around $500), just like a good banker. He also got out the one big newspaper add, which I measured and copied, etc. Very routine and leisurely. I even offered to finish copying the ad outside his office at the end of the hour or so, but he was in no hurry to resume his own business, and I stayed in the office to finish. He mentioned a report Boulware had written and sent in to Branton. Perhaps he was just a little puzzled as to why I was writing up a project that had been partially reported on by both he (to the extent of a money spent) statement) and Boulware.

But I most certainly do not understand his not knowing "that you were doing the work for us until you appeared in his office." When I called in Dec. , I fully introduced myself and said I had been asked to do a report for SRC, and that Mr. Boulware had suggested I start with him. When I returned the call in January and February, I started each time to reintroduce myself, but he cut me off each time with a "I know, I know." So I certainly had cause to think he knew what I was up to. As for a breakdown of communication, I guess Boulware did not find it necessary to call Wheeler, after I first talked to Boulware.

I wouldn't go so far as to say that I have not received full cooperation. The delay has been principally my doing, and I am not too sure it was terribly wise to send Wheeler a carbon of a letter suggesting otherwise, unless his letter to Branton was really disturbing. The interview with Wheeler did not go in such a poor fashion as to suggest that he might write Branton to find out who this Duke character was.

My next step, is back to Boulware, to see this report of his which he sent you. I see no need of gathering the same information independently of this report; only to check the report out with field workers-my next step after Boulware. I am hoping that appointments with them will not be so competitively arranged as with Boulware and Wheeler, during their business hours most likely.

So far, from what Wheeler told me, it looks like a very dry report, with little to be analytical about. Wheeler's comments on the make-up of the DCNA were interesting. According to him it is completely above board, clean, democratic, etc, representing a

~~eo~~ true cross section of Durham Negroes. It seems ~~to~~ so democratic that "we sometime have to hold our breath" (or something like that) when it is in danger of being commandeered by outsidess. They have this interesting arrangement where, whenever the 75 or 80 member EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE meets, ANYBODY who comes, in addition to the committee, has a vote. This goes even when this committee is considering endorsing various candidates,etc. I intend to get over to NCC to talk with a personal contact (through Dr. Kolb of Carleton, who knows a guy in the Soc. dept) and some of the unendorsed, more progressive Negro candidates there abiding. Then we may have a chance to check out Mr. Wheeler's democratic baby. But as far as the VRP goes, it still looks very routine and dry. If I were a detective, I should not feel very challanged by this one....

I see where Dorothy gets this beguiling little turn of a phrase which runs likes this: I know you are very busy; on the other hand I would like a reply. I assume this is prompt enuf??

It isn't really too late to ~~amek~~ make comments, except that it has been too late for so long now that it will be too late the next time you write. I typed out the revised questionaire this evening, before getting to your letter. I'll just have to cross my fingers and hope I didn't repeat your mistakes.

Sincerely,

Bob

Bob Althauser
Director of (my own) Research

file DCNA

March 28, 1963

Mr. Bob Athauser
MGC-Box 1109
Duke Station
Durham, North Carolina

Dear Bob:

I am enclosing a copy of the report we received from DCNA describing their project. I have not reread it at this time, but I remember being struck by its generality at the time I did read it.

You inquired about the use we have in mind for your report. As I think you know, we have supported a large number of such projects throughout the South. These projects have been conducted largely by persons whose primary interest has been in quantitative results rather than a qualitative analysis. However, those results were obtained when our research interest centered primarily on the analysis, as well as the results. We have had some difficulty in fulfilling our research objectives, and have had to commission analyses of programs where we could find the persons with the necessary skills for such analysis, who are willing to report to us at a cost which would not exceed our limited budget. Thus, it would be the purpose of your report to inform this office of the techniques, both as to organization, and as to instrumentation which were used to obtain the results that were obtained. Your report will add materially to the book which we shall publish at the completion of this project.

Since you are close to the situation in Durham, I think you should make the decision on the conclusions to be drawn from your research, keeping in mind that our purpose is to determine the extent to which the methods and techniques used to organize the DCNA project and to implement it were successful. What were the problems of organization and implementation? Which organization problems were successfully resolved, and how? If leadership was not a problem, then this is an unusual situation, and we would certainly want to

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know under what conditions, and due to what circumstances the leadership problems, which so frequently rend the Negro community, were not present, and did not develop in the Durham project. If leadership-harmony and cooperation prevailed in Durham, was this due to the dominance of one individual, and what was the basis of this domination?

We would be greatly interested in having this watched - how the DCNA operates during the upcoming elections. However, if you feel that doing so might interfere with your other commitments, by all means, terminate research at your convenience.

I hope this answers your questions, and if it does not, try me again.

Best regards,

Jack Minnis
Director of Research

JM:js

Bob Athauser

MAR 14 1963

MGC-Box 1109
Duke Station
Durham, N.C.

March 11, 1963

Dear Jack:

I am at the point now where I could use a little assistance and a directory opinion or two from you. I talked with Executive Secretary Boulware and Dr. Joe Himes(NCC Sociology) last week, and have the names of precenct captains from the former, thus indirectly gaining access to some people who canvassed last summer. However, Boulware wrote a report of some sort on the canvassing procedure and submitted it to , I guess, Mr. Branton. When I talked with him, he had not yet uncovered his copy but promised to shortly.

So I am waiting to see this before quizzing a precinct Captain or two and some field workers because 1) there's no point in starting from scratch; 2) with the report in hand I can expand on and check it out. If you can find this report I'd appreciate its dispatch to me.

The other 'problem' is direction. It would help me in writing this thing to know what use you had in mind for it. May I assume this is to be some sort of report to the Field Foundation, or to the higher-up's of SRC. I cannot imagine who else might be interested in the sordid details of last summer's operation except perhaps the White Citizens Council?

More than this however, I can now see the point approaching where, with a few more interviews I will get the me the basic information you outlined in the research suggestion or whatever it was. And there is really nothing to analyze. I have however been pursuing the nuances of the 'power structure' of the Durham Negro community and in particular, the Durham Committee on Negro Affairs. So far after talking only with the Committee's top representatives, it, of course, looks like one big happy family. But I have two people I thought I'd interview yet who would be very likely to provide me with a picture somewhat less rosy. However, before I see them, I feel I had better read a book I have run across on the subject of the Durham Negro power structure: ~~Margaret Bur-~~ Elaine Burgess' NEGRO LEADERSHIP IN A SOUTHERN CITY. I am sure I will be referred to this by these two people and it would be best if I could check it out and probably confirm it in the interview. But the relationship between this subject and last summer's Voter Registration Project begings to become obscure to me at this point. So I ask the question above about the use to which my report will be put. As far as I can tell now, the VRP had no visable effect in changing Durham's power structure. They succeeded in reregistering all (supposedly) the dependable voters previously registered (since everyone was wiped off the books before the two week campaign last summer) and a few new ones: the number before registered being about the same as the present number. This is the only connection I can see between the power structure subject and the VRP. Nor do I expect to uncover very much more if that, than Burgess has on the Durham Negro Leadership.

There is a city council and mayoralty election this spring which I might watch; I could hit a few DCNA meetings, watch how they endorse candidates, etc., read Burgess and pursue the power thing. This will put the report into mid-summer before it is completed. If I finish up the dry facts, the precenct capt or two(they were very dry people in Raleigh) and check out Boulware's report and call it a report, I hope to be done earlier, as writing this MA thesis in May, IBM analysis in April, on top of every_thing else is going to be real fun. So what is your wish, sire??

Sincerely,

Bob

Same letter to:

Mr. Ellis D. Jones
415 Dowd St.
Durham, N. C.

May 7, 1963

Mr. John H. Wheeler
President
Mechanics and Farmers Bank
Box 1932
Durham, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wheeler:

Our research man in Durham, Bob Althauser, would like to observe rather closely the functioning of DCNA during the up-coming elections. His interest, of course, is in connection with the analysis of the crash registration program which he is doing for us. We shall greatly appreciate it if you will extend him your fullest cooperation.

Very truly yours,

Jack Minnis
Director of Research

JM:js

cc; Mr. Bob Althauser
MGC Box 1109
Duke Station
Durham, North Carolina

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MGC Box 1109
Duke Station
Durham, N.Carolina

MAY 4 1963

May 4, 1963

Mr. Jack Minnis
Voter Education Project
Room 206, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Jack:

The Durham election season is in progress, with the first primary being held today. And while I think I've got the matter ironed out tonight at(Fri night) the DCNA Meeting, I think a"full confidence in Althauser letter" to certain people may yet be useful, in view of their perpetually failing memory.

Despite one interview and a recent visit to a DCNA meeting, Boulware took me for a Durham Herald reporter when I called earlier this week, about my attending meetings in which candidates were to be endorsed. But even after reminding him about who I was, I was somewhat "discouraged" from attending the (I know now) crutial meeting of DCNA's Political Committee which determined the candidates "recommended" to the full DNCA meeting tonight(and passed in 20 seconds-C.Wright Mills would have had a conniption fit)). Boulware told earlier this week that, in so many words, those with final say in the matter of who attends the Political Committee meetings would not allow me in. I did not push the matter further, since I DID want to get into the full DCNA meeting, where I expected SOME discussion. And when I got there, Boulware, obviously instructed by Wheeler, came back, got my name and address, and again reminded me about the need to keep the endorsements from the public. On the one hand I can understand their uneasiness,tho not their failure of memory of what I spent last summer doing and WHO after all "hired" me to make this report; but it is irritating to even be asked about my keeping the confidences of the meeting.

As Boulware put it afterward, there was some question about you're being here.

After the meeting failed to produced, by its shortness, any discussion to note, and when it was quite clear to me that EVERYTHING had in fact gone on in the Political Committee(they had a hair-pullin' time deciding on their endorsements),I approached Boulware and Ellis Jones, chairman of the Political Committee afterwards. I made it quite clear I wanted very definitely to attend subsequent Political Committee meetings, particularly the ones coming up next week. May 4 is only the primary eliminating one of the seven candidates(one Negro). The most important deliberations will preceed the main primary May 18. The number one issue as I see it is whether DCNA should back exactly three candidates(one votes for three) or one or two shot vote-to ensure the victory of the Negro(at large) candidate. DCNA lost their last election by backing too many candidates. Some leaders fear white reaction(white Dems won't vote for our man too) if they do block vote for one man.

And they indicated I could come.

So I suggest you write both Wheeler and Ellis D. Jones, 415 Dowd St., Durham.* If you can send me the third carbon, then I can use it on other possible informants as a sort of letter of official introduction.

Sincerely yours,

Bob

Bob Althauser

* If you could do this fairly quickly so I can be sure of getting into the next round of meetings, I'd appreciate it

THE GANDHI SOCIETY FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, INC.

The Gandhi Society for Human Rights, Inc. is an auxiliary service agency primarily working through other organizations, avoiding competition with them or duplication of function. Its form and purposes are those of a foundation and therefore it is neither a mass membership body nor is it an action organization. It is non-partisan, and will take no stand on specific legislation.

The Society is incorporated in the District of Columbia and its purposes as a foundation are such that when carried out in conformity with the applicable provisions of the Internal Revenue Code and Regulations of the Treasury Department it will be entitled to tax exemption.

The Gandhi Society for Human Rights, Inc. will carry on its work within three main areas:

1. Legal defense and aid of a specialized character:

a. Front line emergency assistance in lower courts only, particularly where non-violent protests involve mass arrests and imprisonment.

b. Limited work in appeals courts where a threat to an entire leadership exists or consequences may be so far-reaching that the whole non-violent movement is imperiled. An example of this are the libel cases in Alabama which if undefeated would bankrupt civil rights leaders and major national news media such as the New York Times and C.B.S. Television.

c. The organization of a network of lawyers prepared to handle civil rights cases without fee or for modest fees which reflect the public service character of the undertaking. A systematic campaign among members of the bar will be

developed to discover lawyers willing to handle cases in the many regions of the South in which presently there exist great reluctance and hesitancy on the part of local counsel to take civil rights cases. This will involve, among other things, working with law schools to select students whose social commitment will encourage them to settle in states and communities where their services as "lawyer missionaries" will fill desperately unmet needs. Scholarships, grants, and assistance from older bar members will be required for such pioneering projects.

2. Educational materials as tools for organizations working in the field of action:

a. Simple pamphlets on the importance of voter registration; on techniques of community organizations to develop increased registration.

b. Media for news coverage of the movement, such as a Newsletter of Martin Luther King, Jr., which would simultaneously provide southern civic and voting groups with a broad knowledge of developing actions and also keep supporting groups in the North aware of factual developments and supply interpretations of their significance and direction.

c. Provide vehicles for discussion of the basic issues and problems of the movement. No independent magazine presently exists in which the leadership can express ideas and find a forum for exchange of opinion.

d. Publish under the imprint of the Society or encourage other publishers to issue books and pamphlets containing basic speeches and studies of civil rights leaders.

e. Disseminate varied materials on the philosophy and practice of non-violence.

f. Organize national and regional conferences, public meetings and workshops on the multitude of questions facing the civil rights movement today.

The educational program is designed to fill one of the most critical unmet needs of this movement of 20,000,000 people - the systematic, planned development of a literature to raise the level of thought, to stimulate new concepts and generally to be a crucible for new creative ideas. A singular weakness of the civil rights movement for almost 100 years is the paucity of literature. In the anti-slavery period in the middle 19th century, there were far more newspapers, books, and pamphlets, relatively, than exist today despite the growth in our cultural and industrial life.

If this Society were to do nothing more than create the mechanism for extensive published materials it will make an historic contribution. It should be noted that no organization exists today with this objective in the civil rights field. A knowledge of Negro history past and contemporary, vital for the Negro's development of self-understanding and pride, is impossible when so little of the creative thinking of the movement finds its way into print. The understanding of white Americans of the nature of the problem and its solutions is equally dependent upon media, and a base for a literature. It is worth recalling that the American Revolution could not have developed without the writings of Jefferson, Franklin, Paine, the Committees of Correspondence, the Federalist papers and the large body of theoretical writings which were the foundations for the democratic philosophy. There is no corresponding

literature today concerning civil rights, although many millions more are affected than were during the Revolutionary era. The Society believes that it is essential to the development of a significant self-improvement movement among Negroes that there exist a literature through which criticism, comment and review is made possible. Such a self-improvement campaign will only be possible when a foundation for its growth is laid in educational material of all forms.

3. Financial:

a. To assist other organizations in specific projects.

b. To implement the aforesaid principles and purposes and to carry its own staff and specific projects.

To do these things, financial resources must be developed on a realistically extensive scale. A basic concept in fund raising will be the development of resource areas not presently contributing to other organizations in the field. The work of this Society cannot be considered properly conducted if it finances itself at the expense of others. It has been proved many times that responsible and creative fund raising does not involve redivision of one existing supply of money. If a program is correct and needed, new support always can be found and in many cases support from some institutions and individuals already contributing can be enlarged, so that there is overall growth of resources. In the past few years three new organizations were born in the civil rights field, each of which raised budgets from $50,000 to $600,000 annually, and nevertheless pre-existing organizations reported a growth rather than a diminishing of their

incomes. To paraphrase a French aphorism "the appetite grows with the eating," fund raising enlarges with the asking. Two indispensable conditions are required for proper development along these lines: (1) the programs must be genuinely needed and (2) no commitments must be sought by denigrating the work of any other organizations.

For those who may ask if it would not be wiser to encourage all funds to go to a single existing group, the answer is that contributions are never susceptible of control and direction by so simplified a method. There are numerous donors who are satisfied to give for only specifically tailored programs, and as such seek a vehicle which has designed its operative program along the particular lines they favor. Our foundation will develop its main thrust toward specialized areas presently unfilled, and its appeal will be receptive to those who feel the meeting of these concrete needs can advance the moral and democratic goals of the civil rights crusade.

Our Society does not seek to be a new general civil rights organization. It recognizes and respects the work of those organizations which are now conducting effective and varied campaigns. It will seek to develop new tools and new forces which will strengthen existing organizations, both directly and indirectly. In this manner, therefore, it will both add a new and independent quality as well as buttress the operative programs of existing forces.

THE GANDHI SOCIETY FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, INC.

Board of Directors (List incomplete)

Dr. John C. Bennett, Dean of faculty, Union Theological Seminary; an editor, Christianity and Crisis

John Cogley, Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, Santa Barbara, California; former editor, Commonweal

Joseph Curran, President, National Maritime Union of America

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Ralph Helstein, President, United Packinghouse Workers of America

Dr. Mordecai Johnson, President Emeritus, Howard University

Theodore W. Kheel, Arbitrator, New York City Transit Systems; special consultant to the Vice-President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity; special counsel to the Gandhi Society for Human Rights

Rev. Thomas Kilgore, Jr., Pastor, Friendship Baptist Church, Brooklyn, N.Y.

Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., President, Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Honorary President, Gandhi Society for Human Rights

William M. Kunstler, Professor of Law, New York Law School; author; special counsel to A.C.L.U. and C.O.R.E., Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Gandhi Society for Human Rights

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A. Phillip Randolph, President, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters; Vice President, AFL - CIO

Rev. Sandy F. Ray, President, New York State Baptist Convention

Mrs. Libby Holman Reynolds

Cleveland Robinson, Treasurer, District 65, Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union, National Vice President, Negro American Labor Council

Harper Sibley, Jr., Treasurer, Lafayette-Morrison Housing Corp.

John I. Snyder, President, U.S. Industries, Inc.

Harry H. Wachtel, Special counsel to Gandhi Society for Human Rights; senior partner, Wachtel & Michaelson, Esqs.

Mrs. Peter Weiss, Director, African American Students Foundation; wife of President of American Committee on Africa

Max E. Youngstein, Executive Vice President, Cinerama

JUL 12 1963 WB

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GREATER ATLANTA
Council On Human Relations
Telephone 525-6469
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

MRS. ELIZA PASCHALL
Executive Director
MR. THOMAS McPHERSON, JR.
Assistant Director

July 11, 1963

Mr. Wiley Branton
Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Branton:

We congratulate you on having been invited to the White House to share with other leaders in your field the concern of the President in the matter of racial desegregation. We are sure that all the Atlantans who attended these several meetings made a contribution to the discussions. We feel that Atlanta could benefit from a report of these meetings and suggestions about our own situation in the Greater Atlanta area.

We are inviting you and others from Atlanta (who were listed at the White House as having attended) to a dinner meeting of the members of the Greater Atlanta Council on Human Relations and community at large on Monday, July 22, 7:p.m., in the Hearth Room at Stouffeur's Restaurant. We hope that you will be able to accept our invitation to come and share in an informal discussion the benefits of the White House meetings and what can be done in Atlanta and what Atlantans can do to help in the total overall picture.

As one of the Lawyers at the Conference, Mr. Donald Hollowell has agreed to speak for 6 minutes. You and other Lawyers, as participants in the larger audience, are asked to share your views on the Conference vs. Atlanta. For the other leaders (Businessmen, Laborers, etc.) the same plan will be effected.

Sincerely yours,

Eliza Paschall
T.M.

(Mrs.) Eliza Paschall
Executive Director

EP/jb

1 - agencies - Greater Atlanta Council

REPORT FOR DECEMBER 1962-July 1963

At this slightly beyond midpoint in the Council year and with the fall program to plan for, it seems a good time for a brief report on the activities of the Greater Atlanta Council on Human Relations since November 30, 1962 and some prospectus for future Council activities.

With the increased activity in the whole field of human relations and more specifically race relations, on the national as well as the local scene, one might well ask about each organization, "is it necessary?" The unique feature of the Council is its truly interracial nature and the diversity of its membership, which at the same time offers the greatest challenge and the greatest difficulties. Our members live in all parts of the metropolitan area. They are all ages, and from all economic groups. Their schedules vary widely. Some want to be deeply involved in the Council's activities. Others want to join as an endorsement and to lend financial aid but do not want to be expected to "participate". All want information, which is not readily available through normal channels of communication.

All activities of the Council are guided by the desire (1) to use the resources of the group and the individuals who compose it to help to remove the restricitions which still result in legal and/or practiced racial segregation, and (2) to provide opportunities and encouragement for individuals to participate in an integrated society, after the restrictions have been removed. It often becomes a matter of priorities in deciding on those affairs which are undertaken from the Council's office. The old familiar patterns of organization do not always fit social change. We are all pioneering together...It is sometimes exhausting but always exciting.

Since November, 1962, we have:

--Held 5 monthly luncheons at the YMCA, with average attendance of 25.

--Held a special luncheon when Mr. Sanjuan of the U. S. State Department spoke to more than 250 on Civil Rights and foreign policy.

--Held special evening meeting when a panel of 5 reported to more than 100 additional individuals and organizations.

--Divided total membership into telephone committees for quick personal contact.

--Programmed visits of 75 foreign visitors to Atlanta for the U. S. State Department through the Governmental Affairs Institute and 37 foreign visitors to Atlanta for YMCA Committee on Friendly Relations Among Foreign Students (Each visitor has had at least 1 visit in private home, usually of Council member.)

--Added 64 new members

--Conducted finance campaign involving 45 members who contacted approximately 275 prospects and collected $2,625.50 in contributions or pledges.

--Engaged in special programs as follows:

Education: In Atlanta--Personal contact with all Atlanta transfer students; arranged for 12 tutors for transfer students as requested; arranged meeting of local educators to consider academic records of transfer students; requested meeting of Negro high school counselors with white college representatives in area which school officials arranged; maintained contact with Board of Education and administration through personal interviews and correspondence; set up special committee to work with transfer students; accomplished desegregation of Smith-Hughes Vocational School by enrollment of GACHR staff member; requested School Board to desegregate voluntarily; encouraged and submitted petitions to Board; maintained contact with individuals interested in transfers.

Housing: In Atlanta--Worked with other community groups in Peyton Wall situation, including community meetings, consultations with public officials, efforts to meet with white residents; arranged series of meetings (held at Quaker House) where Negroes and whites discussed aspects of housing (total attendance about 75). In DeKalb--Maintained close contact with groups concerned with urban renewal program and appointed certain members to consult with same to help interpret important differences of opinion. In Decatur--Same as DeKalb.

Social Needs: Appointed special committee of members to work with Atlanta chapter of American Association of Social Workers; consulted with officials of community organizations in effort to understand policies; Board of Atlanta Council adopted statement urging desegregation of services and staffs (including United Appeal), reported to members in Newsletter.

Public Accommodations: Ten to twelve members involved in interviews with restaurant operators during winter; individual members assigned to patronize restaurants during "control periods;" continuous efforts to obtain more segregation in eating places and in hotels, through individual conversations, participation in "official" meetings, providing information to other organizations for use in their programs, cooperation with other groups (NAACP, Committee on Appeal for Human Rights, etc.)

Neighborhood Movies: Formulated agreement with suburban theatre operators to desegregate (effective August 5, 1963) in cooperation with Committee on Appeal for Human Rights.

Employment: With other groups, published and circulated list of Atlanta firms with government contracts, continuously seeking information about conditions of employment, maintaining contact with other groups working on broad front including training, labor, etc.

Student Council: In cooperation with National Student Association, arranged for meetings of high school and college students; worked with Student Committee to consider ways of coordinating various youth organizations in area.

Health and Medical Care: Made survey of hospital and ambulance services (reported in Newsletters); maintained contact with health officials and private, professional personnel.

Cooperation with Public and Private Groups: Much time of the staff and officers has been spent in informal contacts with officials and other private groups, in advising and assisting in those countless matters which are handled "quietly" --one of the most important services rendered by the Council but one of the most difficult to report adequately.

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TO APPEAR IN CONCERT....LENA HORNE....(and a host of other concert artists) August 20, 1963, 8:00 p.m., at the City Auditorium. Benefit of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Tickets may be purchased through the Lena Horne Committee, 233 Auburn Avenue, N.E. (522-0952).

Balcony Seats: $2.00, $3.00, and $3.50
Downstairs: $5.00, $7.00, and $10.00

NEWSLETTER

GREATER ATLANTA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS — 5 FORSYTH STREET, N.W. — ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

To: Members of the Greater Atlanta Council on Human Relations
From: Mrs. Clifton Hoffman, Chairman

I hope that you will read carefully the attached report and prospectus. I hope that as you read them, you will consider where you can and would like to fit into this program and will return the enclosed check sheet to the office.

During the recent finance campaign, it came to our attention that there is still some confusion about the Greater Atlanta and the Georgia Councils.

MEMBERSHIP: Let me repeat: If you are a member of either, you are a member of both. In 1961, both Councils agreed that the Atlanta Council should have responsibility for handling memberships in the Greater Atlanta area and we operate on that basis; i.e., that membership notices, dues, etc., should originate in our office, and we send a monthly report, with names and proper share of dues to the Georgia office. (This procedure was confirmed at a meeting in February of an Atlanta committee with Mrs. Nancy Collinson, Membership chairman for the Georgia Council)

CONTRIBUTIONS: Finances other than membership dues are completely separate. Contributions to either Council are retained by that Council. Contributions to the Atlanta Council, however, may be made payable to the Georgia Council for tax purposes but should be marked for the Greater Atlanta Council.

PROGRAM: Matters of a local nature are dealt with on the local level by the Greater Atlanta Council. Matters of a state nature (state parks, state buildings, etc.) are dealt with on the state level by the Georgia Council. Questions or suggestions of a state nature from Atlanta members are passed on to the Georgia Council staff and officers. We in turn receive questions and suggestions about local matters from the Georgia Council.

I HOPE TO SEE YOU AT THE ATLANTA COUNCIL PICNIC IN PIEDMONT PARK ON AUGUST 19, 1963, 6:00-9:00 p.m.

1- Gr Atl. Council

PROSPECTUS IN HUMAN RELATIONS IN GREATER ATLANTA

"...The elimination of segregation, which is slavery's stepchild, is a challenge to all of us to make every American free in fact as well as in theory -- and again to establish our nation as the true champion of the free world..." The above was stated by Mayor Allen on Friday, July 26, 1963, to the Senate Commerce Committee.

In spite of the progress made in Atlanta, Negro citizens still have far less chance for success than their fellow white citizens. The United States Census Bureau compiled for the Greater Atlanta Council on Human Relations the following conditions of Atlanta Negroes as compared with conditions of Negroes throughout the country as reported by the President in his radio and television speech on June 11, 1963 (See Table below):

Chances For A Negro As Compared to A White

	National	Atlanta Area
To complete high school	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$
To complete college	$\frac{1}{3}$	$\frac{1}{3}$
To become unemployed	2	$1\frac{1}{2}$
To earn $10,000 a year	$\frac{1}{7}$	$\frac{1}{30}$
To become a professional man	$\frac{1}{3}$	$\frac{1}{4}$

Any actions to be undertaken by the Greater Atlanta Council on Human Relations should be considered in view of the following:

1. In the political and geographical limits of the city of Atlanta, most facilities and institutions under public control are now legally

desegregated.

2. There is comparatively little "integrated" use of these facilities.

3. There is still a great degree of segregation in privately operated facilities, institutions, agencies and organizations.

4. Atlanta is in effect an island in the center of a segregated community. There is little desegregation, legal or real, in the metropolitan area outside the city limits. (Atlanta pop., 504,000; outside, 1,082,000)

5. The "climate" in Atlanta and in parts of the metropolitan area is that it is acceptable to be against segregation but it is not yet acceptable to be in favor of integration (e.g., all Negro groups are more acceptable at desegregated spots than interracial groups, because interracial groups make " them" mad and are more likely to bring on unpleasantness. This is reflected in the pattern of "negotiations," between white officials, public or private, and the Negroes who want access to some facility or service, without white "lay" representation.

The Council has participated in programs to encourage legal and public desegregation. It has a unique opportunity to encourage integration.

The following summary has been compiled to assist the Board and members of the Council in deciding where the energies and resources of the Council should be expended and to assist members in finding a job which will fit their interests and their available time when they say "I want to do something!"

COUNCIL ORGANIZATION

Council Membership: During the past year, we have held monthly luncheon meetings, a day long workshop, 2 evening membership meetings for a

membership and members from all parts of the community geographically, and with all kinds of work schedules. It has been suggested that we need evening as well as luncheon monthly meetings. Suggestions: Plan specific programs of recruitment, orientation, involvement, meetings. Consider regular evening meetings; more informal affairs, such as open house, etc. Public Relations: We publish a monthly Newsletter and send information to news media as events occurred. Suggestions: Select and prepare material for Newsletter. Interpret the Council to public; plan procedure for handling public relations.

Office Volunteers: We have relied on individuals who have come, some regularly, some on call. Suggestions: A chairman of office volunteers who can schedule people for such regular jobs as mailing the Newsletter and for special mailings, for routine office work (such as membership due notices, clippings, etc.)

Research: It becomes increasingly important to have accurate, up-to-date information on the history of the major social change through which Atlanta and environs is now passing. Suggestions: Set up and maintain research files; find individuals available for special jobs, possibly to assist other committees in special areas.

EDUCATION

1. Atlanta public schools: Next year, there will be 118 new and holdover Negro transfer students in high schools. Suggestions: Letter to each student offering friendship and services of the Council. Meetings with students by school, by class, etc. Efforts to bring students together

with comparable white students before school starts, to make contact between transfer students and youth groups such as white church group of same denomination, etc. White "contact family" for transfer students. Tutoring service as desired by transfer students.

2. DeKalb Schools: No answer from DeKalb Board or Superintendent to Council's request for voluntary desegregation. Suggestions: Continued contacts with groups and individuals in DeKalb to urge voluntary deseregation of DeKalb schools. Conferences with school officials. Contacts with Negro students and parents who might be affected by such a move.

3. Fulton Schools: No move thus far from Fulton Board or Superintendent in this area. Present plan of assignment does not mention race but schools and staff are segregated. Suggestions: More complete and up-to-date information about Fulton schools. Contacts with school people about desegregation. Contact community groups and individuals who might be affected by such.

4. Private Schools: Trinity Presbyterian is the only private school with an announced policy of desegregation. Suggestions: Obtain accurate information about policies of Westminister, Pace and other private schools in the area and encourage desegregation.

5. Colleges: All will now accept Negro applicants. Emory will have several Negro students next year.
Suggestions: Encourage routine application procedure. See that eligible Negroes know about the courses at Smith-Hughes. Grady Hospital Technical School (X-ray and Lab) will accept Negro applicants but have had none that we know of. This information should be publicized among Negroes.

7. Special Education: A certain amount of special education is provided by public school systems in the metropolitan area but this is on a segregated basis. Privately operated institutions for special education do not serve Negroes on the same basis as whites. Suggestions: Obtain accurate information about programs for mentally retarded, deaf, blind offered in public school systems in the area. Obtain accurate information about institutions such as Atlanta Speech School (diagnostic clinic takes Negro clients, Negro student has applied, this needs to be followed up); Fairhaven, operated by Atlanta Association for Mentally Retarded, white; Negro mentally retarded children have one class operated at Bethlehem Center by Maude Daniels chapter for Mentally Retarded, small group of Negro parents, with limited resources; Cerebral Palsy school for whites only. Evaluate information. Make information available to those concerned. Discuss with policy groups making resources available to all.

HOUSING

There was good response to efforts of the Council to bring together whites and Negroes to discuss housing needs during time of "the wall" in the winter of 1963. Since removal of the wall and agreement between Negro and white realtors, there is no longer an emergency in this area, but now is the time to do more general education work to prevent more "tension areas." Suggestions: 1) With drives through town and use of maps and consultation with realtors, determine present racial characteristics of neighborhoods, in order to spot areas in which transition is developing. 2) In Peyton Forest, check in neighborhood and city directory those whites living next to houses which have been sold to Negroes, plan way to contact

them and encourage them not to sell and to stay in the neighborhood. 3) Explore possibility of voluntary integration of some neighborhoods. 4) In Decatur, continue to work with groups on urban renewal, interpreting needs and activities of those to be relocated and trying to involve the larger community which is not directly affected by business or political interests, discuss with appropriate persons attitudes towards Negroes moving to new residential areas in Decatur. 5) In DeKalb, obtain facts on urban renewal program and make them available to larger community.

Check with Urban League, etc., on conditions in other parts of metropolitan area. Plan tours for committee and members in good and bad neighborhoods and in Negro and white communities so that persons living in each will become familiar with other (e.g., get whites to know Atlanta University neighborhood, Negroes to know white college neighborhoods). Become familiar with agreement between Negro and white realtors and keep in touch with both. The President's Executive Order regarding equal opportunity in housing has produced no change in policies of local Housing Authorities.

HOSPITAL AND MEDICAL CARE

Grady Hospital still segregates patients and duplicates services. The Hospital Authority has appointed Negro physicians and Negro interns within the past year. Some private hospitals now take Negro patients under certain conditions. Several new Hill-Burton Hospitals in the area serve Negroes, but under what conditions? Suggestions: At Grady: Find out if Negro staff and interns are restricted to Negro patients. Circulate information about extent of racial segregation in Grady services. Observe

meetings of Hospital Authority. In private hospitals, determine conditions under which Negroes are served, if any (Segregation sometimes means Negroes not served at all, sometimes means Negroes and whites served separately). Determine under what conditions Negroes are employed. Circulate information. Consult with appropriate persons about desirable changes in policies and practices. Hill-Burton Hospitals: Same as for private hospitals.

PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

Segregation still exists in groups such as the Bar (Atlanta Bar Association and Gate City Bar) educational and professional organizations (Atlanta Teachers Association and Gate City Association), PTA (there is also a "colored" PTA), Dental Society has no reference to race but an applicant must have endorsements of 3 members, and so far no Negro dentists have obtained this. Council has worked with small group of Negro and white dentists, etc. The Chamber of Commerce has one Negro member to date (and that was by accident). The Junior Chamber of Commerce will accept Negroes. Suggestions: Get facts about each profession. Bring together Negroes and whites belonging to each on common projects.

PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS

There is great confusion regarding desegregation of restaurants and hotels and a great reluctance on the part of anyone to state a definite policy. Suggestions: Continue to work with all groups in encouraging desegregation of all. Contact hotels regarding "limited" policy and restaurants not yet desegregated. Keep accurate information of those open and circulate it to members. Support those who do desegregate. Survey suburban area to determine policies and take appropriate follow-up steps.

Work to prevent "resegregation" of facilities such as swimming pools, etc.

SOCIAL NEEDS

Informal surveys show that the majority of private social agencies practice segregation, both of staff and clients, as does the public welfare agency. Suggestions: Become acquainted with new Director of United Appeal, new Director of Community Council. Continue cooperation with National Association of Social Workers. Ask agencies for information about policies. Compare services available for Negroes and whites, also staff opportunities. Make appropriate distribution of policy statement of Board. Study operation of Department of F & C Services and take advantage of new state policies.

Performing Arts: Practically all audiences in Atlanta are desegregated but few performing groups. No Negro participation in Atlanta Symphony, Atlanta Choral Guild, other local music, dance, drama groups. Suggestions: Get information about these, also the degree of white participation in Negro groups. Encourage "interracial performances."

Mass Media: The Journal and Constitution have no Negroes on editorial and reporting staffs. Local TV and radio stations have no Negro professional staff and do not generally include Negroes as program participants, either to discuss specific problems or as members of "the public." Suggestions: Arrange interviews with representatives of these organizations, discuss ways of giving more accurate picture of community by including Negroes both in programs and on staffs. (Papers still designate "Negro" in reporting crimes, etc., though this was eliminated this year from help wanted and funeral notice columns)

EMPLOYMENT

Progress in employment can be measured in terms of individuals employed or statements of policy by "government contract" firms. It is difficult to determine the degree of compliance with the non-discriminatory requirements. It is very easy to determine that the vast majority of Atlanta service businesses (stores, banks, etc.) employ no or very few Negroes in white collar jobs. Suggestions: Check all government contract firms to determine kinds of jobs available and ways in which job openings are made known to applicants. Circulate this information among possible applicants. Consider ways to get cooperation of schools, labor unions, apprenticeship training, employers, etc. Question local governments about policies in employment.

PUBLIC FACILITIES

Some public buildings (including State Capitol) still have "white" and "colored" signs. Suggestions: Check all public buildings in metropolitan area for policies about such facilities as parks, etc.

STUDENTS AND YOUNG PEOPLE

Student Council on Human Relations (Sinclair Jacobs Fellowship Fund). This overlaps with "education item," but specific attention needs to be given to bringing together Negro and white high school and college students other than those in desegregated schools and colleges. That group, after all, is relatively small, and others need to grow up as friends rather than strangers. Through the Sinclair Jacobs Fellowship Fund, we have an opportunity to consider what things would be the most help in beginning to break down these barriers. Is there need for a city-wide, individual

membership group or should there be a service "committee" which would give information, plan programs for "the public," and provide services for existing membership groups? Should special efforts be made to bring together leadership groups (e.g., student council presidents, school newspaper editors, etc.)?? Are these "special interest" organizations already intergrated or do Negro and whites attend different meetings to talk about college papers, debating, etc.? Suggestion: Special committee to consider these questions and determine best course to follow.

FOREIGN VISITORS

The Greater Atlanta Council on Human Relations helps schedule foreign visitors for the Governmental Affairs Institute at the rate of 1 a day. Suggestions: Volunteer committee to assist with the scheduling (follow through on suggestions, make final arrangements, etc); contact possible hosts and hostesses (one volunteer who works in this area); provide services such as transportation, notifying hostesses, etc.

Return To: GREATER ATLANTA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

DATE_____

NAME_____ ADDRESS_____

TELEPHONE_____

I have read the reports on Council programs and suggestions for the fall_____.
I am interested primarily in:

Council Organization

- Membership_____
- Public Relations_____
- Office Volunteer_____
- Finance_____
- Meetings (General___Formal___)
- Research_____

Program

- Education_____
- Medical Care_____
- Employment_____
- Housing_____
- Public Accommodations_____
- Social Needs_____
- Student Council_____
- Foreign Visitors_____
- Other_____

I am available for:

_____Committee Work----(Planning___; Interviewing___; Attending Public Meetings___; Other___)

_____Office Work------ (Regular general work___; Typing___; Keeping Records___; Telephoning___; Other___)

_____Assistance From Home-------- (Typing___; Telephoning___; Clipping___; Other___)

_____Driving

_____Letter Writing

_____Other

I can Attend Council Meetings:

Morning_____; Afternoon_____; Evening_____; Weekdays_____; Weekends____

I can Work at Home:

Morning_____; Afternoon_____; Evening_____; Weekdays_____; Weekends____

I would be interested in small informal groups of Council members who share my interest in:

Art_____; Music_____; Philosophy_____; but am not free to participate in in program other than general membership meetings_____.

I would like more Council Meetings:

Luncheon_____; Dinner_____ Day_____; Evening_____

General Speakers_____

Other_____

GREATER ATLANTA COUNCIL
ON HUMAN RELATIONS
5 FORSYTH ST., N. W.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

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Dr. & Mrs. R. B. Levine
6455 Bridge Wood Valley Rd. NW
Atlanta 5, Georgia

August 6, 1963

Mrs. Eliza Paschall
Executive Director
Greater Atlanta Council on
Human Relations
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Eliza:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of July 30, in which you raise questions concerning the validity of certain "laws" which require racial segregation of rest rooms in office buildings.

Any laws or ordinances which require racial segregation of rest rooms in an office building, or in any other place would be clearly invalid even though they may still be "on the books." Any law is considered valid as a general proposition until it has been declared invalid by a court of proper jurisdiction, but if there are any such laws (state, county or city) yet remaining on the books which have application to rest rooms in Fulton County, I am of the opinion that the climate is such here in Atlanta that no one would seek to prosecute a building operator for "violating" such laws if he desegregates his rest rooms.

Of course, in the event of any such prosecution, the invalidity of the law requiring segregation would be a proper defense.

It is possible that a building operator would wish to stand behind a law requiring segregation and if the law should be declared unconstitutional then he would be willing to desegregate. If such a situation exists (and assuming there

1-agencies - Greater Atl. Council on HR

is such a law)nthen the proper thing to do would be to bring an action to have the segregation law declared invalid, and this would remove any "fear of prosecution" if such reason exists.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:jl

WB

MRS. CLIFTON G. HOFFMAN
Chairman
MR. M. CARL HOLMAN
1st Vice-Chairman
DR. RICHARD RESER
2nd Vice-Chairman
MRS. CHARLES PERKINS, JR.
Secretary
MR. HUBERT JACKSON
Treasurer

GREATER ATLANTA
Council On Human Relations
Telephone 525-6469
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

MRS. ELIZA PASCHALL
Executive Director
MR. THOMAS McPHERSON, JR.
Assistant Director

JUL 30 1963

To: Mr. Wiley Branton
Mr. Herbert Johnson
Mr. William Spann

From: Mrs. Eliza Paschall

Date: July 30, 1963

First, let me thank each of you for your presence and your participation at our meeting on July 22. Since there was discussion of a joint committee to give legal advice, I should like to pass along to you three a request for information which we received today.

A Council member who was discussing the matter of segregated rest rooms in an office building occupied primarily by social agencies, was told that there are "still laws on the books which require" such. She did not know if the speaker referred to local ordinances or to state laws. We have assumed that any such laws, local or state, have been superseded by court decisions. Are there still such laws? If so, are they valid? Could a building operator be prosecuted or in any way penalized, legally, for desegregating such facilities? (It was pointed out that stores are not operating under any such laws)

EP/jb

W.B.

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MRS. ELIZA PASCHALL
Executive Director
MR. THOMAS McPHERSON, JR.
Assistant Director

September 4, 1963

TO: Wiley A. Branton
FROM: Eliza Paschall

Re DeKalb Program

Ever since the original announcement of the VEP, and Les Dunbar's statement that this could be a vehicle for some truly interracial community activity, some of us in the Greater Atlanta Council have had the possibility of some community-wide voter education activity in the back of our minds.

Several months ago Mrs. Kay Hoffman and I had a general conference with Mr. Emmerich, DeKalb Commission Chairman, during the course of which he said he wished there were more voter registration and more voting by all citizens and would do anything he could to help; that they had already planned neighborhood registration drives. Later in a conversation I had with Miss Rosetta Williams, a member of the Council and Director of the NAACP registration project in DeKalb, we discussed the possibility of a county-wide effort at some kind of ceremony, recognizing all new voters both in an effort to emphasize the importance of voting once you are registered, and of bringing together Negroes and whites in DeKalb county for a "public purpose." (There is very little interracial activity inthe county.) Miss Williams suggested that the Council take this on rather than her "office." With Mrs. Hoffman's approval, I suggest to Mrs. Binkley, who is a member of the Council and a former board member of the DeKalb League of Women Voters, that she explore this idea with Miss Williams, et al. She did, also talked with Mrs. Stringer, DeKalb League of Women Voters president, and after getting their general informal agreement to the idea, asked Mrs. Scott if such a meeting might be held in her office. Both in calling the individuals and in guiding the meeting, Mrs. Binkley avoided identifying herself as doing this as a Council project, explaining that she herself is a member of several groups which are interested in and active in increasing voting and was interested in increasing the influence of each through combined efforts. We hope that from here it will proceed as a general voter "motivation" campaign, with no particular attention to how it got under way.

EP:jl

Voter Information Meeting, August 30, 1963, DeKalb Building

Present: Mrs. F. Binkley
Mrs. Frank Brenner (Un. Church Women)
Bishop Lucas, Scottdale
Mrs. Essie Myrick, County PTA
Mrs. C. B. Ryan, Republican County Committee
Mrs. F. Stringer, DeKalb League of Women Voters
Miss Rosetta Williams, NAACP Registration Drive
Mrs. Scott, DeKalb County Registrar

Interested, but unable to attend: Mr. Gil Campbell, DeKalb Church of Christ
Mr. Alton Roberts, DeKalb Democratic Committee Registration Chairman
Mrs. A. F. Fox, PTA Council
Mrs. Bolliman, Lily Hill Baptist Church

Mrs. Scott agreed to mail the neighborhood registration schedules to those present immediately they are ready (and where indicated, please). Evening registration will begin September 16, four nights a week, ~~XXXX~~ 8-9 p.m. plus Thurs. 5-8 in Decatur. Thus 10 militia districts will be served in a month. Continuation will be determined, as a result of response, by the commissioners.

Mrs. Scott emphasized the need to GET OUT the VOTE, once registered. Last year 4000 were dropped for not voting in a 3-year period. In this connection ~~XX~~, the committee was against congratulating people for registering unless it could be the preface to pointing out the PRIVILEGE of voting.
As a result of the discussion which followed, these responsibilities were accepted:

Mrs. Scott: See above. Also put a NR schedule in the box for each school in the Board of Educ. office, addressed to PTA president.
Mrs. Stringer: ~~XXXXXX~~ Get a news story (or stories) to Linton Broome (DeCatur-DeK News) Deupree Jordan, Mr. McWhorter (DeKalb New Era) - by Sept. 9, possibly Atl. papers, all of whom will carry official notice.
Mrs. Ryan: Contact radio stations (WSB, WQXI, WGST, WAOK, WERD) were mentioned in particular) with spot announcements for the week of the 19th. Also arrange interview with Stringer on TODAY and any other Radio-TV shows she can dream up.
Mrs. Brenner: Notices to ministers for their church bulletins and to women's clubs via her president. Plus announcements at United Church women meetings (by Mrs. Essie Myrick).

Miss Rosetta Williams: Call an evaluation meeting of those listed above for mid-October, after first go-round of neighborhood registration.

Thank you all for coming. I trust we started something (that many of you have worked on) of a concerted nature which may provide the push for better election response than DeKalb has had before.

My apologies for misspellings (I hope none are in crucial spots) and other errors. Hastily,

Emily Binkley

WB

October 25, 1963

COPY

Mr. Rigsby Wotten, President
Atlanta Bar Association
32 Peachtree Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Wotten:

Following the conference of attorneys who went to the White House last summer at the invitation of the President to consider the assistance which lawyers can give in these matters, the Greater Atlanta Council on Human Relations invited the Atlanta attorneys who had attended this conference to a meeting to discuss the conference. Mr. William B. Spann and Mr. Herschel Johnson, members of the Atlanta Bar Association and Mr. Wiley Branton, member of the Gate City Bar Association, were present.

It is our understanding that the American Bar Association has now requested local bar associations to give some attention to this problem. We have received many inquiries recently and expressions of concern over the case of Rev. Ashton Jones.

We have prepared the attached statement of information and we are sending it to you with the request that if the Atlanta Bar Association does have a committee dealing with civil rights and civil liberties, this matter be brought to the attention of that committee.

We would appreciate being advised on any interest which the Atlanta Bar Association or individual members of the Bar Association show in this matter.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Eliza Paschall
Executive Director

EP/jb

Attachment

cc: Mr. Howard Moore
Mr. William Spann
Mr. Herbert Johnson
Mr. Wiley Branton

GREATER ATLANTA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
5 Forsyth Street, N. W. Atlanta, Georgia 30303

October 22, 1963

RE: REV. ASHTON JONES, IN FULTON COUNTY JAIL, ATLANTA, GEORGIA

Article I, Section I, Paragraph IX, Constitution of the State of Georgia:

"Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted; nor shall any person be abused in being arrested while under arrest, or in prison."

Amendment VIII to the Constitution of the United States:

"Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted..."

The following information on the case of Rev. Ashton Jones was compiled from public records and information furnished by Mr. Howard Moore, Attorney for Rev. Jones.

On August 28, 1963, a Fulton Superior Court jury found Rev. Ashton Jones guilty of disturbing divine service and Judge Durwood Pye imposed the maximum misdemeanor sentence of 12 months on public works, 6 months in jail and $1,000.00 fine. As a first step in the appellate process, a motion for new trial was immediately filed, and the Court stayed the sentence and set bail for $20,000.00. Since Rev. Jones has been unable to make bail in this amount, he is still confined to Fulton County jail.

Rev. Jones, a 67 year old white minister, was arrested and charged after he attempted to worship with 2 teenage Negroes and a white teenager at the First Baptist Church in Atlanta on Sunday, June 30, 1963. They were refused admission and the church doors were closed. Rev. Jones was pushed and dragged about the church grounds by members of the church. In much pain, he sat on the church steps. He exclaimed, "Oh, Lord, Help them! Does mankind have to reach this low?" Testimony at the trial showed that the Negro girl had been pushed backwards out of the church and been shoved by the church pastor, Rev. Roy McClain, and that Rev. Jones remarked "A segregated church worships a segregated God."

On July 16, Rev. Jones was indicted by a Fulton County Grand Jury for allegedly having interrupted and disturbed the congregation of the First Baptist Church while lawfully assembled for divine service by loud talking, shouting, and by sitting on the floor of the church and "by otherwise indecently acting."

Rev. Jones' only source of income is Social Security payments and old age assistance from the state of Acliformia.

Since being confined to jail, Rev. Jones was beaten by an unknown prisoner and later placed ostensibly for his own protection in a solitary cell. In protest, Rev. Jones went on a fast, and has been taken to Grady Hospital for intravaneous feeding from time to time.

After the beating, the Judge ordered the Sheriff to make an investigation and report relative to claim that Rev. Jones had been beaten while in jail; ordered the Solicitor General to report on allegations of Rev. Jones' ordination as a congregational minister; the alleged beating and the person or organization paying his attorney's fees, ordered Rev. Jones to submit an affidavit in his own handwriting detailing circumstances of the alleged beating, and that Rev. Jones could submit any other affidavits he thought advisable.

On August 29 and on September 26, Judge Pye refused motions for reduction of bail. Judge Pye stated that Rev. Jones had been arrested in 12 different cities in the U. S., but failed to mention that Rev. Jones had never wilfully failed to appear in any Court. At the time of sentencing, Judge Pye asked, "He has unlimited money behin him, doesn't he?" and "Doesn't the defendant have an unlimited organization of people supporting him?" A motion for reduction of bail is now pending in the Supreme Court of Georgia.

On October 8 Judge Pye was again requested to reduce the amount of bail, and at that time said that he would consider bail in amount less than $20,000.00, though he did not mention any other figure.

Efforts are being made both (1) to have the amount of the bail reduced and (2) to secure funds necessary (estimated at $1,500) to secure the release of Rev. Jones under the present bail. None of the eight (8) weeks he has been in jail will be counted on his sentence of 18 months, should the motion for a new trial fail and he be required to serve the sentence.

Mr. Howard Moore and Mr. Donald Hollowell, Attorneys for Rev. Jones and his associates, are under order to appear before Judge Pye on November 22 to show cause why they should not be cited for contempt of court, as a result of their motion at the beginning of the trial that Judge Pye disqualify himself because of racial prejudice.

****

Persons concerned over Rev. Jones' situation and the civil rights-civil liberties implications of this case, please contact Mr. Howard Moore, 859½ Hunter Street, S. W., Atlanta, or the Greater Atlanta Council on Human Relations, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Atlanta, Georgia.

COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS OF GREATER ATLANTA
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

January 8, 1964

The following is a summary report of the various meetings of public and private officials and representatives of the Summit Leadership Conference, most of which were attended by staff members of the Council on Human Relations:

1. FULTON COUNTY CIVIL SERVICE BOARD, November 14 Board Meeting: The Board reported that the county maintains one civil register for Negro and white but still recruit Negroes for "Negro" jobs; pointed out that appointing officer can choose from top 3 certified on register for any particular job. Board has no program to increase or upgrade employment of Negroes by the County. No further word since meeting.

2. BOARD OF ALDERMEN: Met as committee of Whole on November 13. Most discussion on public accommodations, debated resolution urging desegregation of places serving public, (resolution passed at regular meeting on December 12). Also resolution requesting Mayor to appoint committee "for purpose of meeting with their respective groups and working out an amicable solution of the problems and issues enumerated in the document "Action for Democracy"(Committee appointed by Mayor on November 27).

3. ATLANTA CHAMBER OF COMMERCE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE: On November 13, discussion of public accommodations and employment without regard to race. Chamber Board passed resolution calling for both. Note: Individual inquiries in November revealed Chamber still has no clear policy on accepting Negroes as members).

4. HOUSING: Atlanta Housing Authority does not hold public meetings. No meeting yet with members of Authority. Meeting on November 27 with staff members and attorneys for Authority. No response to requests for desegregation of public housing units, 1 tenant selection office, Negro on central administrative staff, etc.

5. EDUCATION: Special meeting November 19 with members of Atlanta School Board, Superintendent, Deupty Superintendent, Board attorney: Board discussed "feeder plan" for 1964, whereby elementary schools feeding into predominately white high schools will include Negro schools in some instances. Superintendent said plan now for students who wish to go to schools closest to them in grades under plan. No plans for desegregation of staffs or for intergroup relations training for staffs; no plan to deviate from Pupil Placement Plan as approved by Court. Note: Superintendent stated that if "established across the borad criteria, would not have a 50-50 ratio of white and Negro staff, would have 10% Negro... on basis of teaching competence, they do not measure up."

6. BOARD OF FAMILY & CHILD SERVICES: Regular meeting on November 19. Board commented on large number of Negroes on professional staff, said many would lose jobs if registers combined because less qualified than whites. Negroes and white clients have separate waiting rooms (though not labeled as such) with Negro and white staffs respectively; Board said 2 waiting rooms planned when

Administration Building was built since segregation was required at that time, practice now is to refer all Negroes to "units 1 & 3" and all whites to "units 2 & 4". Requests for "1 set-up", rather than 2, more custodial care for Negroes (only 1 home for 89 children now). No further word from the Board.

7. FULTON-DEKALB HOSPITAL AUTHORITY: Meeting on November 26. Requests for desegregation of services and staffs stated, no word from Authority since meeting. Note: 2 separate Schools of Nursing with white students receiving academic work at Georgia State and Negro students receiving adademid work at Spelman; 3 cafeterias --1 for Negro non-professional; 1 for Negro professional; 1 for whites, including medical-- Negro intern is admitted here.

Two Negro social workers assigned only to Negro patients.

8. FULTON COUNTY COMMISSION: Special meeting November 14. Asked for "positive not halting" leadership, policy statement on county facilities, employment and services. Pointed out that white outsiders are served in cafeteria, but Negroes must be employees; various practices of restricting land for Negro residences protested; appointment of Negroes to county offices and policy-making Boards discussed. Note: Commission appoints 7 members of Fulton-DeKalb Hospital Authority, which operates Grady. Terms of 2 expired December 31, 1962 and Commission has never acted on the reappointments; terms of 2 expired on December 31, 1963, no action yet on reappointment. Commissioners have been urged to consider Negro for appointment.

9. HOTEL OPERATORS: November 21, private meeting of 12 operators stressed that not a meeting of Hotel Association; 4 siad would take individual Negroes, if presented reservations, but none would state policy publicly, some said would change if publicized.

Rumors that 7 hotels were open prompted informal survey by Council on January 7 with following results:

Georgia and Peachtree on Peachtree said do not take Negroes at all. Piedmont, Biltmore and Atlanta take for conventions only. Americana though manager has said do take individuals --person in reservation office when asked if they would make reservation for individual Negro for specific date, said were full for that date; when asked if they do take individual Negro guests, said "No. On the Dallas Plan." Riveria: do not take individual Negro guests. Howard Johnson, south: yes, individual Negroes. Howard Johnson Northwest: said were full for specifid date mentioned for individual Negro reservation, but unhesitatingly made reservation for unidentified guest for same date when another person called; Howard Johnson Northeast: gave reservation but when person identified as Negro, said were full for that date, but could make reservation for same party at Howard Johnson south. Dinkler and Cabana: said do take individual Negro guests.

10. RESTAURANT OPERATORS: Private meeting November 26 with certain individual operators. No change in list circulated by Council in October as indicated. Only change we know of are Dobbs House establishments, as result of SNCC direct action. Efforts to eat at several downtown establishments this week met with "we're working on it." Situation very uncertain.

11. EMPLOYMENT: Sixteen merchants before Christmas agreed to employ and upgrade Negroes. This was largely a result of Operation Breadbasket initiated before Summit Conference. Sub-committee on Employment of Atlanta coordinating

Committee appointed by Mayor held special meeting on training programs operating in and available to Atlanta area, but no responsibility assumed by any group for follow up. Retail Merchants Association urged desegregation in employment.

12. FULTON COUNTY LEGISLATIVE DELEGATION: At regular hearing on November 14, resolution urging desegregation of places of public service.

13. MAYOR'S COORDINATING COMMITTEE: Ten persons from recommendations by Greater Atlanta Council of Churches, Presidents of Atlanta Board of Education, Chamber of Commerce, Board of Aldermen and Chairman, Fulton County Commissioners, appointed November 27 (see above), divided into subcommittees on religion, education, business, civic, city government, county government, to work with appropriate subcommittees of Summit Leadership Conference.

****

No response from Atlanta Fund Appeals Board, United Appeal, Community Services, Junior Chamber of Commerce, Better Business Bureau, or Central Atlanta Association.

(No action in areas of hospitals other than Grady, private-social agencies, special education programs supplemented and assisted by public bodies and with public funds, and appointment of Negroes to such staffs as Registration Office, city and county attorneys, Jury Commission and jury panels, and Probation and additional Police Officers.)

ATLANTA SUMMIT LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

THE STRATEGY COMMITTEE'S SUGGESTED PLAN TO TOTALLY DESEGREGATE THE CITY OF ATLANTA

(Condensed from detailed plan received by Steering Committee of the Atlanta Summit Leadership Conference, January 3, 1964)

OBJECTIVE

The purpose of this plan is to totally desegregate Atlanta and to provide equal opportunities for all Atlanta citizens regardless of race, creed, or social origin. Atlanta must become a truly democratic city in which all citizens can live in peace and dignity. Segregation in any form is undemocratic, unchristian and evil, and serves as a sinister substitute for slavery. As a social system, segregation must be removed from all phases of community life NOW, immediately.

COORDINATION OR INDIVIDUALISM

It is sheer folly to believe that desegregation can be achieved rapidly with every single civil rights organization maintaining its own specific program. Somewhere between unified and individualistic action, a common program must be developed. A central virtue of the Atlanta Summit Leadership Conference is that it can provide a powerful unified thrust against the forces of segregation and discrimination and speed up the process of making Atlanta an open city. If the Negro community cannot achieve unified action, there is some doubt as to whether our desire for freedom for equality will be immediately fulfilled.

If, then, we are willing to subscribe to basic coordination, several steps are necessary. (These steps will be presented in detail at the Third Summit Leadership Conference to be held January 11, 1964 at 1:00 p.m. at the Allen Temple AME Church)

IMMEDIATE ACTION

Since negotiations have achieved limited results, the Summit Leadership Conference will consider such non-violent direct action programs including demonstrations on a massive scale, economic withdrawal, and legal and political programs as it sees fit. Though other areas are of equal importance, it is obvious that public accommodations and employment are, at this moment, the central areas of interest.

Everybody and all organizations interested in making the "Atlanta Image" a real symbol of democracy must be included in this movement. While the talents and resources of each person and organization vary, everyone CAN and MUST help.

To: All Council Members
From: Council on Human Relations of Greater Atlanta
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
Date: January 8, 1964

We have been requested by the Steering Committee of the Atlanta Summit Leadership Conference to transmit their invitation to all Council members to attend the Conference

on

SATURDAY, JANURRY 11, 1:00 p.m.
ALLEN TEMPLE CHURCH (AME)

located on Simpson Road and West Lake Avenue, described on the enclosed.

****

This is the lean month between Christmas and the Finance Drive. We need immediate income to cover bills. PLEASE SEND $1.00 to The Council on Human Relations of Greater Atlanta, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Atlanta, Georgia 30303.

****

WB
BW
RTB
JSV
LG

COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS OF GREATER ATLANTA

5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

January 28, 1964

COPY

For Your Information and "Invite"

The Council on Human Relations of Greater Atlanta is sponsoring a meeting tomorrow, January 29, 1964, 10:30 a.m., at Central Methodist Church, 503 Mitchell Street, S. W., with representatives from ACLU, SNCC and the Atlanta Police Dept., to explain to interested persons the "demonstration happenings" of the past three days and some of the many complications involved in picketing. YOU ARE INVITED TO ATTEND THE MEETING.

Agencies -
Atl. Council

APR 7 1964

COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS OF GREATER ATLANTA
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia Telephone: 523-1581

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EATING PLACES

YWCA Cafeteria, Edgewood & Ivy
YMCA Coffee Shop, Luckie St.
Stouffeur's, Downstairs Merchandise Mart
Top O' the Mart (also Stouffeur's)
Rich's Magnolia Room and other eating places in the store
Davison's Tea Room and other eating places
Grant's
Jacob's Pharmacies (all branches)
Sears-Roebuck & Co. (all lunch counters in all stores)
H. L. Green
Kress (Broad and Peachtree)
McCrory's
Lane's Drug Stores
Franklin Simon's (lunch counters and restaurant)
Walgreen's (all have been given instructions to serve everyone)
Woolworth's
Newberry's
Emory University Food Service Center
Herren's
Yohannon's
Caruso's Italian Restaurant (Piedmont Road)
Johnny Reb's (Forsyth, W. Peachtree and Roosevelt Highway)
Crossroads (but not on Stewart Avenue)
Seven Steers (downtown-691 Peachtree St.)
Miami Buffet (downtown)
Dale's Cellar
S&W
Rex Fine Foods
All 4 Howard Johnson Restaurants
Davis Fine Foods (Luckie, Marietta, Pryor and Forsyth Streets)
Town House (Forsyth Street)
Escoo's Restaurant (2143 Peachtree Rd.)
The Golden Palm (Atlanta Americana)

agencies
atlanta Council

Eating Places, Cont'd.

Hank and Jerry's (1006 Peachtree)
The Riviera (1630 Peachtree St.)
Dobbs House (all locations)
Shoney's Big Boy (all locations)
The Tiki
Fisherman's Wharf
Golden Goddess (Dinkler Plaza)
Red Velvet (Atlanta Americana)
Room at the Top (Atlanta Americana)
Wit's End
Rendezvous (Atlanta Biltmore)*
Oak Room (Piedmont)*
MOST HOTELS AND MOTELS WILL ARRANGE PRIVATE INTERRACIAL PARTIES

*Will serve Negroes who are registered guests.

HOTELS

Air Host Inn
Atlanta Americana Motor Hotel
Atlantan Hotel
Atlanta Biltmore
Atlanta Cabana
Dinkler Plaza
Holiday Inn
Hilton Inn
Howard Johnson's Motor Lodges
Peachtree Manor
Piedmont Hotel
Riviera Hotel
Marriott Motor Hotel

CULTURAL AND RECREATIONAL FACILITIES

Atlanta Art Galleries
Atlanta Symphony Orchestra Concerts
Actors Equity Production
Theater Under the Stars (at Chastain Park)
Jewish Community Center
Quaker House
Copa Atlanta
Wit's End
Atlanta Choral Guild
Atlanta City Golf Courses
Atlanta Public Library (all branches)
Decatur-DeKalb Library
All City of Atlanta owned and operated facilities
Recreational facilities operated by City of Decatur, excluding pools

DOWNTOWN MOVIES

Fox
Rialto
Roxy
Rhodes
Peachtree Art
Loew's

LEGITIMATE THEATERS

Pocket
Academy (including Shakespeare Festival)

NEIGHBORHOOD MOVIES

Gordon
Emory
Lenox Square
Cherokee
Hilan
Plaza
Atlantic
Techwood

DRIVE-INS

Bolton
Fulton Blvd.
Glenwood
Peachtree
Piedmont
South Expressway
Steward
Thunderbird
Starlight
Scott

STONE MOUNTAIN

All facilities, including Stone Acres Plantation, and Stable of Thoroughbreds (old autos)

HOSPITALS

DeKalb General, South Fulton, Kennestone and Aidmore provide separate wards or wings for Negroes and whites. Grady's emergency clinics, ambulances and operating rooms are integrated; other services are still segregated. St. Joseph's is integrated. Emory University's Hospital accepts Negro patients referred by physicians who are members of the hospital staff.

CHURCHES

All Episcopal, Catholic, Unitarian-Universalists, Quaker House. Most others are open to visitors, but policies vary with individual churches.

SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES

All colleges and universities in the Greater Atlanta area.
Certain Atlanta public schools
Catholic Parochial Schools
Trinity Presbyterian School
Smith-Hughes and Carver Vocational Schools
DeKalb Area Trade School
Grady Hospital X-ray And Technical Schools

ORGANIZATIONS

Active Voters
Atlanta Association for Gifted Children
Atlanta Chapter, American Association for the United Nations
Greater Atlanta Council of Churches
League of Women Voters (of Atlanta, of DeKalb County)
Women's International League for Peace and Freedom
Democratic Party organizations of DeKalb and Fulton Counties
Republican Party organizations of DeKalb and Fulton Counties
Alcholics Anonymous
Metropolitan Atlanta Mental Health Association

EMPLOYMENT OFFICES

All locations of Georgia State Employment Service. Jobs listed in the Help Wanted ads of the ATLANTA CONSTITUTION and the ATLANTA JOURNAL are not listed according to race.

TRANSPORTATION

No segregation on busses or in taxi service.

Nash file
I think
we have

GREATER ATLANTA COUNCIL
ON HUMAN RELATIONS
5 FORSYTH ST.. N. W.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

GREATER ATLANTA
COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

TELEPHONE
525-6469

YOU ALL ARE WELCOME.....

CUSTOMS CHANGE FROM DAY TO DAY. A PLACE THAT IS SEGREGATED TODAY MAY BE DESEGREGATED TOMORROW, AND IN SOME VERY FEW INSTANCES PLACES THAT HAD SERVED INTERRACIAL GROUPS LATER DECLINED TO DO SO. THE GREATER ATLANTA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS MAKES AN EFFORT TO KEEP UP TO DATE, ACCURATE INFORMATION ABOUT PROGRESS OF DESEGREGATION IN THE COMMUNITY. WE WOULD WELCOME ADDITIONAL INFORMATION. SO FAR AS WE HAVE BEEN ABLE TO DETERMINE, THE FOLLOWING IS CORRECT AS OF THE END OF JUNE, 1962.

EATING PLACES

YWCA CAFETERIA, EDGEWOOD AND IVY
YMCA COFFEE SHOP, LUCKIE STREET
STOUFFEUR'S, DOWNSTAIRS IN THE MERCHANDISE MART
TOP O'THE MART (ALSO STOUFFEUR'S)
RICH'S MAGNOLIA ROOM AND OTHER EATING PLACES IN THE STORE
DAVISON'S TEA ROOM AND OTHER EATING PLACES.
GRANT'S
JACOB'S PHARMACIES
SEARS-ROEBUCK
H. L. GREEN
KRESS
McCRORY'S
LANE'S DRUG STORES
FRANKLIN SIMON'S
WALGREEN'S
WOOLWORTH'S
NEWBERRY'S

INTERRACIAL GROUPS MAY ARRANGE PRIVATE MEETINGS, ETC., AT THE ATLANTA BILTMORE, DINKLER PLAZA, DINGO HO, MAMMY'S SHANTY, AND EMORY UNIVERSITY FOOD CENTER.

HOTELS

PEACHTREE MANOR HOTEL

CULTURAL AND RECREATIONAL FACILITIES

ATLANTA ART GALLERIES
ATLANTA SYMPHONY ORCHESTRA CONCERTS
ACTORS EQUITY PRODUCTION
THEATER UNDER THE STARS (AT CHASTAIN PARK)

ATLANTA CITY GOLF COURSES
ATLANTA PUBLIC LIBRARY - ALL BRANCHES
DECATUR-DEKALB LIBRARY
JEWISH COMMUNITY CENTER
QUAKER HOUSE
POCKET THEATER
ACADEMY THEATER (INCLUDING SHAKESPEARE FESTIVAL)
LOEW'S GRAND THEATER
FOX THEATER
RIALTO THEATER
ROXY THEATER
RHODES THEATER
PEACHTREE ART

ALL ATLANTA CITY FACILITIES OR FUNCTIONS WITH EXCEPTION OF SWIMMING POOLS.

EVENTS AT COLLEGE CAMPUSES THROUGHOUT THE GREATER ATLANTA COMMUNITY:

ORGANIZATIONS:

ACTIVE VOTERS
ATLANTA ASSOCIATION FOR GIFTED CHILDREN
ATLANTA CHAPTER, AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR THE UNITED NATIONS
GREATER ATLANTA COUNCIL OF CHURCHES
LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS (OF ATLANTA, OF DEKALB COUNTY)
WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM
DEMOCRATIC FORUM OF FULTON COUNTY AND DEKALB DEMOCRATS
REPUBLICAN ORGANIZATIONS OF DEKALB COUNTY AND FULTON COUNTY

SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES (HAVE ACCEPTED OR INDICATED WILLINGNESS TO ACCEPT APPLICATIONS FROM ALL)

CERTAIN ATLANTA PUBLIC SCHOOLS
CATHOLIC SCHOOLS
GEORGIA TECH
GEORGIA STATE COLLEGE
OGLETHORPE UNIVERSITY
AGNES SCOTT COLLEGE (BEGINNING 1963-64 SESSION)
THE WESTMINSTER SCHOOLS
TRINITY PRESBYTERIAN SCHOOL
COLUMBIA THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY
UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA

GREATER ATLANTA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
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Herren's
Yohannon's
Caruso's
Johnny Reb's
Crossroads
Seven Steers (downtown)
Miami Buffet (downtown)
Dale's Cellar
S & W
Mamma Mia
Rex Fine Foods
All 4 Howard Johnson Restaurants
Davis Fine Foods at Luckie Street, Marietta Street and Pryor Street
Town House

Most Hotels and motels will arrange private interracial parties.

HOTELS

Peachtree Manor Hotel
Hilton Inn
Air Host Inn

Other hotels will accept Negro convention delegates up to 7% the total number of delegates

CULTURAL AND RECREATIONAL FACILITIES

Atlanta Art Galleries
Atlanta Symphony Orchestra Concerts
Actors Equity Production
Theater Under the Stars (at Chastain Park)
Jewish Community Center
Quaker House
Copa Atlanta
Wit's End
Neighborhood Movies: Gordon, Emory, Lenox Square, Cherokee, Hilan, Plaza, Atlantic, Techwood
Downtown Movies: Pocket, Academy (including Shakespeare Festival), Loew's, Fox, Rialto, Roxy, Rhodes, and Peachtree Art
Drive-Ins: Bolton, Fulton Blvd., Glenwood, Peachtree, Piedmont, Scott, South Expressway, Steward, Thunderbird, and Starlight
Stone Mountain: all facilities, including Stone Acres Plantation, and Stable of Thoroughbreds (old autos)
Atlanta City Golf Courses
Atlanta Public Library - all branches
Decatur-DeKalb Library
All facilities owned and operated by City of Atlanta
Recreational facilities operated by City of Decatur, excluding pools

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All colleges and universities in the Greater Atlanta area
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Women's International League for Peace and Freedom

Democracic Forum of Fulton County and DeKalb Democrats
Republican organizations of DeKalb County and Fulton County
Alcholics Anonymous
Metropolitan Atlanta Mental Health Association

HOSPITALS

Of the 16 hospitals in operation in the Atlanta area listed as members of the Georgia Hospital Association, 10 do not admit Negroes as patients. Grady and Aidmore provide segregated services. DeKalb General, South Fulton, and Kennestone provide separate wards or wings for Negroes and whites. St. Joseph's is an integrated hospital.

CHURCHES

All Episcopal, Catholic, Unitarian-Universalists; most others open to visitors, but policies vary with individyal churches.

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NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE, Inc.
14 EAST FORTY-EIGHTH STREET
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
PLAZA 1-0300

August
Fourteenth
1 9 6 1

Dear Mr. Currier:

Complying with the group's decision at the meeting in your office on July 28th, the National Urban League is submitting the following description of our structure, along with some indication of how this network might be more effectively utilized in a major voter registration effort. We are limiting this to our southern region inasmuch as it was our impression that the decision was made to concentrate our efforts in this section of the country. We are, therefore, referring only to our affiliates in thirteen southern cities including the one in the nation's capital. This would take in the following cities: Atlanta, Fort Worth (inactive), Jacksonville, Little Rock, Memphis, Miami, New Orleans, Oklahoma City, Richmond, Tampa, Tulsa and Winston-Salem.

Our programming in these affiliates has been greatly weakened in recent years by attacks from segregationist forces in the South. These attacks have resulted in reduced budgets or, as is true in five cases, in the League being completely dropped as a community chest agency. We have managed, however -- with the exception of Fort Worth -- to retain our professional staff, active boards and committees. In fact, as a result of the attacks, there has been demonstrated by the Negro community and the few liberal individuals among other racial groups greater appreciation of our specialized services and value to a local community.

Each of these Leagues, as is true of Urban Leagues all over the country, has a major arm of its program effective liaison and direct communication with most of the civic, social, business and religious groups in the Negro community. It

is through these that we channel our programs of interpretation on matters of full utilization of welfare resources, vocational guidance and information on housing and employment. Basic professional tools and time-tested techniques are used in this connection. We might mention that in addition we have been required, for the purpose of community chest and League membership campaigns, to develop organization and machinery for practically door-to-door contact.

We see no reason why, with additional financial resources, we could not cooperate in an effective effort greatly to increase registration and voting activity by Negro citizens. We would feel justified in including this activity in the legitimate program of the Urban League from the standpoint of education for citizenship and assisting the Negro community to live up to its full responsibility as good citizens.

While we cannot emphasize too much the value of such a structure as described in this effort, we would also have to point out that its most effective utilization in such an effort would require additional resources for the purposes of (a) increasing staff, (b) in-service training for existing staff, (c) staff at regional level for coordination and supervision, (d) secretarial help, (e) travel, (f) printed materials for distribution.

We would like to make two final points: One, voter registration is an activity with which the League has had considerable experience. Either as National Office-inspired or as local League activities, campaigns have been conducted in other cities that have substantially increased both the registration and voting of Negro citizens. Recent cases in point are San Francisco and Los Angeles and, to a lesser degree, St. Louis and Cleveland. For many years, we have cooperated with other agencies in the South in this effort where the need of our facilities and contacts were obvious and necessary. As recently as May 25, 1960, a memorandum was submitted to the Urban Leagues in the South on this particular matter, with specific ideas

for our effective participation. Lack of funds, however, has hampered this effort to the point of little identifiable result.

Point two, we believe that our conference group, at its meeting on the 23rd, should review its decision to limit our activity only to the South. We are convinced that the most effective political leverage for some time to come will be found in the many northern urban cities where fifty per cent of the Negro population now lives; for this group has yet to produce registered voters in such substantial numbers as the needs of the times require. We feel that with sufficient added resources we can put on such an effective program in our other fifty affiliates as will inspire a step up in voter registration in other areas of the country.

Inasmuch as the committee had no idea of the financial resources at its disposal or what its potential in this connection might be from other sources, we assume that no specific suggestions should be made at this time for actual grants of money. We are prepared, however, to make more specific suggestions in this regard at the appropriate time.

Very sincerely yours,

/s/Lester B. Granger
Executive Director

Mr. Stephen R. Currier
President
The Taconic Foundation
666 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

/mh

MEMORANDA January 2, 1962

TO: John Wheeler
Wiley Branton
George Barrett
Harold Fleming
Victor Weingarten

FROM: Leslie W. Dunbar

The same letter as enclosed was sent to N.A.A.C.P., National Urban League, C.O.R.E., the S.C.L.C., and S.N.C.C.

I would be very grateful to have frank criticisms or suggestions from you.

Same letter: to Rev. Martin L. King with cc to Walker
to Roy Wilkins - cc Moon, Morsell
to Whitney M. Young - cc C. Coleman
to James Farmer - Marvin Rich
to Re Charles McDeww - Potter and Forman cc

Enclosure to each of the above of the draft of announcement.

January 2, 1962

Mr. Charles McDew, Chairman
Executive Committee
Student Non-Violent Co-ordinating Committee
197½ Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Chuck:

First, let me tell you that Wiley A. Branton has accepted the job of Project Director. He has already begun work, on a part time basis, and as soon as he can close down his law office in Pine Bluff will be here full time. He expects that this will be before February.

Second, Wiley will be grateful for your suggestions of qualified persons to fill the two Field Consultant positions we had planned. If you have names to suggest, please communicate directly with him at his present address: 119 East Barraque Street, Pine Bluff, Arkansas.

Third, George Barrett, of Nashville, will during the next 6-8 weeks assist Wiley in getting the program started.

Fourth, I have to apologize to you for being slow in sending out the draft of the public announcement. A number of problems, however, had to be thought out. The draft is enclosed now, and we would appreciate your comments as soon as you conveniently can consider and respond to the draft.

There are several points which should be noted. One is that we have decided that our original plan of issuing an announcement of the Project a day or two before your joint announcement will not work. We now think that your joint announcement should be the first public word, and that we shall make no separate announcement.

I believe you were wise in deciding that there should be no press conference. That decision creates, however, a mechanical

To: Charles McDew
January 2, 1962

problem which has to be solved. The announcement has to come from some place - there has to be an office which reporters can call for further information. We think there is value in the announcement coming out of the South.

Will you please let us know your views? Our recommendation to you is that the announcement be released from the Southern ~~Regional Office~~ Field Division of the National Urban League. If this were done, it would be desirable for Whitney Young to come down at the time of the release.

We shall follow our earlier plan, and hold an on-the-record discussion with the press, at the time of the announcement, in order to background interested reporters on our role.

In the draft we have listed your and the other organizations in order of age. In the last paragraph we have listed your and the other names alphabetically.

The statement of principles was hard to compose. I hope you will study it carefully.

After your criticisms, suggestions, etc. are received, we'll get on the phone with each of you until there is common agreement.

The lawyers seem to think that Treasury will have ruled by mid-January. Hopefully, the announcement can be issued before the end of this month. In the meantime, we should all do what we can to keep the story from spreading.

Happy New Year!

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb

cc: Potter, Forman

This same letter sent to the following people.

Mr. Paul Potter
National Affairs Vice President
United States Students Association
3457 Chestnut Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Mr. James Farmer, National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, N. Y.

Mr. Charles McDew, Chairman
Executive Committee
Student Non-Violent Co-ordinating Committee
197½ Auburn Avenue,
Atlanta 3, Georgia

The Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr.
Southern Christian Leadership Conference
41 Exchange Place, S. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

~~Mxxx~~
Mr. Marvin Rich,
Community Relations Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, 38, N. Y.

Mr. Roy Wilkins, Executive Secretary
N.A.A.C.P.
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Mr. John Morsell
Assistant to the Executive Secretary
N.A.A.C.P
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Mr. Henry Lee Moon, Director
Public Relations Department
N.A.A.C.P.
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Extra copy

January 2, 1962

The Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr.
Southern Christian Leadership Conference
41 Exchange Place, S. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

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Second, Wiley will be grateful for your suggestions of qualified persons to fill the two Field Consultant positions we had planned. If you have names to suggest, please communicate directly with him at his present address: 119 East Barraque Street, Pine Bluff, Arkansas.

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Fourth, I have to apologize to you for being slow in sending out the draft of the public announcement. A number of problems, however, had to be thought out. The draft is enclosed now, and we would appreciate your comments as soon as you conveniently can consider and respond to the draft.

There are several points which should be noted. One is that we have decided that our original plan of issuing an announcement of the Project a day or two before your joint announcement will not work. We now think that your joint announcement should be the first public word, and that we shall make no separate announcement.

I believe you were wise in deciding that there should be no press conference. That decision creates, however, a mechanical

problem which has to be solved. The announcement has to come from some place - there has to be an office which reporters can call for further information. We think there is value in the announcement coming out of the South.

Will you please let us know your views? Our recommendation to you is that the announcement be released from the Southern ~~Regional Office~~ Field Division of the National Urban League. If this were done, it would be desirable for Whitney Young to come down at the time of the release.

We shall follow our earlier plan, and hold an on-the-record discussion with the press, at the time of the announcement, in order to background interested reporters on our role.

In the draft we have listed your and the other organizations in order of age. In the last paragraph we have listed your and the other names alphabetically.

The statement of principles was hard to compose. I hope you will study it carefully.

After your criticisms, suggestions, etc. are received, we'll get on the phone with each of you until there is common agreement.

The lawyers seem to think that Treasury will have ruled by mid-January. Hopefully, the announcement can be issued before the end of this month. In the meantime, we should all do what we can to keep the story from spreading.

Happy New Year!

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb
cc: Walker

Editor's copy

January 2, 1962

Mr. Whitney M. Young, Jr.
Executive Director
National Urban League, Inc
14 East 48th Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Whitney:

First, let me tell you that Wiley A. Branton has accepted the job of Project Director. He has already begun work, on a part time basis, and as soon as he can close down his law office in Pine Bluff will be here full time. He expects that this will be before February.

Second, Wiley will be grateful for your suggestions of qualified persons to fill the two Field Consultant positions we had planned. If you have names to suggest, please communicate directly with him at his present address: 119 East Barraque Street, Pine Bluff, Arkansas.

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Happy New Year!

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb
cc: Coleman

Extra copy

January 2, 1962

Mr. Charles McDew, Chairman
Executive Committee
Student Non-Violent Co-ordinating Committee
197½ Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Chuck:

First, let me tell you that Wiley A. Branton has accepted the job of Project Director. He has already begun work, on a part time basis, and as soon as he can close down his law office in Pine Bluff will be here full time. He expects that this will be before February.

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To: Charles McDew
January 2, 1962

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Happy New Year!

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb

cc: Potter, Forman

NEWS RELEASE

FOR RELEASE:

??????????????
Address
Telephone

Friday A. M. Papers
January , 1962

A united drive to increase voter registration in the South was announced today by the heads of five civil rights organizations.

Joining in the announcement were Roy Wilkins, Executive Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Whitney M. Young, Jr., Executive Director of the National Urban League; James Farmer, National Director of the Congress of Racial Equality; the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference; and Charles McDew, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Student Non-Violent Co-ordinating Committee. The announcement was released by from

The five organizations stated that they would coordinate their programs in a greatly enlarged campaign. The drive, which will be non-partisan, will be launched immediately and will be conducted simultaneously on two planes. One effort will be directed at overcoming voter indifference and apathy. A second will be aimed at securing the registration of Negroes in those areas of the South where racial discrimination exists.

NEWS RELEASE

FOR RELEASE

??????????????
Address
Telephone

Friday A. M. Papers
January , 1962

The five organizations said further that they would co-operate with the Voter Education Project, established by the Southern Regional Council, and directed by Mr. Wiley A. Branton.

In addition to the announcement and accompanying it, Messrs. Farmer, McDew, Wilkins, Young, and Dr. King issued a statement of principles which they said motivated and would guide the registration drive.

WHAT IS OUR AIM?

The agencies we represent have announced today their plans to campaign for a large increase in voter registration in the South. Each of our organizations is already working in this field. Each will now do more.

The United States strives to be a democracy. It falls short of being one when one-third of our adults do not or may not vote.

Voting in the South is low, even by our shamefully low national standards. One result is that unrepresentative men are chosen for local, state, and national offices. Another is that small electorates dominated by rural voters breed callous discrimination against city-dwellers, regardless of race, throughout the South.

An enlarged electorate is necessary if the South finally is to become a democracy, and the people of the South are to enjoy the dignity of members of a democracy. Civil rights will continue to be either denied or restricted. Until the Gordian knot of political privilege is cut, the South's preoccupation with race and racial prejudice will continue.

This generation of America will have shirked its historic summons unless, both at home and abroad, it gives strength and enrichment to freedom and free men. At home, our great unfinished business is the rescue of one-tenth of our people from prejudice and discrimination, and the rescue of America from the moral, economic, and political costs of racial injustice.

In his Inaugural Address, the President told Americans to ask themselves what they can do for their country. We believe and we know that in working for the right of all to exercise the duties of citizenship we work in our country's service, when and where it needs us most.

The great discovery of America, the great tradition of America, is this: a people re-dedicates itself to old ideals by setting itself new purposes. From one generation to another, our country has renewed its vigor by releasing the energies of more of its people. This has been the American way.

In our time, America encounters its old ideals in the struggle to create equal opportunities for its Negro citizens. Our cause is the nation's.

We say this without false pride, yet with firm conviction. We say it without reference to injustices and indignities of the past. We say it with thought only of America's need for talents, for spiritual courage, for self-respect and the good opinion of free men everywhere. The past was America's dilemma. The future is its opportunity.

To fight for justice is, therefore, to fight for America. We are not deterred by those who complain that the struggle for Negro rights has broken down "communications between the races", or is endangering national unity in time of crisis. There can be in a democracy no real communication except among men and women of equal dignity and rights. There can be no national unity maintained on the quicksand of injustice.

Let us be clear about this. The times are too serious, the threat of Communist power and ideology too vicious, for America not to be true to itself, to its Constitution, to its old faith in the free and responsible individual.

Among the duties of citizenship, none is as great as that of serving the public by voting and holding office. This is a duty of all citizens, regardless of color.

We intend to work, and to work hard, for a wider acceptance and fulfillment of that duty. Whether the cause of non-voting be indifference, disillusion, ignorance, or oppression, we shall combat the cause.

We have no partisanship. We are, in this venture, neither Democrats nor Republicans. We shall concentrate our efforts in the South only because that is where the problems are most acute.

Electrostatic Copy Made for Preservation Purposes

Voter Education Project

A PROGRAM OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

ROOM 206 / 5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. / ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

February 22, 1962

Mr. Roy Wilkins, NAACP
Mr. Whitney M. Young, National Urban League
Rev. Martin Luther King, SCLC
Mr. James Foreman, Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee
Mr. James Farmer, CORE

Gentlemen:

We now have our offices open at the above address, and we were fortunate in being able to secure office space in the same building as SRC. Please note our address and telephone number.

We are still waiting for some word from Internal Revenue Service regarding our request for tax exemption. Recently our lawyer met with Treasury officials in Washington, and they requested additional detailed information on five separate points. Following a conference in Atlanta with our lawyers, we furnished the necessary information and it has now been submitted to Internal Revenue Service. We look for a favorable ruling most any day, but until we get such a ruling we still are not in a position to make any public announcement or to make any commitments.

Just as soon as we get some word from Washington we will contact all of you immediately and try to make up for the valuable time we have already lost.

Let me assure you of my personal interest in the success of this project and of my willingness to work with all of you in a united effort to try and get a job done.

Sincerely yours,

Wiley A. Branton
Project Director

WAB/mr

April 12, 1962

MEMORANDA

TO: Roy Wilkins
Whitney M. Young
Martin Luther King
James Foreman
James Farmer

FROM: Wiley A. Branton

We still plan to hold the conference regarding the Voter Education Project here in Atlanta on Tuesday, April 17, 1962. We will meet in the Conference Room in the SRC office and hope to get started by 10:00 A.M. and finish in time for those of you leaving town to catch a decent late afternoon flight.

Luncheon will be served by us in the office so as to utilize all available time for serious discussion of the project.

May 10, 1962

To: Messrs. Roy Wilkins, Whitney Young, Wyatt Walker, James Forman, James Farmer, John Brooks, Clarence Coleman

From: Wiley Branton

Enclosed is a chart showing the areas assigned to various participating agencies for a 90-day program during May, June and July of 1962. We are requesting that agencies get together as soon as possible to plan programs in areas where there is joint responsibility. No decision has yet been definitely reached regarding the operations in New Orleans.

Enclosure

WAB/mr

May 16, 1962

To: Roy Wilkins
Whitney M. Young
Martin Luther King, Jr.
James Forman
James Farmer
John Brooks
Clarence Coleman

From: Wiley Branton

Pursuant to a request from SCLC the State of Georgia, excluding Atlanta, has been added to the assigned area for voter registration activities during the period of May, June, and July, 1962, despite the fact that May 5 was the deadline for registration for the summer primary. VEP has given approval for SCLC to continue their registration efforts in Georgia with a portion of the original grant made to them on May 4, 1962.

The assignment of Georgia to SCLC is for a 90-day period only, and should not be construed by other agencies as any long range exclusive assignment.

WAB/mr

Report #1-62

May 31, 1962

To: NAACP - Mr. Roy Wilkins, Mr. John Brooks
SCLC - Mr. Wyatt Walker, Mr. J. H. O'Dell
National Urban League - Mr. Whitney Young, Mr. Clarence Coleman
CORE - Mr. James Farmer, Mr. Marvin Rich
SNCC - Mr. James Forman, Mr. Robert Moses

From: Wiley A. Branton

Listed below are several questions to be answered by you. Please be as specific as possible in your answers and return to VEP by June 11, 1962. If you have any questions in regard to this report, please let us know. This is the first of a series of reports which will be required from time to time by the Voter Education Project.

1. From the areas assigned you, please identify your voter project staff personnel by name, and the area in which they are working.

2. Describe briefly what you are doing with the agencies who have a joint responsibility with you in those areas. Are you having any difficulties in securing the cooperation of the agencies with which you have joint responsibilities? If so, please explain.

3. If you are working with local groups, independent of your organization, please list them and the nature of your cooperation with them.

4. In the areas in which you are working, please provide statistical data as to voting age population, percentage of Negro and white registered, etc., at the time of your grant.

5. As yet have you observed any increase in voter registration in the area in which you are working?

6. Describe briefly the techniques you are using to study and secure voter registration in your area.

7. Please list the expenditures you have made for the grant, through May 31, 1962, and where they were m ade. Please be as specific as possible.

8. Please provide address from which you are operating in each area, and give phone number. Indicate whether this is a new office set up just for the voter project, or one of your regular existing offices.

WAB/mr

June 15, 1962

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: The National Urban League
Mr. Whitney Young and Mr. Clarence Coleman

Southern Christian Leadership Conference
Mr. Wyatt Walker and Mr. J. H. O'Dell

FROM: Wiley A. Branton

On May 31, 1962, we mailed to you R-1-62 requesting certain information by June 11, 1962. We have not heard from your organization as of today.

We would appreciate your prompt attention to this matter. If you did not receive R-1-62, please advise and we will send you one.

June 28, 1962

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: NAACP - Mr. Roy Wilkins
SCLC - Mr. Wyatt Walker
National Urban League - Mr. Whitney Young
CORE - Mr. James Farmer
SNCC - Mr. James Forman

FROM: Wiley A. Branton, Project Director

VEP is in the process of working out plans for long-range projects and expects to reach a final decision regarding your participation prior to July 20, 1962.

If you care to submit any supplemental information or changes to the suggested programs which you have previously submitted, you should let us have the information immediately.

WAB:gwc

Voter Education Project

A PROGRAM OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

ROOM 206 / 5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. / ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA / TELEPHONE 525-0595

Wiley A. Branton, Project Director

July 12, 1962

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: All Interested Parties

FROM: Wiley A. Branton, Director
Voter Education Project, SRC

RE: VEP Staff Additions

VEP has recently added two staff members--Jack Minnis, Director of Research, and John Walker, Temporary Assistant to the Project Director.

Jack Minnis is a Ph. D. candidate in Political Science at Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisiana. An ABD (All But Dissertation), his quasi-finished dissertation, "Official Constituent Relationships in Orleans Politics," is a study of the empirical factors which constitute the process of representation in local politics. As Director of Research, he will be available to consult and work with participating agencies in the planning and research aspects of proposals, field studies, etc., which are submitted to and/or approved by VEP.

John Walker is a second year law student at Yale Law School. Prior to law school, from 1958 to 1960, he worked as Associate Director of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations in Little Rock, Arkansas. In 1961 he received the M. A. degree from the Human Relations Center of New York University. As Assistant to the Project Director until September 1, he will perform those functions delegated him by the Project Director, i.e., examining and evaluating proposals for VEP grants, working with voter registration personnel in the field when problems arise, etc.

Please feel free to utilize VEP staff resources in your voter registration programs whenever such a need arises.

4-Agencies - print comes

Voter Education Project

A PROGRAM OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

ROOM 206 / 5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. / ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA / TELEPHONE 525-0595

Wiley A. Branton, Project Director

September 21, 1962

To: All participating agencies in the VEP program

From: Wiley Branton

Although we prefer no publicity, agencies receiving grants from VEP are at liberty to announce to the public that they are participating in the VEP program or that they have received a grant from VEP, but as a matter of policy we do not want any publicity given to the amount of grants made by us.

Agencies should not undertake to give publicity to the amounts of grants received by VEP or the names of foundations making such grants, and all inquiries to agencies in such matters should be referred to VEP.

Unfavorable publicity from sources not in a position to give full facts has dictated that we adopt the above policy. Your cooperation will be appreciated.

Extra copies of this filed in VEP Mimeographed letters & forms

September 24, 1962

PERSONAL

To: Mr. Clarence Coleman 19
Mr. Roy Wilkins 20
Mr. Wyatt Walker 21
Mr. Whitney Young 24
Mr. James Farmer 26
Mr. James Forman 27

From: Wiley A. Branton, Project Director

Enclosed herein is a copy (number___) of a confidential First Status Report of the Voter Education Project, dated September 20, 1962.

Since preparing the report we have received a formal report from American Friends Service Committee describing their summer student project in Jackson, Tennessee, in which they report an increase in Negro registration of 969.

You are requested to keep the information contained in this first report as confidential, for several reasons which I am sure all of you can readily understand.

Enclosure

WAB/mr

October 9, 1962

M E M O R A N D U M

To: All participating VEP agencies

FROM: Wiley A. Branton

Re: Mississippi coordinated voter registration program

Because of the heavy resistance to voter registration in the state of Mississippi, VEP decided to launch a coordinated program in that state as explained to all participating agencies when they were visited by the VEP director.

On September 5, VEP approved a program which is being sponsored through the Council of Federated Organizations, headed by Dr. Aaron Henry of Clarksdale. COFO embraces all of the major organizations involved in voter registration in Mississippi and Robert Moses of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee is serving as the full time director of this special Mississippi project.

The program is scheduled to run from August 1, 1962 through March 31, 1963, on an approved budget of $14,000 with the grant being paid in monthly installments.

The primary emphasis will be in the Delta region of the state and in Marshall, Hinds, Forrest, and Pike counties. We urge all agencies to support this project to the fullest extent possible and we solicit your suggestions and comments regarding this program.

WAB:jl

Voter Education Project

A PROGRAM OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

ROOM 206 / 5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. / ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA / TELEPHONE 525-0595

Wiley A. Branton, Project Director

November 1, 1962

M E M O R A N D U M

To: All participating VEP agencies

From: Wiley A. Branton

It has come to our attention that in some rare instances the VEP funds may have been used for the payment of poll taxes.

These funds should not be used, in any manner whatsoever, for poll tax payment, even in the form of loans.

WAB:jl

VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT - 1962

	CORE	NAACP	NUL	SCLC	SNCC	LOCAL & OTHER
GA.				State Wide		Atlanta E. Baton Rouge Parish
LA.	Baton Rouge City	Shreveport Baton Rouge City Lake Charles Monroe		Shreveport Caddo Parish		
MISS.	Jackson	Jackson			Jackson Marshall Co. 3rd Cong. 4th Cong. Hattiesburg	
N.C.		High Point Fayetteville Charlotte Rocky Mount Wilmington Edenton	Winston-Salem	Chowan Co. Eliz. City		Durham Raleigh (N.S.A.)
S.C.	6th Cong. Clarendon Co. Sumter Co. York Co.	Beaufort Columbia Greenville Charleston		Charleston	Orangeburg Co.	Davidson & 3 contiguous counties Jackson (A.F.S.C.)
TENN.		Memphis Fayette Co. Haywood Co. Knoxville Chattanooga Clarksville		Knoxville Chattanooga		
VA.			Richmond	4th Cong.		

Program for 1962 -
Eliminate: Tenn, Okla, Ill Md Ky

East Tenn - Poll Tax deadline - Jan. '31
Oct 1 - till Jan 31 - Books
open for payment of Poll Tax
Deputy Poll Tax collectors - appointed
around Dec. 1 - operating until
Jan. 31

Urban League - has an office in Fort Worth -
go into there around September, &
organize for push.

Arkansas - Poll Tax State - deadline -
Oct 1, 1961 -
Brantor - said no Race of
significance - hence no program this
year - Next year, 1962, off year
little interest.
Patton - thinks Ark. should be included
in some program -
Wilkins - questions waiting off year
years election - is there sufficient
interest in local elections, mayors,
School Boards, etc.
Wilkins: Rule out Arkansas - for this
year - as far as U. E. P. is
concerned -

Lousiana - Primary July 28, 1962 -
Last day Register June 27, 1962
McAlen - Some working in N. E. La.
Clone - Some one in Baton Rouge;
6th Cong. dist; And in N.O.
where a joint effort exist
L C L C - Shreveport - And part of
Co-ordinate effort in N.O.;
4th Cong. dist Bienville Parish,
etc & Miss delta
NAACP - Baton Rouge Shreveport;
N.O.; Petered out in Northern
Parishes; Middle & So La.
Very active - Part of joint
effort in N.O.-; also in
Monroe -
Urban; One of most capable persons
in N.O. - provided leadership
for Groups - One of places -
League could be effective.
CORE; Co-operative effort not &
successful -
NAACP - Special pattern & build on
Ex Japer - Makes sense -
Young - not our community can come up
with a Co-ordinate movement -
New Orleans - would accept
leadership from Urban League -
CORE - Thinks might have trouble with
Europeans
Young - merely being granted to an
agency - have Direcla in
Region -

Wilkins - Problem of Mechanics in clotion areas - pattern of grants - in local areas - what is purpose of Natl Organization? or How is Natl. organization - in areas to carry on a successful program -

Gerber: three suggestions
1) Grant to cooperative group - direct -
2) Pick agency - i.e. Urban League, which will provide general guidance
2) U.E.O. - works with cooperative groups individually - who make up the Urban Cooperative Groups -

Current - suggested - an "advance" to participating agencies - for grants to local area, i.e. N.C. -

Young - Ideally - hope to establish co-ordinated committees in all areas -
Grants to organization with understanding that it will carry leadership or work responsibility - for area or city where it is strongest - with stipulation that grant be passed on to area.

Brunton - 1) do we give pro-rata share to each organization - for its participants in area - or
2) will we agree one organization ~~will~~ which will act as sponsor of local group - or
3) will we make a direct grant -

Dr. Munell - fourth method - the departs from original idea -
Grants to organization - with stipulation that program be carried on in Chicago area -

SCLC - 2 facts - 1) Money available for areas -
2) Sacrifices of identities - by organizations -
Money to be ~~chell~~ channelled through organizations strongest in area - (N.O. Urban League, Memphis NAACP etc) - each organization have same specific area of concern, where it is strong.

Brooks; thinks money comes through big fine -

Patten; Areas of co-ordinated effort - funnell through state offices - Ten co-ordinated efforts - i.e. Groups get together and decide how much money each agency put in -

Wilson - agrees with Patten

Dunbar - U & P Grants to fine organizations -

with ~~separations~~ restrictions to areas –

Wellson – Grants are free – with a guaranty of working in certain specific areas –

Young: Each agency – get a flat amount for regional operation – to stimulate voters registration – in area – in addition – specified amount for a particular city – for coordinated effort –

Wilson – Yes must have some guaranty that local areas will be covered –

Les – Pointed out IRS restrictions – General grant to organizations unpermissible – but i.e. to buy a particular program of an organizations – or buy a person, assistants of Voter Registration – or – Grant to each agency with guaranty of work in certain areas. Formulas – i.e. overhead contribution, or step contributions.

Wilson – Original idea – Grant to organization – on basis of program the organization submitts

Allocation of this money - left to individual organizations did not encourage Grants on project basis -

Les: no contradiction here -

Patton - Possibility of local funds - to help groups channelled in by nat'l organization.

Wiley: from legal stand point - a way of I & S - Grants to organization for registration in general, in absence of program - questionable legally.

Wilkens - I R S Ruling - Granted right to make grants - to Nations Education Activity -

Lunch -

Brantley: V & P select areas of concern - which can achieve results - Then determine what organizations are doing, or propose to do in said area.
That a flat Grant be given to each agency
That targets - or specific areas - be designated for each agency - and in co-operation with other agencies. (Agencies agree to spend money in these areas designated). By means - either agency - or V & P - will push on co-ordination of agencies in

Areas
That a formula be developed - which permits operational cost for administrative cost.

As need arises for additional money in target areas - supplemental grants can be made for such.

Young - U&P will identify area - and agency to assume such - held agency responsible for reports - and co-operation of groups - does this call for submitting slight revision proposals -

Brantley - Reaction to formula

Walker - Target areas - for which we are now working -

Brantley - Target area - selected from statistics - Area of population - and information furnished - or to be furnished after study - then a grant of X dollars - for target areas, assigned funds to organization - based on need for coverage - and desire to work there. Such could be exclusive - or co-operation with such area - do not specify amount to be spent. Areas not assigned funds to you - would not contribute to such. U&P staff would attempt to co-ordinate the efforts - of the agencies -

Rich - U & P should set up goals of information wanted -

Brunton - Announced Research meeting of May 1st + 2nd - and S.R.C. research staff ~~and~~ statisticians.

Young - Don't be too respect as to acceptance of target areas - on basis of registration data and poll tax data - because of magnitude of ~~propel~~ problem

Brunton - pointed out limitation now - as to time and money - and desire for some concrete results -

Wilkins - MCL in 1962 - demonstrate some actual increase in voters - foundations will be busy to contribute.

Brunton - May select couple of new target areas now - for quick results -

Forman - Tentative Plan for U & P Acts Areas of Concern -

Current: Uncertainty as to selecting Areas of Assignment - still have original Proposal Money available - be allocated based on areas or cities where they can work - with accounting safeguards, etc - leave question of work in target areas to discretion of Nat'l. operation -

Brantley: Un-organizing target area, i.e. 3 agencies - one city - the agencies are responsible as to working out degree of co-operating agencies -

Young - Weakness in plan is because you do not hold one agency responsible for program - some one has to be boss in area.

Wilkins - Young wants one agency put in charge of a particular target area -

Wilkins - Real problem is jealousy of agencies - not wanting to work under each other -

Brantley - Why can't agencies sell their branches on co-operation -

Moon - Can you assign a co-ordinator from U.E.P. -

Forman - U.E.P. has responsibility to see that project is on going - and before campaign is launched - to see that such is feasible -

Brantley - will have to co-ordinate these programs - if they won't co-operate move on to next target or program -

Patton – How are you going to work out contribution from agencies – when you say you are not going to grant specific amounts for specific areas.

Brunton – Assume you have 2 agencies in one community – if they won't co-operate – then U.E.P. has responsibility for securing the co-operation necessary – grants on a voluntary basis – and such will be basis of securing co-operation.

O'Neill – Co-ordinator of a local community named by local group.–

Brunton – What is overall reaction to this formula –

Wilkin – Sterling plan – with certain reservations – but willing to say this is a sterling plan – to get off ground – with correction when necessary –

McCain; Need to go to work – now –

Young – Will buy this – as a demonstration of ability of to work together – with realization of limitations of Urban League – but with certain standards etc of Urban League – not broad Community base – but selective control – show restraint to promote individual groups – at expense of U.E.P. –

Rich - Basically by it for Navajo - few reservation

McNew - Accepted - designed for Action & Complication of Women organizations - like to get settled

Wyatt - We are working - Acceptable -

Emmert - basic Materials - which can be drawn from a pool - ~~Ground Rules~~ -

Wilkins - Ground Rules as to the use of Materials - distressed by announcement of some claiming credit for everything -

Brunton - Our Budget - should include Cost for Materials -

Moon - Editorial Committee & working Literature - etc.

Brunton - Wants reaction of all Agencies - as to reservation of formula. -

Moon - as to going into Women on Water project and getting involved in action action

Brunton - Because of I RS - this must be a Non-partisan effort - of Voters Registration -

Brantley - Atlanta - Deadline - May 5th -
"All Citizens Voters Registration Committee" -
Group working to meet deadline - submitted
a budget - made an emergency grant of $2000 -
based on concurrence of all local groups -
not a precedent -

Reaction

Willkie + Good idea - NAACP has
made direct grants - Urban
League gave good directions -

Young - Good idea - because organizations are
represented - and groups -
We in contact with Natl
agencies -

Brantley - another grant under consideration -
Durham - everyone removed from Rolls -

Brooks - Durham - NAACP - and
Council of Negro Orgs - $750 Budget -
and 14 other orgs ready

Brantley - here is a short range
program - can get some quick
results in 2 weeks - make a small
grant of say $200 to $250 - for project -

Brantley - Wells - 10 days - unite
agencies - make a grant - on basis
of formula -

In deciding on Grant - and selecting target areas - necessary to talk to agencies - about areas -

Urban League - Clarence Coleman -
SCLC - Jos O'Dell -
NAACP - Mr Morsell or Current -
CORE - Jas McCain -
SNCC - Chuck McDew -

Brownlee

Two agencies - serious need for financial assistance - SNCC and SCLC - Any objection to preliminary grant at this time -

Patton - ~~how~~ why advance grants - if areas are going to be basis of grants -

Young - no objection - Need is not unique for these two ~~as~~ or emergency - Urban League has certain emergencies at this time -

Wilson - Same feeling as Young - but here project is 9 months old & 2 organizations have expanded in anticipation - little unfair to others - go into territory state can't a claim, can't support - then come for emergency funds - ~~not a little~~ a little unfair from relieving emergency - but here where planning was uncertain - no agency should have planned - and

resulting in an emergency.

McCain - And we have a April - agree with Roy - Called have created an emergency -

McDew - Not a case of clean jumping - if only couple weeks - we can wait -

Walker - attempt to get something started

Brantley - Leave it like this -

Cabbard - Ga. has deadline of May 5th - 10 days will stop us -

Brantley - Want what and where you are currently operating right now?

Bards & Dale -

Tennessee -

Memphis -

NAACP - Memphis - Jackson - West Tenn. -

Middle Tenn - Columbia, Nash. - Waverly - NAACP

SCLC - Nash. Chatt & Knox.

NAACP - Knoxville -

Miss. - NAACP - Jackson -
Laurel - Gulfport, Biloxi -
Meridian, Columbus - Clarksdale,
Vicksburg - Greenville - Hattiesburg,
SNCC - (Bob Moses) - 4th Cong.
Dist -
SCLC - 3rd Cong. Dist. - Holly Springs
CORE - Hinds County -

Co-ordinated effort + CORE - SNCC -
SCLC -
Type of Federated Council - state wide
organization -

Deadlines - Poll Tax - 2 years
in Row - Can Register any time - Can't
vote without paying poll tax +

Alabama - Deadline - Feb 1st -
Reg - April 20th - Get people Register -
SCLC - Birmingham Montgomery -
SNCC - Montgomery -
Ala. State Co-ordinating Committee -

Georgia - NAACP - Macon, Albany,
Milledgeville, Augusta - All Kalb County -
Savannah - a
Deadline - May 5th

SCLC - Moore, Albany
Columbus - and 15 Counties + 6th + 1st
Cong. Dist and 3rd + 10th -

SNCC + 2nd + 3rd Cong Dist. -

May 5th Deadline for Primary + General Election

Florida - Last date April 7th +
Book Accepts Fla - May 28th -
Tampa, Orlando, Tallahassee -

Tampa -
Jacksonville -
Miami -

Urban League - Jacksonville -
(Tampa + Miami not equipped) - NAACP
Good Youth Group -

South Carolina
SCLC - 1st + 2nd Cong Dist
NAACP +

Date - May 12th -

CORE - Knows No Carolina -

North Carolina - Durham - Ft Bragg -
May 12th -
Urban League - Winston Salem -

NAACP - North Carolina -

Va. - All Major cities +

Urban League + Richmond -

Brooks -

Training School for Staff -

Conference of Directors -

February 14, 1963

Mr. Roy Wilkins
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Mr. Wilkins:

We have a limited supply of the attached schedule available in this office. We will supply you with any reasonable number of requests for your distribution to those you think should receive it.

Very truly yours,

Jack Minnis
Research Director

JM:js

The above letter was also sent to the following:

NAACP-Roy Wilkins
National Urban League-Whitney Young
SNCC-James Forman
SCLC-Andrew Young
CORE-James Farmer
Henry Cabirac
Ga. Council on Human Relations-
Ala. " " " "
SC " " " "
Ark. " " " "
Tenn. " " " "
Atl. " " " "

Fla. Council on Human Rel.
Va. " " " "
Texas " " " "
Kentucky " " " "
Houston " " " "
N.C. " " " "
VEP Grant Projects:
13, 14, 16, 21, 23, 24, 25, 26

4 - agencies - Joint Correspond.

SUMMARY OF REPORTS FROM NAACP, CORE, AND SNCC

The NAACP, CORE, and SNCC presently have projects designed to increase Negro voter rggistration under way in four southern states--Louisiana, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Mississippi. VEP funds were allocated to these groups for work in various areas of Mississippi, Tennessee, Louisiana, and Georgia. Several grants for work in particular areas have been made to other agencies, however; the Durham Committee on Negro Affairs is a notable example.

In several communities, the major participating agencies (listed above) are encouraged to cooperate and thereby to unify their heretofore competitive efforts. In several instances this arrangement is working well. In others, however, the arrangement has failed to receive approval of the major parties concerned. This presents problems of waste of financial resources and manpower expecially where VEP grants have been made to several agencies for the express purpose of a joint effort. This is not to say, though, that VEP funds granted separately to several agencies must be used jointly. We are merely suggesting that financial joint arrangements be made where feasible and practicable.

Responses regarding statistical data are either nil or inadequate.

It seems that local groups are not being used very widely at present. ~~To the contrary, it seems likely that they are being used sparingly~~. If this is being done across the board,

some local ~~committee~~ VEP efforts may well be stifled or even undermined by certain ever present and effervascent forces therein. On the other hand, a VEP drive headed by a staff of a national organization may well be a panacea to any division of leadership on the local level regarding voter registration.

Increases in voter registration at this time are difficult to determine. In some areas, however, increased activity will catch the attention of the press or other media and should be noted and forwarded to our office as soon as possible. In this way we will be able to keep a running account of the changes hopefully being made.

Techniques or methods for studying and/or securing voter registration vary. Most of the usual methods are used to a lesser or greater extent by each of the organizations reporting, i.e., telephone campaigns, block canvassing, public and/or mass meetings, literature distribution, etc. Perhaps, "to study" is too vague and should either be clarified or no longer required of the participating agencies. If eliminated, their detailed analyses of their efforts and statistics would provide us with the information we need.

I. COMMENTARY:

A. NAACP - The NAACP has proposed to work in 21 cities. Six of these were in North Carolina where crash programs were undertaken. It is to be noted that a special grant was given to a local group in one of those six cities by VEP - Durham Committee on Negro Affairs. Nonetheless, NAACP contributed funds to its Youth Council in Durham for similar activities. While there may have been some overlapping between the efforts of the two groups, the extent, if any, not clear. A letter has been written to DCNA seeking, among other things, to know the kinds of working relationships it had with other groups. Perhaps we can get some thought on its relation to the Youth Council through its reply. It may be that the NAACP's gift was ill-advised in view of the DCNA's grant and its standing in the community on matters of this nature. On the other hand, it could be justified on the basis that no funds passed or arrangement was made between the two groups. This does not, however, dismiss the fact that the NAACP grant to its YC was not envisaged or approved by VEP.

B. COOPERATIVE OPERATIONS:

In Jackson, Mississippi, while there is a cooperative effort between NAACP, SNCC, and CORE, their relationship is "somewhat confused." The NAACP seems uncertain as to what role a key figure would play in the effort--a Dean Jones of Campbell College. SNCC, on the other hand, appears to have recognized him as the coordinator of the joint effort. The effort is publicly under the auspices of the Hinds County Coordinating Committee for Voter Registration. While no figures nor budget for the joint effort is in our office, it would be helpful to have some knowledge about the same as well as the amount of VEP funds being used for the effort. This is so partly because HCCCVR's request for VEP funds in the amount of $3,000 was denied. The basis of the denial was that the participating agencies had already received separate funds for the areas. It should be noted that this request was without the knowledge or consent of at least one group, the NAACP, and probably lacked the approval of CORE and SNCC. It therefore seems necessary to inquire into the financial relationship between the cooperating agencies in Jackson. SNCC believes a "Dr. Young and her group" to be uncooperative in Jackson even though "she is receiving financial aid from SCLC." We (VEP) should probably await further

reports from Moses about this matter as it might work itself out. However, if it persists, we could inquire of SCLC as to the nature of their arrangement with Dr. Young and seek to have her join the fold. In Baton Rouge, CORE and NAACP are cooperating under separate financial and spatial arrangements. The city is divided into two areas with each organization assuming responsibility for one such area (NAACP - East Baton Rouge; CORE - South Baton Rouge).

C. LOCAL GROUPS:

SNCC's listing of local groups with which it is working is the most complete to date. CORE and NAACP have either not responded to our request or their response has been inadequate; nor did SNCC explain the nature of its relationship to the local groups. It would seem that this would be most important if local groups are deemed to be useful in any way to the particular agency's voter education project. If they are not so deemed, the group should inform us to that effect along with the reasons why.

D. CENSUS DATA:

SNCC provided information about the areas in Mississippi. The NAACP had not had time, at the time of their reply, to collect such. CORE's response was questionable as they merely listed the voting age populations in Baton Rouge and South Carolina. Their South Carolina

figures seem disproportionate (See: The Negro and the Ballot - Price, 1959, S. C. Census figures). Our figures of the total population of Sumter, York and Clarendon Counties were: total white population - approximately 97,000; total non-white population - approximately 92,000. CORE's figures were: Negro voting age population - approximately 300,000; white voting age population - approximately 966,000.

E. EFFECTS OF PROJECT:

1. The NAACP reports increases in voter registration, the basis and/or extent of which is not stated.
2. CORE reports increases in Sumter, South Carolina, and Baton Rouge, the basis and/or extent of which is not stated.
3. SNCC - "no substantial increase in voter registration in Mississippi."

F. TECHNIQUES - METHODS:

1. NAACP makes use of block canvassing, public meetings "to kick off and arouse public support as a source of canvassers," telephone campaigns, literature distribution, posters, radio spots, sound trucks, etc.
2. CORE uses door-to-door canvassing as its primary technique. Instruction of voters is also one of its services.
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VEP

	CORE	NAACP	NUL	SCLC	SNCC	LOCAL
GA.						Atlanta
LA.	Baton Rouge	Shreveport Baton Rouge Lake Charles Monroe		Shreveport Caddo Parish		New Orleans
MISS.	Jackson	Jackson			Jackson Marshall Co. 3rd Cong. 4th Cong. Hattiesburg	
N.C.		High Point Fayetteville Charlotte Rocky Mount Wilmington Edenton	Winston-Salem	Chowan Co. Eliz. City		Durham
S.C.	6th Cong. Clarendon Co. Sumter Co. York Co.	Beaufort Columbia Greenville Charleston		Charleston	Orangeburg Co.	
TENN.		Memphis Fayette Co. Haywood Co. Knoxville Chattanooga Clarksville		Knoxville Chattanooga		
VA.			Richmond	4th Cong.		

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actual voting age
N-62628
N-35758

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For VEP Use Only - LD WB

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NEWS . . . VIEWS . . . AND ACTIVITIES . . . OF THE

GREATER ATLANTA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

5 FORSYTH STREET, ATLANTA, GEORGIA
PHONE: 525-6469

NEWSLETTER, JUNE, 1962

BUNCHE ANNOUNCEMENT

DR. RALPH BUNCHE, UNDER-SECRETARY OF THE UNITED NATIONS, WAS THE VERY DISTINGUISHED GUEST OF THE GREATER ATLANTA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS AT A LUNCHEON HELD ON THE EMORY UNIVERSITY CAMPUS ON JULY 6, 1962. A CAPACITY CROWD OF MORE THAN 200 HEARD VICE-MAYOR MASSELL INTRODUCE THE AUDIENCE "ATLANTA'S BEST PEOPLE" TO DR. BUNCHE AND THEN LISTENED ENCHANTED WHILE DR. BUNCHE DISCOURSED LEARNEDLY AND WITTILY OF THE WONDERFUL WORK OF THE UN. THE OCCASION WAS COVERED BY LOCAL AND NATIONAL PRESS AND TELEVISION. GENTLE, KIND AND HUMANE, DR. BUNCHE IS A CREDIT TO HIS NATION AND WE ARE HONORED TO HAVE HAD HIM AS OUR GUEST.

****

MUSIC TO OUR EARS

CONGRATULATIONS TO THE SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON THE STUPENDOUS SUCCESS OF THEIR BELAFONTE CONCERT! THEY SOLD 4,684 TICKETS FOR A PROFIT OF $9,000.

COME TO THE THEATER UNDER THE STARS AT THE CHASTAIN PARK AMPHITHEATER FOR TOP NOTCH PRODUCTIONS IN BEAUTIFUL COOL SURROUNDINGS. FROM JULY 10 - AUGUST 19 THEY WILL PRESENT STAR PERFORMERS IN PROVEN PRODUCTIONS.

****

DAYS IN COURT

EMORY UNIVERSITY IS APPEALING THE DECISION WHICH WOULD VOID THEIR TAX-EXEMPT STATUS IN THE EVENT OF DESEGREGATION.

SUIT HAS BEEN FILED IN FEDERAL COURT DEMANDING THE COMPLETE DESEGREGATION OF GRADY HOSPITAL FACILITIES, WHICH WOULD INCLUDE PATIENT FACILITIES, STAFFS, TRAINING SCHOOLS (NURSING, X-RAY, MEDICAL TECHNICIANS), EMORY MEDICAL SCHOOL, FULTON COUNTY MEDICAL SOCIETY AND NORTH GEORGIA DENTAL ASSOCIATION.

****

OUR OFFICIALS

THE UNITARIAN SERVICE COMMITTEE HAS A NEW EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR,

MR. WILLARD JOHNSON, WHO CAME TO HIS JOB FROM THE EUROPEAN MISSION OF CARE. MR. ERNEST LENT, CONTINUES AS DIRECTOR OF THE DEPARTMENT OF COMMUNITY SERVICES, USA.

ELIZA PASCHALL, OUR OWN GREATER ATLANTA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS DIRECTOR, HAS RECEIVED A SIGNAL HONOR. HER ESSAY, "A SOUTHERN POINT OF VIEW", ORGINALLY PRINTED IN THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY, WILL BE REPRINTED IN A COLLECTION OF ESSAYS FOR COLLEGE STUDENTS.

****

MY, HOW WE'VE GROWN!

LESS THAN TWO YEARS AGO THE MEMBERSHIP OF THE GREATER ATLANTA COUNCIL NUMBERED 190. NOW WE ARE A WHOPPING 480, BUT WE NEED MANY MANY MORE. THOSE TOWERS OF PREJUDICE - JUST REMEMBER THE BIGGER WE ARE, THE HARDER THEY FALL.

****

SEGREGATION IN THE HEALTH DEPARTMENT?

IN ANSWER TO A LETTER FROM KAY HOFFMAN, OUR PRESIDENT, DR. J. F. HACKNEY, COMMISSIONER OF HEALTH FOR FULTON COUNTY, REPLIED AS FOLLOWS:

COPY COPY

FULTON COUNTY HEALTH DEPARTMENT

99 BUTLER STREET, S. E.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

JUNE
1
1962

MRS. CLIFTON G. HOFFMAN
GREATER ATLANTA
COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

DEAR MRS. HOFFMAN:

THANK YOU FOR YOUR RECENT LETTER RELATIVE TO THE PUBLIC HEALTH PROGRAM IN FULTON COUNTY. I EMPATHICALLY ASSURE YOU AND YOUR ORGANIZATION THAT I DEFINITELY DID NOT MAKE THE STATEMENT RELATIVE TO THE SPREAD OF VENEREAL DISEASE WHICH APPEARED IN THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION, MAY 9, 1962. FOR APPROXIMATELY 31 YEARS I HAVE BEEN WORKING WITH PATIENTS WITH VENEREAL DISEASES IN ATLANTA, GEORGIA. DURING THESE MANY YEARS I HAVE NEVER TRACED THE SOURCE OF INFECTION TO A RESTROOM. I DO NOT KNOW A DOCTOR WHO HAS. THE SPREAD OF VENEREAL DISEASE FROM ONE RACE TO THE OTHER IS NOT A PROBLEM IN THIS DEPARTMENT.

THE FUNCTION OF THE HEALTH DEPARTMENT IS TO RENDER PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICES IN AN IMPARTIAL MANNER TO MEMBERS OF THE HUMAN RACE. IN CARRYING OUT THIS PROGRAM MORE THAN 30% OF OUR EMPLOYEES ARE OF THE NEGRO RACE. MANY OF THESE WORK HARMONIOUSLY SIDE BY SIDE WITH EMPLOYEES OF THE WHITE RACE RENDERING THE SAME PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICES TO PEOPLE OF BOTH RACES. OUR SERVICES ARE RENDERED IN A COURTEOUS AND DIGNIFIED MANNER. WE HAVE COMMON WAITING ROOMS, DRINKING FOUNTS AND THE PATIENTS ARE SERVED IN THE ORDER OF THEIR ARRIVAL AT THE CLINIC. IN MY OPINION, WE HAVE THE MOST DESEGREGATED PUBLIC FACILITY THAT YOU WILL FIND IN A LARGE SOUTHERN AMERICAN CITY.

WE ARE WELL AWARE THAT THIS IS A PUBLIC FACILITY AND THAT EQUAL SERVICES ARE AVAILABLE TO ALL. WE ARE ALSO KEENLY CONSCIOUS OF THE FACT THAT COMMUNICABLE DISEASE ARE COMMON TO BOTH RACES AND THAT THE NEED FOR IMPROVED ENVIRONMENTAL SANITATION CONDITIONS IS THE SAME. WE ARE VERY PROUD OF OUR PUBLIC HEALTH PROGRAM AND APPRECIATE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO SEND THIS INFORMATION TO YOUR ORGANIZATION AND WE SOLICIT YOUR CONTINUED SUPPORT.

THANKING YOU VERY MUCH.

RESPECTFULLY,

J. F. HACKNEY, M. D.
COMMISSIONER OF HEALTH

****

SUMMER VISITORS GALORE

THE GREATER ATLANTA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS SERVES AS THE LOCAL SPONSORING ORGANIZATION FOR THE GOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS INSTITUTE OF WASHINGTON, WHICH ARRANGES THE TOURS FOR THE U. S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE. MORE THAN ONE HUNDRED MEMBERS AND FRIENDS OF THE COUNCIL ASSIST IN THIS PROGRAM.

"SCHEDULES OF THE VISITORS INCLUDE SUCH VARIED ACTIVITIES AS INTERVIEWS WITH PUBLIC OFFICIALS, GOING ON A FAMILY PICNIC, LOCAL THEATRICAL OFFERINGS, VISITS TO LOCAL BUSINESSES, INTERVIEWS WITH LOCAL JOURNALISTS, AND TOURS OF THE CITY. THEY HAVE DIFFERENT INTERESTS AND WE TRY TO SHOW THEM WHAT THEY WANT TO SEE, AND INTRODUCE THEM TO THE PEOPLE THEY WANT TO MEET. THE ONE FEATURE COMMON TO ALL THE VISITS IS THAT EACH PERSON DOES HAVE AN OPPORTUNITY TO VISIT A FAMILY IN A HOME AND SEE FOR THEMSELVES WHAT AMERICAN AND PARTICULARLY ATLANTA HOME LIFE IS LIKE", DONNA SAID.

****

SUMMER POLITICS GALORE, TOO

WITH ELECTIONS COMING UP THIS FALL, THE POLITICAL PICTURE GROWS MORE FASCINATING AND MORE FRANTIC HOURLY. THE COUNCIL, A NON-PARTISAN ORGANIZATION, URGES THAT YOU TAKE AN ACTIVE PART IN SUP-

PORTING THE PARTY AND THE CANDIDATES OF YOUR CHOICE.

DONNA POTSWALD, OUR FOREIGN VISITORS CHAIRMAN, WAS INVITED TO ATTEND A CONFERENCE IN WASHINGTON JUNE 25 AND 26, SPONSORED BY THE U. S. AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND THE NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR COMMUNITY SERVICES TO INTERNATIONAL VISITORS. DONNA REPORTED THAT DURING MAY, WE ENTERTAINED 11 INDIVIDUALS FROM 7 FOREIGN COUNTRIES, FOR A TOTAL OF 21 DAYS. THE GUESTS INCLUDED JOURNALIST, TEACHERS, GOVERNMENT ADMINISTRATORS AND STUDENTS, FROM GERMANY, SCOTLAND, CHAD (NEWEST AFRICAN NATION), SOUTHERN RHODESIA, INDIA, YUGOSLAVIA, THE NETHERLANDS AND ITALY.

****

OTHER SUMMER ATTRACTIONS

ACADEMY THEATER SHAKESPEARE FESTIVAL; POCKET THEATER; ATLANTA UNIVERSITY DRAMATIC PRODUCTION SUMMER THEATER; QUAKER HOUSE EVENTS FOR OLD AND YOUNG.

****

SCHOOL NEWS

CATHOLIC SCHOOLS: SUNDAY, JUNE 9, ARCHBISHOP PAUL HALLINAN ANNOUNCED THAT SCHOOLS OPERATED BY THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN THE 71 COUNTY ATLANTA DIOCESE WILL BE DESEGREGATED FOR THE 1962-63 SESSION.

DECATUR: NEGRO PARENTS ATTEMPTED TO REGISTER THEIR CHILDREN IN SUMMER SCHOOL AT DECATUR HIGH SCHOOL. THERE HAD BEEN NO SUMMER SESSION SCHEDULED FOR THE NEGRO HIGH SCHOOL. SCHOOL AUTHORITIES IMMEDIATELY ANNOUNCED THAT SUMMER CLASSES WOULD BE HELD IN THE NEGRO SCHOOL, AND EVEN THOUGH 15 IS SUPPOSED TO BE THE MINIMUM NUMBER FOR A CLASS, A TEACHER IS BEING PROVIDED FOR 7 NEGRO STUDENTS.

ATLANTA: 44 NEGRO STUDENTS TRANSFERRED TO GO TO "WHITE" HIGH SCHOOLS AS FOLLOWS:

3 TO BROWN (FROM WASHINGTON); 3 TO FULTON (FROM PRICE); 2 TO SYLVAN (FROM HOWARD); 8 TO BASS (6 FROM HOWARD, 1 FROM CARVER, 1 FROM TURNER); 4 TO GRADY (FROM HOWARD); 2 TO O'KEEFE (FROM WASHINGTON); 2 TO WEST FULTON (FROM CARVER); 12 TO MURPHY (ALL FROM HOWARD); 2 TO ROOSEVELT (FROM HOWARD); 6 TO SMITH (5 FROM HOWARD, 1 FROM WASHINGTON). DIVISION ACCORDING TO GRADES IS 32 IN 10TH GRADE, 9 IN 11TH; 3 IN 12TH. NAMES AND ADDRESSES ARE ON FILE AT THE COUNCIL OFFICE. IF YOU KNOW STUDENTS, TEACHERS OR COMMUNITY LEADERS IN ANY OF THESE 10 SCHOOLS WHO WOULD LIKE TO HELP ORIENT THESE STUDENTS TO THEIR NEW SCHOOLS, PLEASE LET US KNOW.

THE COUNCIL, ALONG WITH NAACP, ACCA, SCLC, SNCC, PTAS AND OTHER CIVIC GROUPS HAS URGED THE ATLANTA BOARD OF EDUCATION TO RE-CONSIDER ITS PLAN TO HOUSE 8TH GRADERS AT HOWARD HIGH SCHOOL IN PORTABLE BUILDINGS TO BE PLACED ON THE URBAN RENEWAL SITE.

****

CHURCH AND PRIVATE SCHOOL SURVEY

ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE DESEGREGATION OF CATHOLIC PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS IN THE ATLANTA AREA HAS PROMPTED INQUIRIES ABOUT POLICIES OF OTHER CHURCH SUPPORTED OR CHURCH RELATED EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS IN THE GREATER ATLANTA AREA. AN INFORMAL SURVEY OF SUCH INSTITUTIONS MADE BY THE GREATER ATLANTA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS SHOWS TWO WILL ACCEPT APPLICATIONS FROM NEGRO STUDENTS, AND TWO WILL NOT AND SIX HAVE "NO POLICY". THE WESTMINSTER SCHOOLS (PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH RELATED) AND TRINITY PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH KINDERGARTEN WILL ACCEPT APPLICATIONS FROM ALL QUALIFIED STUDENTS.

BRIARCLIFF BAPTIST, NURSING AND KINDERGARTEN, COLONIAL HILLS CHRISTIAN SCHOOL WILL NOT ACCEPT APPLICATIONS FROM NEGRO STUDENTS.

THOSE WHICH SAID THEY HAVE HAD NO APPLICATIONS FROM NEGROES AND THEREFORE HAVE NO POLICY ARE THE LOVETT SCHOOL (ACCORDING TO A SCHOOL SPOKEMAN "GUIDED BY THOUGH NOT CONTROLLED BY THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH), BETHANY CHRISTIAN SCHOOL, HOLY CROSS EPISCOPAL KINDERGARTEN, OGLETHORPE PRESBYTERIAN KINDERGARTEN AND MERCER UNIVERSITY COLLEGE OF PHAYMACY (BAPTIST), GLENN MEMORIAL NURSERY SCHOOL AND KINDERGARTEN AND EAST POINT PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH KINDERGARTEN.

TWO PRIVATE SCHOOLS CONTACTED PACE ACADEMY AND AN-LYN WORTH SCHOOLS - WILL NOT ACCEPT APPLICATIONS FROM NEGROES. NEGROES ARE NOT ACCEPTED AT THE ATLANTA SPEECH SCHOOL, THE CEREBRAL PALSY SCHOOL OR THE FAIRHAVEN SCHOOL (FOR MENTALLY RETARDED).

****

EDITOR CITED BY NATIONAL GROUP

CLARK COLLEGE PRESIDENT JAMES P. BRAWLEY AND CLARENCE D. COLEMAN, SOUTHERN REGIONAL DIRECTOR OF THE URBAN LEAGUE AND SECRETARY OF THE ATLANTA INQUIRER, INC., CONGRATULATED CARL HOLMAN, PROFESSOR OF ENGLISH AT CLARK AND EDITOR OF THE ATLANTA INQUIRER. HOLMAN WAS SELECTED THIS WEEK BY THE AMERICAN POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION AS ONE OF 14 SOUTHERN NEWSMEN WHO WILL RECEIVE AWARDS FOR EXCELLENCE IN PUBLICE AFFAIRS REPORTING.

BOTH THE EDITOR AND THE INQUIRER WILL RECEIVE PLAQUES FROM THE ASSOCIATION. IN ADDITION, HOLMAN AND THE OTHER NEWSPAPERMEN HAVE BEEN INVITED TO ATTEND A WEEK-LONG SEMINAR IN WASHINGTON FOLLOWING THE NOVEMBER ELECTIONS. OVER 40 ENTRIES WERE SUBMITTED THIS YEAR FOR THE APSA PROGRAM WHICH FINANCED THROUGH A GRANT FROM THE FORD FOUNDATION.

****

EMPLOYMENT SURVEY: DONE JOINTLY BY THE COUNCIL, ATLANTA COMMITTEE FOR COOPERATIVE ACTION AND SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL IS OFF THE PRESS. SINCE VACATIONS INTERFERE WITH SUMMER READING, WE WILL WAIT TO SEND IT UNTIL LATE SUMMER. IF YOU WANT A COPY EARLIER, GIVE US A CALL AT THE OFFICE.

SRC PUBLICATIONS: A REVISED LIST IS AVAILABLE. IF YOU'RE INTERESTED CALL US OR SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL (JA. 2-8764).

file
Atlanta Council

YOU ALL ARE WELCOME.....

CUSTOMS CHANGE FROM DAY TO DAY. A PLACE THAT IS SEGREGATED TODAY MAY BE DESEGREGATED TOMORROW, AND IN SOME VERY FEW INSTANCES PLACES THAT HAD SERVED INTERRACIAL GROUPS LATER DECLINED TO DO SO. THE GREATER ATLANTA COUNCIL MAKES AN EFFORT TO KEEP UP TO DATE, ACCURATE INFORMATION ABOUT PROGRESS OF DESEGREGATION IN THE COMMUNITY. WE WOULD WELCOME ADDITIONAL INFORMATION. SO FAR AS WE HAVE BEEN ABLE TO DETERMINE, THE FOLLOWING IS CORRECT AS OF THE END OF JUNE, 1962.

EATING PLACES

YWCA CAFETERIA, EDGEWOOD AND IVY
STOUFFEUR'S, DOWNSTAIRS IN THE MERCHANDISE MART
TOP O'THE MART (ALSO STOUFFEUR'S)
RICH'S MAGNOLIA ROOM AND OTHER EATING PLACES IN ALL STORES
DAVISON'S TEA ROOM AND OTHER EATING PLACES.
GRANT'S
JACOB'S PHARMACIES
SEARS ROEBUCK
H. L. GREEN
KRESS
McCRORY'S
LANE'S DRUG STORES
THE COACH AND SIX RESTAURANT
FRANKLIN SIMON'S
Woolworth's
Newberry's

INTERRACIAL GROUPS MAY ARRANGE PRIVATE MEETINGS, ETC., AT THE ATLANTA BILTMORE, DINKLER PLAZA, DINGO HO, MAMMY'S SHANTY, AND EMORY UNIVERSITY FOOD CENTER.

PEACHTREE MANOR HOTEL
AMERICANA MOTEL

CULTURAL AND RECREATIONAL FACILITIES

ATLANTA ART GALLERIES
ATLANTA SYMPHONY ORCHESTRA CONCERTS
ACTORS EQUITY PRODUCTION
THEATER UNDER THE STARS (AT CHASTAIN PARK)
ATLANTA CITY GOLF COURSES
ATLANTA PUBLIC LIBRARY - ALL BRANCHES
DECATUR-DEKALB LIBRARY
JEWISH COMMUNITY CENTER
QUAKER HOUSE
POCKET THEATER
ACADEMY THEATER (SHAKESPEARE FESTIVAL)
LOEW'S GRAND THEATER
FOX THEATER
RIALTO THEATER
ROXY THEATER
RHODES THEATER
PEACHTREE ART

ALL ATLANTA CITY FACILITIES OR FUNCTIONS WITH EXCEPTION OF SWIMMING POOLS.

EVENTS AT COLLEGE CAMPUSES THROUGHOUT TH E GREATER ATLANTA COMMUNITY:

ORGANIZATIONS:

ACTIVE VOTERS
ATLANTA ASSOCIATION FOR GIFTED CHILDREN
ATLANTA CHAPTER, AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR THE UNITED NATIONS
GREATER ATLANTA COUNCIL OF CHURCHES
LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS (OF ATLANTA, OF DEKALB COUNTY)
WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM
DEMOCRATIC FORUM OF FULTON COUNTY AND DEKALB DEMOCRATS
REPUBLICAN ORGANIZATIONS OF DEKALB COUNTY AND FULTON COUNTY

SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES (HAVE ACCEPTED OR INDICATED WILLINGNESS TO ACCEPT APPLICATIONS FROM ALL)

CERTAIN ATLANTA PUBLIC SCHOOLS
CATHOLIC SCHOOLS
GEORGIA TECH
GEORGIA STATE COLLEGE
OGLETHORPE UNIVERSITY
AGNES SCOTT COLLEGE (BEGINNING 1963-64 SESSION)
THE WESTMINSTER SCHOOLS
TRINITY PRESBYTERIAN SCHOOL

GREATER ATLANTA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
5 FORSYTH STREET, NORTHWEST
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JUNE, 1962

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Post Office Department
Washington, D. C.

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State Commission on Human Rights
New York, New York

VICE-PRESIDENTS
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New York, New York
JOHN MORSELL
N.A.A.C.P.
New York, New York

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Detroit, Michigan

TREASURER
IRVING GOLDABER
New York City Commission on Human Rights
New York, New York

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Denver, Colorado
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**NAIRO Regional Chairman*
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NAIRO

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF INTERGROUP RELATIONS OFFICIALS
2027 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N.W. • WASHINGTON 6, D.C. • 387-7050

AUG - 6 1962

1962 CONFERENCE PROGRAM COMMITTEE

August 6, 1962

Mr. Wiley Branton
Director, Voter Education Project
Room 206, 5 Forsyth Street, S.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Branton:

Just a note to express my appreciation and that of my colleagues on the 1962 NAIRO Conference Program Committee for your graciousness in accepting our invitation to speak on governmental and community group efforts at Southern voter registration. As indicated earlier, this session is scheduled for luncheon on Saturday, December 1 at the Sheraton Park Hotel.

You will be pleased to know, I am confident, that Assistant Attorney General Burke Marshall has also accepted our invitation and will share the platform with you.

As our conference plans further develop through the early fall, I will be in touch with you on other details.

Sincerely,

Robert J. Greene,
Chairman

RJG/br

July 10, 1962

Mr. Robert J. Greene, Chairman
Conference Program Committee
National Association of Intergroup
Relations Officials
2027 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Mr. Greene:

I will be pleased to speak on citizen efforts at voter registration during the Annual Conference of NAIRO in Washington on Saturday, December 1, 1962, and hope that I will be able to spend additional time at your Conference.

I would appreciate receiving a copy of your program and any other information pertaining to the Conference as soon as it shall have been developed.

Sincerely yours,

Wiley A. Branton
Project Director

WAB:gwc

JUL 10 1962

NAIRO

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF INTERGROUP RELATIONS OFFICIALS
2027 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N.W. • WASHINGTON 6, D.C. • 387-7050

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*NAIRO Regional Chairman
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***Legal Counsel

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
FREDERICK B. ROUTH

ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
ALBERT L. NELLUM

July 6, 1962

Mr. Wiley Branton
Director, Voter Education Project
Room 206, 5 Forsyth Street, S. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Branton:

As I believe you are aware, the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials is the professional society of workers in the fields of equal opportunity, the protection and enhancement of civil liberties and civil rights, and the reduction and mastery of intergroup tension. I am confident that you are familiar with the Association and with many of its members. They, of course, are familiar with your work and especially interested in your present responsibility with the Southern voter project.

From November 28 to December 1, NAIRO will be holding its Sixteenth Annual Conference at the Sheraton-Park Hotel in Washington. During those four days of discussion and analysis, the Conference Program Committee, of which I am chairman, and on which are several known to you, has determined upon a major session on governmental and private efforts at Southern voter registration. We are also extending an invitation to Mr. Burke Marshall, Assistant Attorney General in Charge of the Civil Rights Division. The tentative format is for two parallel presentations, and, of course, we would much like you to speak of citizen efforts at voter registration. Perhaps by late November we will all be able to look at this matter with new perspective and new insight. Certainly we would be very appreciative if you would reflect on method, scope and effect of the Project to this group of professional colleagues.

The session we are discussing will probably be held on Saturday noon, December 1. I very much hope that we will soon hear from you that you will be able to participate.

Sincerely and fraternally,

Robert J. Greene

Robert J. Greene, Chairman
Conference Program Committee

RJG/ad

League of Women Voters of Atlanta

8/10/62

BG 8/14
8/16

Mrs. Willis Adams
Atlanta League ofWomen Voters
237-9973

She is in charge of voter service.

Would like to speak with Mr. Branton concerning a possible financial arrangement with us toward their"I have Voted" tags.

Paul Anthony referred her call to us.

VP. PCS
Mrs. Edwards

8/16/62

Phoned Mrs. David J. Edwards, Jr. (Tr2-3485) V.Pres. League of Women Voters (Mrs. Coburn was killed in auto accident yesterday in Maine - President of Atl. League).

Told Mrs. Edwards that VEP's budget at this time would not allow for expenditure on our part toward the "I have Voted" tags but that we would be interested in future in supporting LWV project.

J. Levine

program highlights

GEORGIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS - 41 EXCHANGE PLACE, ATLANTA, GEORGIA

FROM THE COUNCILS: August, 1962

BRUNSWICK

The sea breezes, the sunshine seem to have had a unique influence on the people in this beautiful town. There is an understanding and open mindedness that is refreshing. The new Council has met regularly with increased attendance in spite of vacations. In the meantime the Brunswick Movement has been organized with Julius Caesar Hope as chairman. It is holding weekly mass meetings and weekly schools for training in the theory of non-violence. It seems evident that Brunswick with its fine leadership, its progressive government will set a new pattern for South Georgia.

* * * * * * * *

ROME

In late July a negotiating committee representing a cross section of the community met with the City Commission to discuss possible changes in the patterns of discrimination in Rome. They were cordially received and promised careful consideration of their requests. In fact, the Commission had anticipated some demands and had voluntarily granted them.

* * * * * * * * * * * * *

AUGUSTA

As progress is made in Augusta we hope that the general atmosphere will continue to improve. Tension precipitated by the trial of 9 Negro youths for the death of a white teen-ager was lessened by the firm action of Judge Kennedy. Many precautions were taken to eliminate the danger of a repetition of violence.

* * * * * * * * * * * * *

COLUMBUS

Several of the stalwarts in the Columbus Council have moved away leaving a great vacuum in this small group. Do you have a friend in Columbus whom you will contact and explain the Council?

* * * * * * * *

ATLANTA

The Greater Atlanta Council has recently published an invaluable list of desegregated places in the city. We hope all our friends will express their approval by visiting these institutions and establishments.

RESPONSE TO THE ALBANY LETTER

Last winter we stated that there was a lack of understanding in Albany. This is much more evident today. In the 250 answers to our letter we read again and again, "There is no misunderstanding in Albany," "The trouble in Albany has been initiated, sponsored and kept alive by outsiders," "There always has been good race relations in Albany." A startling number of the letters contained shameful obscenities; of these, many were written on personal or business stationery and 70 were signed.

Privately, business men tell you that they know it is a new day in the world, that changes will have to take place, but always "now is not the time."

At the present, demonstrations have stopped. Dr. King has left town. We hope he has left behind a new conception of and belief in non-violence. Other "outsiders" have left. There is an omnibus case in the courts attacking all municipal segregated facilities.

A deep desire for freedom continues to grow in the heart of the South Georgia Negro. Perhaps the white Albanian is finding himself not free also. He has been unable to speak and act freely. Now in a comparatively quiet city he can proceed with the difficult task of breaking the silence and moving in the direction of reconciliation. All of Albany needs to be set free.

* *

CONGRATULATIONS, MISS EARLY

Mary Frances Early became the first Negro graduate of the University of Georgia when she received her degree, with honors, from the School of Music in Athens on August 16. Another barrier fell when Miss Early sang with the University's 40-member Summer Chorus. Miss Early is a teacher at the John Hope School in Atlanta.

* *

DAYBREAK IN GEORGIA

Someday there will be
Daybreak in Georgia.
There among the tall pine trees
The fragrant incense from pine needles
Burning in the Sun
Will be as incense on the altar of God.
Some day hands will clasp,
Black hands, white hands, brown hands,
In a Symphony of Fellow-ship.
Then the weary years
The silent tears
Will end.
Through our land will blow
the clean, clear winds of Love,
Love of our fellow man:
Someday there will be
Daybreak in Georgia.

- - Stella Muse Whitehead

(Miss Whitehead was born in Savannah, Georgia, now resides in Florida.)

This letter was mailed to 10,186 white homes in Albany. 10,000 were distributed in the Negro community. We have reason to believe it has helped raise questions and break the silence of some of the wonderful people there.

July 30, 1962

Dear Friend:

Now in the extremity of misunderstanding and danger in Albany, when racial unrest disturbs the streets, threatens the prosperity and embarrasses Georgia before the country and the world, let us consider what Albany citizens of good will can do to permanently resolve the troubles.

The experience of other Georgia cities--Savannah, Macon and Columbus, to name a few where white and colored neighbors have come to some agreement on Negro demands for their public rights--suggests several fruitful and reconciling steps which can be taken to help the city out of the impasse.

First, it seems clear that no Georgia community has come to any racial agreement without meetings, sympathetic talk and new understanding between whites and Negroes. Mistakes have been made by the Negro citizens--mistakes have been made by various inter-racial organizations yet the underlying principles are still there. Truth can be found through knowledge and understanding. Albanians can as individuals and as groups seek this truth.

Second, it is equally clear that Albany's present crisis hinges on the refusal of City Commissioners to meet with and discuss grievances of Negro citizens. These, the elected officials are responsible for the just conduct of public affairs--Mayor Asa D. Kelley Jr., Buford Collins, L. W. Mott, C. B. Pritchett, Allen Davis, W. C. Holman Jr., and T. H. McCollum, members of the city commission, who seem to have delegated delicate and vital policy decisions to salaried officials whom they control--need to know their constituents feelings about this disastrous situation. Elected officials are notably responsiveto the pressure of such expressions, a salutary change of mind can be brought about at city hall.

Third, it is also clear that the fastest growing town in Georgia is in grave danger of economic loss and stagnation which afflicted Little Rock. Business and political leaders in Albany who value their prosperity can save it by opposing the recalcitrance of city hall and by demanding reasonable agreements to restore peace, healthy business and continued economic advances.

Ask yourself this question: "What can I do?"

a. Talk to or write your city commissioners, asking them to settle this disorder now.
b. Write your Chamber of Commerce--they want it settled. Tell them they have your endorsement.
c. Call or see your minister, discuss the situation with him; pledge your support.

Let us open our minds, let us listen to reason and seek the truth. And let us act for a just and happy end to this dangerous, damaging and senseless struggle.

Sincerely,

Frances Pauley

Mrs. Frances Pauley, Director
GEORGIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

TWB

Proposed Agenda, Southern Interagency Conference
Atlanta, Georgia - September 13-14, 1962

I. Introduction of new participating agency: Mennonite Service Committee. -Vincent Hardy

II. School desegregation developments:

1. Chattanooga -Ruby Hurley
2. New Orleans -Irwin Schulman -Henry Cabirac
3. Prince Edward County -Jean Fairfax
4. Other significant developments
5. Consideration of pupil placement laws, their effectiveness to date, token desegregation, recent legal challenges. -Leslie Dunbar

III. Report on Memphis hearings of Civil Rights Commission. -Courtney Siceloff

IV. Introduction of new Executive Director of NAIRO; discussion of NAIRO's role in the South. -Fred Routh

V. Recent trends on the Extreme Right. -Justin Finger

VI. The Prayer Pilgrimage rides again. -John Morris

VII. Lessons of the Albany situation. -Frances Pauley -Wyatt Walker

VIII. Voter Education Project, the first ninety days. -Wiley Branton

IX. Other.

X. Evaluation of Southern Interagency Conference, possible changes in format, et cetera.

XI. Selection of chairman, secretary, time and place of next meeting.

SCHEDULE

Thursday, September 13

2:00 P.M. - Meeting begins. Bamboo Room, Waluhaje Hotel, 239 West Lake Avenue, N.W.
5:30 P.M. - Adjournment
7:00 P.M. - Dinner
8:00 P.M. - Informal social hour. Social committee: Jean Fairfax, Courtney Siceloff, Thornton Merriam, Henry Cabirac.

Friday, September 14

9:30 A.M. - Meeting begins. Bamboo Room.
12:00 Noon - Luncheon.
3:00 P.M. - Adjournment.

NOTE: Those staying overnight at Waluhaje Thursday must check out by 3:00 P.M. Friday unless other arrangements are made.

37.50
37.50
75.00

653.80

37.50
Credit 68.08
Bal $548.32

Atla Jour 9-28-62 p.6

WB

SL file Intergroup agencies

Jews Urged to Aid Negroes

The American Jewish Committee has urged its membership to assist in the drive to rebuild Negro churches burned in southwest Georgia.

The committee, founded in 1906 to combat bigotry and protect the civil and religious rights of Jews, also called for "concrete and moral support" for the various voter registration campaigns in the South.

A. M. SONNABEND, president of the committee, said that in helping to rebuild the churches, all Americans have the opportunity to support "the stalwart response of Negro leaders which has evoked widespread admiration.

"Their resolve to overcome in peaceful and nonviolent ways every obstacle that stands in the way of full emancipation is stamped with Biblical and prophetic spirit and dignity," he said. "To many Jews, this struggle evokes ancient memories of the deliverance out of bondage, and strengthens our identification with this present struggle for human dignity."

The committee recommended that money for the church project be sent to the Fund for the Rebuilding of Burned Churches, National Council of the Churches in Christ, 475 Riverside Dr., New York, 27, N.Y. Contributions to the voter registration campaign may be sent to the Voter Education Project, Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth St., NW, Atlanta, 3.

NEWS . . . VIEWS . . . AND ACTIVITIES . . . OF THE

GREATER ATLANTA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

5 FORSYTH STREET, ATLANTA, GEORGIA
TELEPHONE: 525-6469

NEWSLETTER, SEPTEMBER, 1962

IMPORTANT MEMBERSHIP MEETING

SEPTEMBER 27, AT THE LIFE OF GEORGIA BUILDING,
16 LINDEN AVENUE, N. E. (CORNER OF LINDEN AVENUE AND WEST
PEACHTREE STREET, ACROSS FROM CRAWFORD LONG HOSPITAL) FROM
EIGHT UNTIL TEN P.M.

LATEST REPORTS ON ATLANTA AND DEKALB SCHOOLS, SWIMMING POOLS AND THE ALBANY SITUATION.

****

SPECIAL BUSINESS: SINCE THE ATLANTA COUNCIL IS NOW OPERATING INDEPENDENTLY WITH ITS OWN OFFICE, STAFF AND FINANCIAL OBLIGATIONS, WE HAVE APPLIED, FOR THE FIRST TIME, TO THE U. S. INTERNAL REVENUE SERVICE FOR TAX EXEMPTION. IN ORDER TO MEET THE TECHNICAL REQUIREMENTS, CERTAIN CHANGES IN OUR BY-LAWS ARE NECESSARY. THESE WILL BE VOTED ON AT THIS MEETING.
THE BOARD RECOMMENDS THE FOLLOWING CHANGES:
ARTICLE II TO READ AS FOLLOWS:

"PURPOSE AND POLICY: SECTION 1. ITS PURPOSE IS TO CARRY ON IN THE

GREATER ATLANTA AREA ON EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF ECONOMIC, CIVIC, CULTURAL AND RELIGIOUS CONDITIONS IN THE AREA. TO REDUCE INTERGROUP TENSIONS AND THEIR CAUSES; TO PROMOTE INTERGROUP UNDERSTANDING; TO COOPERATE WITH THE STATE, REGIONAL AND NATIONAL AGENCIES IN THE ATTAINMENT OF THESE DESIRED OBJECTIVES."

ADD ARTICLE, TO READ AS FOLLOWS:

ARTICLE X: "IN THE EVENT THIS ORGANIZATION SHOULD BE DISSOLVED OR OTHERWISE TERMINATE ITS ACTIVITIES, THEN ALL OF THE ASSESTS OF THE ORGANIZATION SHALL BE DISTRIBUTED TO A CHARITABLE, RELIGIOUS, OR EDUCATIONAL ORGANIZATION EXEMPT UNDER SECTION 501 (C) (3) OF THE INTERNAL REVENUE CODE OF 1954, TO BE SELECTED AT THAT TIME BY THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE."

CHANGE PRESENT ARTICLE X ON AMENDMENTS TO ARTICLE XI.

****

HAIL

WELCOME TO THOMAS MCPHERSON, NEW ASSISTANT EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR OF THE GREATER ATLANTA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS. THANKS TO THE UNITARIAN SERVICE COMMITTEE, WE WERE ABLE TO ADD THIS MUCH-NEEDED AND VERY CAPABLE YOUNG MAN TO OUR STAFF.

****

AND FAREWELL

ONLY TEMPORARILY, WE HOPE, DO WE SAY GOOD-BYE TO CARL HOLMAN, WHO HAS TAKEN A YEAR'S LEAVE OF ABSENCE FROM HIS DUTIES AS PROFESSOR AT CLARK COLLEGE, EDITOR OF THE INQUIRER, AND INVALUABLE MEMBER OF THE GREATER ATLANTA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, TO ASSUME THE POST OF CHIEF INFORMATION OFFICER OF THE U. S. CIVIL RIGHTS COMMISSION.

****

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

INADVERTENTLY OMITTED FROM THE LIST OF INTEGRATED ORGANIZATIONS AND EATING PLACES WERE THE COLUMBIA THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, AND WALGREEN'S, NEWBERRY'S AND WOOLWORTH'S.

WITH DEEP REGRET, WE ANNOUNCE THAT THE AMERICANA MOTEL AND THE COACH AND SIX MUST BE REMOVED FROM OUR ROLL OF HONOR!

****

GOOD LISTENING

ON THE SPOT RECORDING OF SONGS AND SERMONS IN ALBANY, GEORGIA, LAST WINTER DURING THE STUDENT DEMONSTRATIONS AND ARRESTS. SONGS INCLUDE: WE SHALL OVERCOME; OH PRITCHETT, OH KELLEY; WOKE UP THIS MORNING WITH MY MIND ON FREEDOM. MAY BE PURCHASED FROM STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE, 135 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ALL PROCEEDS GO TO THE STUDENTS. PRODUCTION BY GUY CARAWAN; CO-PRO-

DUCER, ALAN LOMAN. $3.98.

****

ENCLOSED

ONE INVITATION TO JOIN THE COUNCIL, WHICH WE ASK YOU TO PASS ALONG TO THAT FRIEND YOU'VE BEEN MEANING TO ASK FOR A LONG TIME TO JOIN" .....WE'LL BE GLAD TO MAIL ADDITIONAL INVITATIONS TO ADDITIONAL FRIENDS IF YOU GIVE US THEIR NAMES.

WE DO NOT WANT MEMBERSHIP IN THE COUNCIL TO BE A BURDEN, BUT WE DO WANT TO PROVIDE OPPORTUNITIES FOR EVERYONE TO PARTICIPATE TO THE EXTENT TO WHICH HE IS INTERESTED AND ABLE.

LISTED BELOW ARE SOME OF OUR NEEDS, AND SOME OF THE MAJOR FIELDS OF ACTIVITY. IF YOU CAN PARTICIPATE, PLEASE INDICATE - IN TERMS OF SUBJECT AND/OR ACTIVITY - AND MAIL TO THE GREATER ATLANTA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, 5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W., ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA.

(CHECK AS MANY AS FIT)

ACTIVITY: OFFICE RECORDS ___; TYPING ___; TELEPHONING ___; RESEARCH ___; INTERVIEWING ___; WRITING ___; HELP IN OFFICE ___; HELP AT HOME ___. ANY OTHER _____

SUBJECT: SCHOOLS ___; EMPLOYMENT ___; MEDICAL CARE ___; STUDENT COUNCIL ___; FOREIGN VISITORS ___; ENTERTAIN OR HELP TO SCHEDULE___ PUBLICITY ___; MEMBERSHIP ___; FINANCE ___; PUBLIC FACILITIES ___; ARTS ___; ANY OTHER _____

AND WE WILL APPRECIATE YOUR SUGGESTIONS ABOUT ANYTHING PERTAINING TO OPERATION AND/OR PROGRAM OF THE COUNCIL.

GREATER ATLANTA COUNCIL
ON HUMAN RELATIONS
5 FORSYTH ST., N. W.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

ATLANTA
GA.

Dr. and Mrs. R. B. Levine
6455 Bridgewood Valley Road, N.W.
Atlanta 5, Georgia

Oct., 1962

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Room 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director James M. Dabbs, President

COOPERATING ORGANIZATIONS

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
Room 1224, Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama
ALpine 2-2722 (205)
Exec. Dir.: Norman Jimerson
Chairman: Rev. Powers McLeod

ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas
FRanklin 4-4521 (501)
Exec. Dir.: Nathaniel Griswold
Chairman: Rev. Charles C. Walker

FLORIDA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
Acting Executive Director:
Dr. Ralph Dreger
2867 Justina Road
Jacksonville 11, Florida
RA. 4-5862 (305)
Chairman: Mrs. Mabel Chesley

GEORGIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
41 Exchange Place, S.E., Room 502
Atlanta 3, Georgia
525-6468 (404)
Exec. Dir.: Mrs. Frances Pauley
Chairman: Rev. Charles Demere

KENTUCKY COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
Chairman: Dr. Rufus Atwood
Kentucky State College
Frankfort, Kentucky

LOUISIANA: (No state Council)
NEW ORLEANS COMMUNITY RELATIONS COUNCIL
Chairman: W. Theodore Baptist
101 S. Wren Street
New Orleans, Louisiana

MISSISSIPPI COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
Chairman: Dr. A. D. Beittel
Tougaloo Southern Christian College
Tougaloo, Mississippi

NORTH CAROLINA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
121 E. Third Street, Room 209
Charlotte, North Carolina
FRanklin 6-6833 (704)
Exec. Dir.: Harry S. Jones
Chairman: Rev. Henry Ruark

SOUTH CAROLINA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
1330 Laurel Street
Columbia, South Carolina
ALpine 6-8808 (803)
Exec. Dir.: Mrs. Alice Spearman
Chairman: Rev. Fred Reese

TENNESSEE COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
2011 Grand Avenue
Nashville 12, Tennessee
CYpress 1-7544 (615)
Exec. Dir.: Miss Katherine Jones
Chairman: George Barrett

VIRGINIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
114-B Broad-Grace Arcade Building
Richmond 19, Virginia
MIlton 9-0872 (703)
Exec. Dir.: Heslip Lee
Chairman: Dr. Thomas Henderson

TEXAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
Chairman: Mrs. James S. Crate
8510 Ferris Street
Houston 35, Texas

Local Councils With Professional Staff:

GREATER ATLANTA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Room 207
Atlanta 3, Ga. - 525-6469 (404)
Exec. Dir.: Mrs. Eliza Paschall
Chairman: Mrs. Clifton Hoffman

HOUSTON COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
3605 Fannin Street
Houston, Texas - JA. 4-5084 (713)
Exec. Sec.: Mrs. George Dumbauld
Chairman: Mrs. E. Pliny Shaw

COPY COPY

CITY OF ATLANTA

IVAN ALLEN, JR.
MAYOR

NOVEMBER 5, 1962

MRS. ELIZA PASCHALL, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
GREATER ATLANTA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

DEAR LIZA:

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR LETTER OF OCTOBER 31ST IN WHICH YOU INQUIRED AS TO THE POLICIES OF THE CITY OF ATLANTA REGARDING PICKETING.

THE POLICY OF THE CITY OF ATLANTA HAS BEEN MOST LISERAL WITH PICKETS. WE WILL PERMIT LEGAL AND ORDERLY PICKETING AT ANY PLACE, EXCEPT PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND PLACES OF PUBLIC WORSHIP. THESE, WE BELIEVE, ARE SPECIFICALLY PROHIBITED BY LAW, AND OTHER LOCATIONS ARE NOT.

AS YOU KNOW, WE HAVE HAD MANY PICKETS IN RECENT YEARS, FOR MANY CAUSES, ALL OVER TOWN. EACH AND EVERYONE OF THEM, INCLUDING LABOR PICKETS, ARE A POTENTIAL DANGER SPOT. AS A RESULT WE ASSIGN POLICE OFFICERS TO THOSE LOCATIONS TO SEE THAT IT IS ORDERLY. THE POLICE DEPARTMENT HAS THE RESPONSIBILITY OF INVESTIGATING ANY POTENTIALLY DANGEROUS INDIVIDUAL OR LOCATION.

UNDER THE GENERAL POLICE POWER OF THE CITY, THE POLICE REQUIRE PICKETS TO KEEP MOVING AND NOT BLOCK THE SIDEWALK, STAYING A REASONABLE DISTANCE APART, AND TO FURNISH TO THE POLICE THEIR NAME AND ADDRESS, ORGANIZATION THAT THEY REPRESENT, AND THE REASON FOR PICKETING. WE THINK THAT THIS IS ROUTINE POLICE PROCEDURE AND ANY PERSON THAT WOULD ATTEMPT TO USE THE PUBLICE STREETS AND SIDEWALKS AND REFUSE TO FURNISH SUCH PERTINENT INFORMATION ON REQUEST, WOULD CONSTITUTE A CASE OF DISORDERLY CONDUCT AND WOULD BE ARRESTED. GENERALLY WE RECEIVE GOOD COOPERATION FROM PICKETS AND AS A RESULT THERE HAS BEEN VERY FEW CASES OF DISTURBANCE OR ARREST.

LET ME KNOW HOW ELSE I MAY BE OF ASSISTANCE TO YOU.

SINCERELY YOURS,

IVAN ALLEN, JR.

VEP

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

LESLIE W. DUNBAR,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

M E M O R A N D U M

November 26, 1962

TO: Participating Agencies, Southern Interagency Conference

FROM: Paul Rilling

You will note that the next Southern Interagency Meeting will be January 3 and 4 in Atlanta, place to be announced. A return card is enclosed for your convenience.

At the last meeting we were instructed to circulate a questionnaire to participating agencies for the purpose of compiling an up-to-date roster. We hope you will therefore complete and return the enclosed questionnaire by December 10, so that the roster can be ready for the next meeting.

In view of the increasing burden for the secretariat in connection with the Southern Interagency Conference, I take pleasure in telling any of you who may not know that I will be leaving SRC in December and will therefore have nothing to do with the questionnaire, arrangements for the next meeting, et cetera. Replies or complaints concerning the next meeting should be directed to Marge Manderson, Administrative Secretary, Department of Field Activities, Southern Regional Council. As of December 10 I will assume my new duties as Executive Director of the Commissioners' Council on Human Relations of the District of Columbia.

Cheers, et cetera.

Enclosures:
Minutes, previous meeting
Questionnaire
Reply card

PR:mm

MINUTES
SOUTHERN INTERAGENCY CONFERENCE
Atlanta - September 13-14, 1962

A new participating agency representative, Vincent Harding of the Mennonite Service Committee, was introduced and briefly described the program of the Committee.

There was discussion of New Orleans desegregation developments. It was noted that 36 Roman Catholic schools opened on a desegregated basis in September, 1962. The exact number of Negro students involved was unknown. 20 public schools with 108 Negro students were involved.

There was a report on the desegregation this September in the Chattanooga public schools. There was no trouble or violence in the community due to the efforts of the Mayor's committee and the activities of the police. The community had been prepared for the maintenance of law and order. There has been some movement of white families from their old residences to areas which do not involve desegregation. There is severe overcrowding of Negro Junior High Schools in which Negro students have to attend school from 2:30 in the afternoon until 7:30 at night. There was a boycott initially of 600 of the 800 students attending one school.

North Carolina developments were noted. Seven or more of the North Carolina communities have some desegregation this year, bringing the total up to 19. Four school boards in North Carolina have taken desegregation action voluntarily this year.

Atlanta representatives advised that 10 schools were now desegregated involving 44 Negro students in Atlanta.

It was reported that 83 motels have been desegregated through the efforts of CORE and NAACP in Florida. There was discussion of the fact that there is a need for more integrated groups to stop at motels that have been desegregated.

Fred Routh, Executive Director of NAIRO, outlined the role of his organization. He stated that NAIRO is interested in the well being of intergroup relations professionals, the development of professional performance, the encouraging of employment of professionals rather than individuals being selected on the basis of politics. Routh also advised that NAIRO is developing projects in cooperation with the federal government and private agencies.

Routh also described the annual conference of NAIRO which will take place in Washington November 28 to December 1. The theme of the conference is the role of government in intergroup relations.

There was discussion of the Albany situation. The difficulties have been increased by personality and organizational splits

in the Negro community and leadership. There were suggestions for future cooperation between intergroup agencies.

It was proposed that the tactics in Albany may project for agencies the strategy that demonstrations be held in tough areas so as to have the segregationists suggest court action to resolve the crisis situations as they did in Albany, with the segregationists stating in effect "why don't you (Negroes) take a gradual approach in the courts." Others questioned whether there was a danger for some agencies in having their resources completely involved in demonstrations and not being used constructively to deal with substantive issues. The question was also raised whether the stirring up of a situation generally has any effect upon segregationist thinking.

Les Dunbar presented a discussion of the current status of pupil placement laws, tokenism and recent legal challenges. He outlined the various existant plans. The Baltimore plan provides for free choice: a child can go to any school in the city. The Washington-St. Louis plans utilize vigorous academic criteria. The Louisville plan involves free choice. As one proceeds further south, the plans are designed to minimize desegregation. Pupil placement actually involves the selective assignment of children after they apply for transfer. Outside of the states of North Carolina and Virginia, the Alabama plan, which has been upheld on its face as constitutional by the U.S. Supreme Court, is the model for other southern states.

Pupil placement laws have led to token desegregation involving about 5,000 Negro children in 11 states, exclusive of West Texas.

Dunbar discussed the recent judicial decisions in Memphis, New Orleans and Roanoke, Virginia, which indicate that pupil placement laws cannot be used as a desegregation plan. They can only be used after schools are already desegregated. We are apparently approaching a significant legal turning point in the concept of pupil placement. There are apparently more cases regarding school desegregation being filed in the North at this time than in the South, leading to the possibility that some of these northern decisions will have an effect upon southern cases. A number of these cases are grappling with the concept of neighborhood schools.

Dunbar suggested that we are now running out of the "soft spots" involving peaceful change. We may now be entering a period of crisis again with the breakdown of law enforcement in more difficult areas. Examples given were Birmingham, Mississippi, and Albany, Georgia. It was strongly suggested that our respective agencies plan for this new crisis.

Justin Finger discussed the activities of radical right organizations in the South. He suggested that they had little impact in the Deep South, that most of their strength is present in Texas and Florida. Finger discussed the recent indications of a resurgence of Klan activity and the association of the Klan with the National States Rights Party. Finger pointed to increased activities in Georgia, Alabama and elsewhere.

There was evaluation of the use of time during the Conference period. There were some who felt that the early evening period could be used for business with the late evening reserved for social activities.

It was agreed that the next conference would be held in Atlanta on January 3 and 4.

Wiley Branton gave a progress report on the Voter Education Project. He discussed the current programs: Atlanta has brought in 5,015 new registered voters; Durham, N.C., 3,700; Raleigh, N.C., 1,641; Mississippi, 61; Baton Rouge, La., 297; South Carolina, 1,135; Chattanooga, Tenn., 1,800; Knoxville, Tenn., 1,000; Virginia, 3,100; the project to date has spent $32,000 for a total of 21,000 reported new voters. Branton also reported on the harrassment of organizational leaders who attended the Voter Education meetings in Clarksdale, Mississippi.

Branton discussed the problems the Project has had in relationship to publicity which the Southern Conference Education Fund and its field representative had received in the Jackson Daily News in Mississippi.

Q U E S T I O N N A I R E

1. _____
   Agency Name

2. _____
   Agency Address (street)

   _____ _____
   (city and state) Telephone

3. Chief Staff Personnel:

   _____
   (name) (title)

   _____

   _____

   _____

   _____

4. Designated Representative to Southern Interagency Conference:

   _____

5. Description of Agency Program:
   (paragraph no longer than 15 lines)

Please return to Marge Manderson, Southern Regional Council,
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Room 201, Atlanta 3, Georgia.

NAIRO

National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials

16th ANNUAL CONFERENCE

THE ROLE OF GOVERNMENT IN INTERGROUP RELATIONS

November 28th – December 1st, 1962, Sheraton Park Hotel, Washington, D.C.

SIXTEENTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE PROGRAM COMMITTEE

Robert J. Greene, *Chairman*

Alexander J. Allen
Arnold Aronson
Elmer Paul Brock
John A. Buggs
Will D. Campbell
Dennis J. Clark
George W. Culberson
Harold C. Fleming
Richard K. Fox
Murray Friedman
Eunice S. Grier
George Grier
Malcolm B. Higgins
Madison S. Jones
Alan D. Kandel
Leo Kramer
Charles P. Livermore
B. T. McGraw
John McDermott
John A. Morsell
George B. Nesbitt
Paul M. Rilling
John Riordan
Frederick B. Routh
Seymour Samet
David A. Sawyer
Monroe Schlactus
Frederick A. Schreiber
Manheim S. Shapiro
Don S. Slaiman
Henry Stetler

ARRANGEMENTS COMMITTEE

Don S. Slaiman, *Chairman*
John I. Binkley — Irene C. Hypps, *Co-chairmen*
Evelyn Merson Idelson, *Conference Coordinator*

Committees

Physical Arrangements . . . . . F. Peter Libassi, *Chairman*
Mrs. Jane Leeds, *Co-Chairman*
Arnold Feldman

Registration . . . . . Percy H. Williams, *Chairman*
George W. Dorsey, *Co-Chairman*
Mrs. Nancy Good, Mrs. John Hope II,
Mrs. George B. Nesbitt, Miss Joan Ohrenstein,
Mrs. Margery T. Ware

Publicity . . . . . John McCully and David A. Sawyer, *Co-Chairmen*
Mrs. Eleanor Garst, Mrs. Virginia Guy,
Carl Holman

Reception and Hospitality . . . . . Mrs. Cernoria Johnson, *Chairman*
Mrs. Leonard Aries, *Co-Chairman*
Mrs. John G. Feild, Mrs. Arthur J. Levin,
Mrs. S.T. Massie, Mrs. Alvin Robinson,
Mrs. Ruth Wenzel

Community Participation . . . . . John Y. Yoshino, *Chairman*
Mrs. Kathryn Stone

Finance . . . . . Philip G. Sadler, *Chairman*

Program Printing . . . . . Robert J. Greene, *Chairman*

Planning Committee . . . . . Leonard Aries, Mrs. Ruth D. Bates,
Victor Daly, Isaac Franck,
The Reverend E. Franklin Jackson,
Mrs. Alma Scurlock, Jason Silverman,
Sterling Tucker

WEDNESDAY, November 28

8:30 a.m. Breakfast Meeting of Program Participants in Wednesday Afternoon Discussion Groups — **Burgundy Room**

9:00 a.m. **Registration** — **Cotillion Foyer**

Coffee Hour — **Assembly Room**

10:00 a.m. **General Session** — **North Cotillion Room**

Presiding: Lloyd Davis, President, NAIRO

Greetings: Walter N. Tobriner, President, District of Columbia Board of Commissioners

The Keynote Address: "Intergroup Relations in a Global Context"

Marion A. Wright, Vice-President, Southern Regional Council; Chairman of the Board, Penn Community Center, Frogmore, South Carolina

President's Address: Lloyd Davis

Executive Director's Report: Frederick B. Routh

12:30 p.m. **Luncheon** — **South Cotillion Room**

Presiding: Richard J. Murphy, Assistant Postmaster-General, Bureau of Personnel

Invocation: Rabbi Lewis A. Weintraub
Temple Israel of Silver Spring (Md.)

Address: "The Changing Character of Intergroup Relations Practice—Forces and Factors Affecting the Field"

John V. P. Lassoe, Executive Secretary, Division of Church and Community Studies, Protestant Episcopal Church

2:30 p.m. **Discussion Groups** — **North Cotillion Room**

I The Developing Role of the Federal Government in Housing

Chairman — Berl I. Bernhard

Discussion Leader — Frances Levenson

Recorder — Barbara H. Kemp

II The Developing Role of the Federal Government in Health and Education — **Assembly Room**

Chairman — William L. Taylor

Discussion Leaders — Lisle C. Carter, Jr.
— Arnold Aronson

Recorder — Philip G. Sadler

III The Developing Role of the Federal Government in Manpower Utilization — **South Cotillion Room**

Chairman — John Hope II

Discussion Leaders — Elmer Paul Brock
— Arthur Chapin
— George W. Culberson

Recorder — Clifford E. Rucker

IV The National and Local Private Agencies in an Era of Increased Governmental Involvement — **Suite C-440**

Chairman — Alexander F. Miller

Discussion Leaders — Charles P. Livermore
— John A. Morsell
— Joseph B. Robison

Recorder — Elliott Moore

V The Direct Actionist and the Intergroup Relations Agency Worker — **Burgundy Room**

Chairman — Will D. Campbell

Discussion Leaders — Burton I. Gordin
— Ruby Hurley
— Cyril D. Tyson

Recorder — George Grier

VI Old Questions and New Issues in Interreligious Relations — **Madison Room**

Chairman — Harold A. Lett

Discussion Leaders — Rabbi Richard G. Hirsch
— The Rev. Fr. John Knott
— Rev. H. Benjamin Sissel

Recorder — Russell L. Bradley

VII The Disadvantaged and Dispossessed in an Age of Technological Change — **Franklin Room**

Chairman — Joseph Monserrat

Discussion Leaders — Hyman Bookbinder
— Philip Stoddard Brown
— Cernoria D. Johnson

Recorder — Hylan Lewis

VIII New Problems Confronting the Local Public and Private Agencies — **Suite C-740**

Chairman — Isaac Franck

Discussion Leaders — K. C. Jones, Jr.
— Galen Martin
— Paul M. Rilling

Recorder — Eleanor Garst

IX The Increasing Need for Training Institutions and Research Facilities — **Suite B-520**

Chairman — Hans Spiegel

Discussion Leaders — Alexander J. Allen
— David Danzig
— John L. McKnight

Recorder — Howard Cayton

X Patterns of Intergroup Relations Worker Selection; Standards of Qualification and Performance — **Suite A-600**

Chairman — Marshall Bragdon

Discussion Leaders — Walter J. Ducey
— Arthur J. Levin
— Herman H. Long

Recorder — Harold T. Hunton

4:30 p.m. Meeting of Program Participants in Thursday Morning Sections — **Franklin Room**

8:30 p.m. **General Session** — **North Cotillion Room**

Presiding: Lloyd Davis, President

Report of

Membership Committee — Abraham F. Citron, Chairman

Treasurer — Irving Goldaber

Public Policy Committee — George W. Culberson, Chairman "Statement of Concerns"

Other Association Business

(The Special White House Tour for Conference Participants. Assemble at East Gate of the White House, 8:45 a.m. SHARP. Conference Badges must be worn.)

8:30 a.m. Breakfast Meeting of Program Participants in Clinics — **Burgundy Room**

9:30 a.m. General Session — **North Cotillion Room**

Presiding: Harold C. Fleming, Member, Executive Committee, NAIRO

Address: "Utilizing Power for Civil Rights Goals"

John H. Wheeler, President, Mechanics and Farmers Bank, Durham, North Carolina; Public Member, President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity; Chairman, Executive Committee, Southern Regional Council

Commentaries

Edwin C. Berry, Executive Director, Chicago Urban League

John G. Feild, Executive Director, President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity

10:30 a.m. Discussion Sections

(For even distribution participants have been assigned to sections indicated on card issued with registration)

Section A — **Assembly Room**

Chairman — John Silard

Discussants — Daniel S. Anthony
— Charles Posner

Recorder — Stanley K. Bigman

Section B — **Burgundy Room**

Chairman — Bryant George

Discussants — Arthur L. Johnson
— Roger W. Nathan

Recorder — Eunice S. Grier

Section C — **North Cotillion Room**

Chairman — Shirley Adelson Siegel

Discussants — Edward Terrones
— Wyatt Tee Walker

Recorder — Stanley Leibner

Section D — **South Cotillion Room**

Chairman — Frederick A. Schreiber
Discussants — Jean Fairfax
— Richard V. Marks
Recorder — Kermit G. Bailer

Section E — **Adams Room**

Chairman — E. Franklin Jackson
Discussants — Murray Friedman
— F. Peter Libassi
Recorder — Richard M. Shapiro

Section F — **Franklin Room**

Chairman — Robert T. Bower
Discussants — James C. Evans
— Alan D. Kandel
Recorder — Melvin J. Geffner

Section G — **Madison Room**

Chairman — Monroe Schlactus
Discussants — Alfred E. Cowles
— Lawrence Speiser
Recorder — Arnold Feldman

Section H — **Hamilton Room**

Chairman — Vivian W. Henderson
Discussants — Ben Segal
— Franklin H. Williams
Recorder — Wolfgang H. Rosenberg

2:00 p.m. Clinics on Methods and Techniques

1 Normalizing Neighborhood Change — **Hamilton Room**

Chairman — B. T. McGraw

Discussion Leaders — Margery T. Ware
— Sheldon Steinhauser

Recorder — Virginia Coffey

2 Providing Equal Opportunity in Vocational Education and Apprenticeship Training — **North Cotillion Room**

Chairman — Sterling Tucker

Discussion Leaders — Walter Arnold
— Ansel R. Cleary

Recorder — Ruth D. Bates

3 Handling Instances of De Facto School Segregation — **South Cotillion Room**

Chairman — John A. Buggs

Discussion Leaders — Irene C. Hypps
— Max Wolff

Recorder —

4 Working With the Mass Media and Social Welfare Agencies — **Suite C-440**

Chairman — Marvin Caplan

Discussion Leaders — Carl Holman
— Albert L. Nellum

Recorder — Roy H. Millenson

5 Local Private Agency Support of Governmental Civil Rights Programs — **Assembly Room**

Chairman — John Binkley

Discussion Leaders — Louise P. Blackham
— James A. Madison

Recorder —

6 Evaluating Program Effectiveness and Efficiency — **Suite C-740**

Chairman — Manheim S. Shapiro

Discussion Leaders — Lorimer Peterson
— George Schermer

Recorder — Ward McCreedy

7 Trade Unions and Equal Opportunity — **Franklin Room**

Chairman — *Leo Kramer*

Discussion Leaders — David A. Sawyer
— Don S. Slaiman

Recorder — Samuel B. Danley

8 Relocation and Citizen Participation in Urban Renewal — **Burgundy Room East**

Chairman —

Discussion Leaders — James G. Banks
— Dennis J. Clark

Recorder — J. Lawrence Duncan

9 Developing a Governmental Employer's Equal Opportunity Program — **Suite B-520**

Chairman — Leonard P. Aries

Discussion Leaders — Richard K. Fox
— Samuel J. Simmons

Recorder — George W. Dorsey

10 Toward Better Investigation and Conciliation Techniques — **Burgundy Room West**

Chairman — Elliott M. Shirk

Discussion Leaders — Edward N. Hodges III
— Owen P. Kiely

Recorder — Walter R. Greene

11 Police — Community Relations — **Adams Room**

Chairman — Arthur B. Caldwell

Discussion Leaders — Louis A. Radelet
— Myron Schwartz

Recorder — Leon M. Wallace

12 Dealing With Current Interreligious Tensions — **Madison Room**

Chairman — John J. O'Connor

Discussion Leaders — Henry Cabirac, Jr.
— Jules Cohen

Recorder — Seymour Samet

5:00 p.m. The NAIRO Presidents Reception — **Diplomatic Functions Area Department of State**

Diplomatic Functions Area (Eighth Floor)
Department of State

Twenty-Third and C Streets, N.W.

Co-sponsored by

Hon. Angier Biddle Duke, Chief of Protocol

Hon. W. Averell Harriman, Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs

Hon. G. Mennen Williams, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs

Hon. Herman Pollack, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Personnel,

Department of State, and The Officers and Board of Directors of NAIRO and its Washington Chapter

(DRESS OPTIONAL)

7:45 p.m. Conference Banquet — **Cotillion Room**

Presiding: Lloyd Davis, NAIRO President

Invocation — The Reverend Virgil E. Lowder, Executive Director, Council of Churches, National Capital Area

Greeting — John B. Duncan, Commissioner, District of Columbia

Speaker — Jack T. Conway, Deputy Administrator, Housing and Home Finance Agency

(Dress Optional)

Benediction — The Reverend Theodore S. Ledbetter Plymouth Congregational Church

Sixteenth Annual NAIRO CONFERENCE

SHERATON PARK HOTEL, WASHINGTON, D. C.

WEDNESDAY, Nov. 28	THURSDAY, Nov. 29	FRIDAY, Nov. 30	SATURDAY, Dec. 1
9:00 A.M. Registration — Cotillion Foyer — Coffee Hour — Assembly Room 10:00 A.M. North Cotillion Room The Keynote Address "Intergroup Relations in A Global Context" Marion A. Wright President's Address — Lloyd Davis Executive Director's Report — Frederick B. Routh	(8:45 A.M. Assembly Time at the East Gate of the White House for Special Tour) 9:30 A.M. North Cotillion Room — Address "Utilizing Power for Civil Rights Goals" John H. Wheeler 10:30 A.M. Eight Discussion Sections on the Above (Card in "Kit" for Designation)	9:00 A.M. Breakfast — North Cotillion Room Reports on: Princeton Conference on Housing Municipal Agency Task Force Resolutions Incoming President's Remarks	9:30 A.M. North Cotillion Room — "Intergroup Relations in the Community" Interreligious Dialogue City Employment Patterns Pupil Placement Plans Negro Housing Potential
12:30 P.M. Luncheon — South Cotillion Room Address — "The Changing Character of Intergroup Relations Practice — Forces and Factors Affecting the Field" John V. P. Lassoe 2:30 P.M. Ten Discussion Groups on Various Aspects of the Above	2:00 P.M. Twelve Clinics on Methods & Techniques 5:00 P.M. NAIRO Presidents Reception Diplomatic Functions Area — Department of State	12:30 P.M. Luncheon — South Cotillion Room Address — "The Impact of Urban Planning on Intergroup Relations" Frederick Gutheim 2:30 P.M. Four Concurrent Meetings discussing *Journal* Papers on . . . Education . . . Employment . . . Housing . . . Minority Group Self-Image 4:30 P.M. NAIRO Group Meetings	12:30 P.M. Luncheon — South Cotillion Room Addresses — "Governmental and Private Efforts in Southern Voter Registration" Burke Marshall Wiley A. Branton 2:30 P.M. Conference Adjourns
8:30 P.M. North Cotillion Room — Reports of Membership Committee Treasurer Public Policy Committee "Statement of Concerns" Other Association Business	7:45 P.M. Conference Banquet — Cotillion Room Address — Jack T. Conway, Deputy Administrator, Housing and Home Finance Agency		

9:00 a.m. Breakfast - General Session — **North Cotillion Room**

Invocation — Rabbi Eugene J. Lipman, Temple Sinai, Washington

Presiding — Edward Rutledge, NAIRO President

Report of

Princeton Conference on Equal Opportunity in Housing
— Edward Rutledge, Chairman, Commission on Housing and Urban Life

Municipal Agency Task Force
— George Schermer, Chairman

NAIRO Group Life Insurance Plan
— Louis Charloff, Jerome S. Milgram, Co-Administrators

Resolutions Committee
— John Morsell, Chairman

Remarks of the Incoming President
— Edward Rutledge

12:30 p.m. Luncheon — **South Cotillion Room**

Presiding: William L. Slayton, Urban Renewal Commissioner

Invocation: The Rt. Rev. Msgr. John S. Spence, Director of Education, Archdiocese of Washington

Address: "The Impact of Urban Planning on Intergroup Relations"

Frederick Gutheim, President, Washington Center for Metropolitan Studies"

2:30 p.m. Discussion Sessions

(Concurrent group meetings discussing the applicability of findings and judgements in papers prepared for the Conference and drawn largely from Washington, D.C. experience. The papers have been printed as Volume IV, Number 1 of *The Journal of Intergroup Relations.)*

Education . . . — **Adams-Hamilton Room**

Chairman — David Horowitz

Discussants — J. Rupert Picott
— Charles E. Stewart

Recorder — Jean Fairfax

(Authors: Carl F. Hansen, Francis A. Gregory and Irene C. Hypps)

Employment . . . — **Burgundy Room**

Chairman — Kathryn H. Stone

Discussants — Richard S. Dowdy, Jr.
— William W. Layton

Recorder — Felix Putterman

(Authors: John Hope II and David A. Sawyer)

Housing . . . — **North Cotillion Room**

Chairman — William R. Valentine, Jr.

Discussants — Edward L. Holmgren
— Jack E. Wood, Jr.

Recorder — Charlotte C. Meacham

(Authors: George B. Nesbitt and Marian P. Yankauer)

Minority Group Self-Image . . . — **South Cotillion Room**

Chairman — Kenneth B. Clark

Discussants — Nathan Glazer
— Charles V. Willie

Recorder — Robert E. Martin

(Author: G. Franklin Edwards)

4:30 p.m. Meetings of NAIRO Committees and Commissions — **Madison Room**

Editorial Board, *The Journal of Intergroup Relations*

Shelton Granger, Chairman

Commission on Housing and Urban Life — **Franklin Room**

Edward Rutledge, Chairman

Coordination of Chapter Activities — **Hamilton Room**

Alexander F. Miller, Chairman

Efforts of the Department of State in Developing Relationships Between Asian-African Diplomats and American Citizens — **Adams Room**

Pedro A. Sanjuan, Deputy to the Chief of Protocol

9:30 a.m. General Session — **North Cotillion Room**

Intergroup Relations in the Community

Presiding: Robert J. Greene, Chairman, Conference Program Committee

2 The Interreligious Dialogue
William T. Liggett, Director, Delaware Region, National Conference of Christians and Jews

Studying City Employment Patterns
Louis Mason, Jr., Executive Director, Commission on Human Relations, Pittsburgh, Pa.

Southern Pupil Placement Plans
B. Tartt Bell, Executive Secretary, Southeastern Regional Office, American Friends Service Committee

1 Economic Capacity of Negroes for Housing in Syracuse, N.Y.
Albert Ettinger, Research Field Representative, New York State Commission for Human Rights

12:30 p.m. Luncheon — **South Cotillion Room**

Presiding — Roy Wilkins, Executive Secretary, NAACP

Invocation: The Reverend Walter E. Fauntroy, New Bethel Baptist Church

Addresses: "Governmental and Private Efforts in Southern Voter Registration"

Burke Marshall, Assistant Attorney General, Civil Rights Division, Department of Justice

Wiley A. Branton, Director, Voter Education Project

Alexander J. Allen, Associate Executive Director, National Urban League

Daniel S. Anthony, Executive Director, Newark Commission on Group Relations

Leonard P. Aries, Director, Labor Management Services, NCCJ

Walter Arnold, Assistant Commissioner for Vocational and Technical Education, Department of Health, Education and Welfare

Arnold Aronson, Director of Program Planning and Evaluation, NCRAC

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*—Indicates author of *Journal* paper discussed at Friday afternoon sessions

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COPY

DATE: DECEMBER 21, 1962

TO: MR. JOSEPH HAAS

FROM: ELIZA PASCHALL Eliz

HERE ARE SOME QUESTIONS WHICH INDICATE THE KIND OF INFORMATION WE ARE ASKED ABOUT. I AM SENDING THESE QUESTIONS TO YOU, WITH COPIES TO THE OTHER, AND WILL LEAVE IT UP TO YOU TO PARCEL THEM OUT IF YOU CHOOSE TO DO SO. THANK YOU VERY MUCH.

EP:PAG

CC: MR. WILEY BRANTON
MR. MORGAN STANFORD
✓MR. DONALD HOLLOWELL

P.S. THANKS TO EACH OF YOU FOR COMING THAT DAY. WE'LL COUNT ON YOU TO GIVE US ADVICE WHEN YOU THINK WE NEED IT, AS WELL AS WHEN WE ASK FOR IT.

Mr. Hollowell

QUESTIONS FOR LAWYERS

1. ARE THERE ANY LAWS OR ORDINANCES OPERATING IN THE CITY OF ATLANTA WHICH REQUIRE RACIAL SEGREGATION? IF SO, WHAT ARE THEY?

2. WHAT ABOUT FULTON COUNTY, DEKALB COUNTY, COBB COUNTY, DECATUR, EAST POINT, COLLEGE PARK, HAPEVILLE, MARIETTA?

3. WOULD A WHITE PERSON DRINKING WATER OUT OF A FOUNTAIN MARKED "COLORED" IN THE DEKALB COURT HOUSE, FOR EXAMPLE, BE LIABLE FOR ARREST?

4. CAN A LEASE BE BROKEN ON THE GROUNDS THAT THE LEASEE HAS NEGRO OR WHITE VISITORS?

5. WHAT ARE THE LAWS OR ORDINANCES PERTAINING TO PICKETING?

6. IS THERE ANY LEGAL WAY TO BRING ABOUT DESEGREGATION OF VARIOUS PUBLIC FACILITIES WITHOUT SOME ONE INDIVIDUAL FILING A SUIT ON THE BASIS OF INDIVIDUAL "INJURY"?

7. IS THERE ANY LEGAL ACT WHICH A WHITE PERSON CAN DO TO BRING ABOUT DESEGREGATION OF SCHOOLS, RECREATION FACILITIES, ETC.?

8. CAN AN INDIVIDUAL CITIZEN ASK FOR AN INJUNCTION - FOR EXAMPLE - AGAINST MAINTAINING RACIAL SEGREGATION GALLERIES OF THE LEGISLATURE?

9. CAN THE ISSUANCE OF LICENSES FOR PRIVATE BUSINESSES BE USED AS A BASIS FOR PROHIBITING RACIAL SEGREGATION?

10. MUST YOU "GO" WITH A POLICEMAN WHO SAYS YOU'RE WANTED FOR QUESTIONING, DISTURBING THE PEACE, ETC.?

11. HOW WOULD ONE GO ABOUT FINDING A LAWYER WHO WOULD BE WILLING TO TAKE A "CIVIL RIGHTS" CASE?

12. HOW DOES THE LEGAL AID SOCIETY WORK? WHAT KINDS OF CASES WILL IT TAKE AND WHO IS ELIGIBLE FOR ASSISTANCE?

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Autumn 1962

Dear Friend:

May I tell you in a few words what the enclosed brochure means?

What is happening now at Penn will happen in the South. This is the creative use of the past to bring in a happier future.

In a sense, this is a return to Southern origins. For in the beginning past and future were happily balanced in the South. But confused by slavery and baffled by defeat, the South for a long time was hypnotized by the past. Now, with the weakening of provincialism, the growth of national concern, and especially the dramatic rise of the Negro, the South turns increasingly toward the future.

At Penn it turns with the wisdom won from the past. Here, Negroes for a century trained and inspired largely by Northern friends cooperate on equal terms with whites, many of whom are now Southern. Both groups bring to the effort the patient wisdom distilled from long frustration and defeat, transformed at last into the promise of victory. The Negroes especially, as the greatest sufferers, bring a passion for justice that is releasing the largely-unconscious wisdom of the South.

Many of you have been participants in this struggle. Your material aid has supported and inspired it. Now that the lessons of the past are being more actively and widely applied, even greater support is necessary. Will you go forward with us?

Sincerely,

James McBride Dabbs

P. S. This annual report and appeal is sent to all contributors and friends of Penn. Contributions are tax-deductible.

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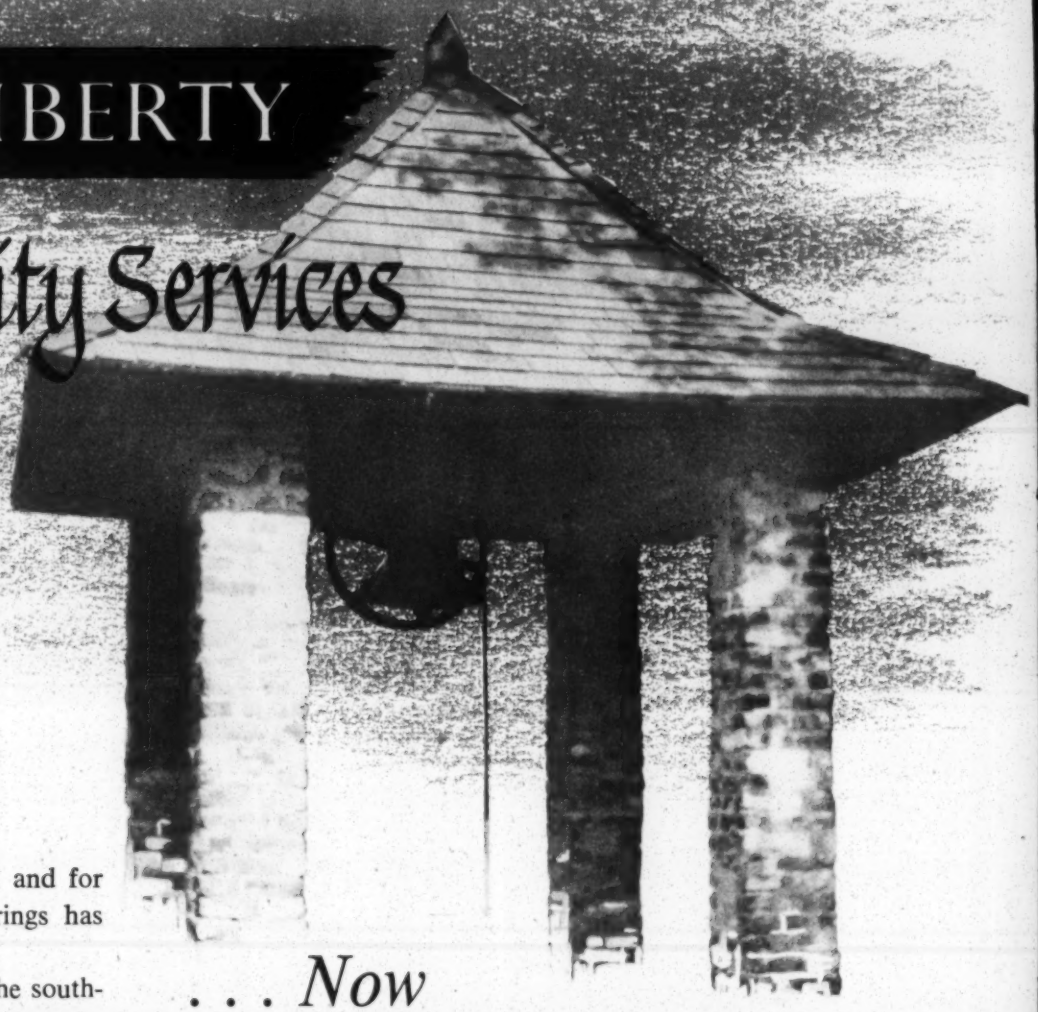


Then . . .

"Proclaim Liberty" the bell is inscribed, and for over a century the land across which it rings has been a workshop of liberty.

Until Fort Sumter's guns boomed along the southern coast, St. Helena Island had been a land of thousands of slaves. But South Carolina's fabled Sea Islands were among the first Confederate areas to be occupied by the Union armies. And here the only thoroughgoing experiment in the social reconstruction of slave society began with the distribution of land to the freedmen. Here, too, the first schoolhouse for Negroes was set up in 1862. Philadelphia Quakers of the Freedmen's Aid Society sent the building down in sections and named the schoolhouse for William Penn who preached liberty for all.

The former slaves, who flocked in from St. Helena and neighboring islands, saw education as the chief means to a broadening liberty; and through the decades Penn School developed a program of academic and vocational training that made it a model of its kind for educators in many parts of the world.

Penn School continued as the major force for Negro education in the Sea Islands until that responsibility was assumed completely by the State of South Carolina in 1948. It was then that the institution took on new functions and a new name, Penn Community Services, Inc. Yet now, as in the earlier days of Penn School, its bell continues to "Proclaim Liberty," challenging the residents of St. Helena to the ever expanding opportunities of free men and women.

. . . Now

Penn today is many things, as it seeks to capitalize on the opportunities for extending liberty in a rapidly changing South.

Penn is a community center. A meeting place for Island people, it offers:

- opportunities for the exchange of ideas and information on subjects ranging from crop rotation to voting;
- cultural and recreational activities;
- facilities for a day nursery, a library, cooperative marketing, health clinics.

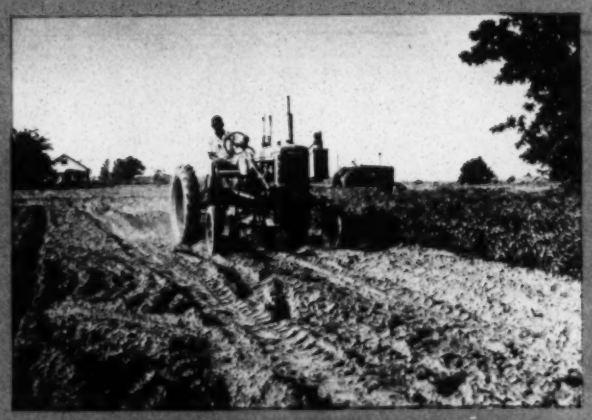
Penn is a conference center, one of the few places in South Carolina where interracial groups may meet. With dormitories, cafeteria, meeting rooms, and a pleasant campus atmosphere, it offers inexpensive hospitality to religious, professional, youth, and social action groups, drawn from South Carolina and the entire South.

Penn is a rural development center, interested in helping the people of other rural communities extend their own liberty by preparing themselves to enter the mainstream of American life. The community activities at Penn itself are already operated by local leadership; and the Negro community of St. Helena recently demonstrated its maturity and confidence by electing one of its members to the county board of directors. Now Penn looks beyond St. Helena to South Carolina and all of the South.

A full-time staff gives leadership

Home improvement is a program goal

Field workers advise community groups



Agricultural techniques are being improved

The bookmobile goes to the readers

Landscaping requires the removal of debris

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

Penn's Pilot Project in Beaufort County is a natural outgrowth of the deep involvement with the surrounding community that has always been central to the Penn idea. The teaching of Penn School has profoundly affected the Island's level of vocational skills, home-making practices, agricultural methods, health and sanitation, and intellectual and cultural aspirations. The Pilot Project combines this traditional concern with the new emphasis on community development and wider geographical horizons.

The Pilot Project helps people in some of the more remote Sea Island communities to realize their potential for improvement through their own efforts. Beginning with personal and community needs as the local people see them, the project suggests broader goals through exposure to new ideas. Community representatives attend workshops and conferences where they learn what other communities are doing and how they do it, techniques of problem-solving, opportunities to improve the conditions of their lives by exercising responsible citizenship. Such community projects as home improvement, better sanitary facilities, school bus shelters, and voter education are already under way.

Neighbors share in the erection of school bus shelters

The tomato crop is prepared for market at the packing house at Penn

The seafood industry provides jobs

INTO THE SOUTH'S FUTURE

This is a day of dawning liberty. On just such a day a century ago Penn School was born. Yet that earlier dawn of liberty soon dimmed, partly because men of good will lost their zeal for the experiment in social reconstruction that had been so excitingly launched in the Sea Islands. For a hundred years, at Penn and elsewhere, the slow and painful struggle to push open the doors of liberty was left to a few. Today those doors are yielding, and Penn's bell reminds us daily that we cannot rest until they are fully opened.

Penn's history and situation give it a special role. Firmly rooted in the Sea Islands, it builds toward a society of self-respect and mutual respect by all. In this Deep South area Penn seeks to demonstrate the South's future as a land of full and equal liberty.

Penn sees special challenges for itself in the state of South Carolina. South Carolina has developed fewer resources for progress in human relations than most other southern states. As a basis for action Penn is undertaking to gather exact information about the extent of opportunity for Negroes in various fields—economic, social, and political.

In the wider South, Penn aligns itself with the broad and growing movement for full and equal liberty. Its greatest contribution may be as a meeting place and center of communication for the various groups working for healthier human relations. Here is a meeting ground where increasing numbers of Southerners, black and white, may escape their tragic estrangement and come to know one another as men and women.

Penn's efforts to "Proclaim Liberty" in these new ways and in this new day depend for success on the interest and support of friends of liberty everywhere.

• *The work of Penn is supported by participants, a small endowment, and contributions. Gifts to Penn are tax deductible.*

Penn Community Services

ST. HELENA ISLAND, FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA — COURTNEY SICELOFF, *Director*

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WB -

MINUTES, SOUTHERN INTERAGENCY CONFERENCE
ATLANTA, GEORGIA - JANUARY 3-4, 1963

Administrative.

Suggestions of the Steering Committee on several matters were approved: (1) henceforth costs for the social hour will be pro rated among those attending each meeting, excepting any persons who inform the secretary that he or she does not wish to share in this cost; (2) for the current meeting participants will be billed by the secretariat for their meals and other costs; (3) for future Atlanta meetings, where costs can be accurately estimated, participants will be charged in advance in the nature of a registration fee. When meetings are not held in Atlanta procedures will still be determined by the host agency and the conditions involved.

The Steering Committee, acting on a formal request from the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, recommended to the full group that that agency be invited to participate. Following discussion, it was voted that SNCC be invited to participate in future meetings. Another recommendation by the Steering Committee, that agencies not be represented by persons receiving salaries from organizations and agencies not invited to participate, was disapproved by the full Conference.

In response to the suggested need for formal structure to cover certain areas, it was agreed that a committee be formed for the purpose of proposing to the Spring meeting a minimum structure. It was emphasized that the committee's mandate is to suggest a minimum structure. Jean Fairfax, Vincent Harding, Ruby Hurley, Charles Wittenstein, and Paul Anthony were selected and agreed to serve, with Anthony as chairman.

Conference on "The Ethical Demands of Integration."

This meeting, recently held in Nashville under the co-sponsorship of the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen and the Southern Regional Council, was discussed in some detail by those present who had participated. Individuals were urged to share their reactions with the sponsors.

Discussion of National Conference on Religion and Race.

Interagency participants who will be present were asked to form themselves as a committee to meet during the national conference and begin thinking about problems of follow-up in relation to the way SIC agencies operate; a report to the Spring meeting was requested. Wyatt Walker will serve as chairman.

Fund for Rebuilding of Burned Churches.

Wyatt Walker reported on decisions of a meeting of groups receiving donations toward the rebuilding of burned churches in southwest Georgia. The first Sunday in February has been selected as ground-breaking date and successive services will be held at the sites of the three churches. Four churches were burned in this area of Georgia; the congregation of one decided not to share in the

4- Intergroup Minutes.

rebuilding fund. Approximately $63,000 cash is now available and will be used for building actual physical facilities. It is hoped that lighting fixtures, pews, communion tables, etc., will be donated when they are needed.

Report on Alabama - Norman Jimerson, Alabama Council on Human Relations.

Politically, the one big factor in the state is the election of Gov. Wallace. In November the people of Birmingham voted to change the form of city government from a commission to a Mayor-Council by a margin of some 700 votes. Alabama has also become the first state to have its legislature reapportioned by federal court order. There has been significant voter registration activity. Little change in traditional patterns of Negro employment has occurred during the last year. Police brutality and blatant Ku Klux Klan activity continue.

In the schools, within the next few months a suit will probably be filed in Huntsville to desegregate Madison Pike School, which is contiguous with Redstone Arsenal. Reportedly, legal counsel has been retained on behalf of from five to fifteen Negro students, children of military personnel. The University of Alabama has announced that it has received applications from three Negroes; registration for spring quarter was closed before applications from the three were considered. The president of Auburn University has announced that he has received applications from Negroes. The University of Alabama will very likely have a Negro student by September, 1963; Auburn will likely face a court suit by next fall. A suit to desegregate Birmingham public schools was heard in October, 1962, and it is anticipated that there will be a ruling sometime this Spring. It is a matter of speculation as to whether the court will order actual desegregation of Birmingham schools in September, or merely submission of a plan for desegregation.

Some discussion of what agency efforts might be most significant in the Alabama--and particularly the Birmingham--situation followed.

It was decided that the reinstitution of emergency meetings of SIC in connection with crisis situations is desirable. The group agreed to devote the major portion of the regular Spring SIC meeting to the Birmingham situation, meeting in Atlanta and bringing in resource persons from Birmingham.

Other.

A brief report on Albany emphasized the feelings of hopelessness and frustration on the part of Negroes in that city. The Georgia Council on Human Relations and SNCC are, so far as is known, the only groups now doing work there. In surrounding towns, however, there is apparently not so much fear.

The Oxford, Mississippi insurrection and some of its effects were discussed, and members of a Quaker team which went to Mississippi reported their experiences. One of the purposes and accomplishments of the Quaker mission was to raise questions with some people in responsible positions about what next steps they might take to pull the state out of its present tragic situation. It was observed that in Mississippi there had been virtually no place for moderates to take a stand.

In a short report on progress of the Voter Education Project, it was noted that October, November, and December are fairly slack months due to schedules of registration offices. Most groups encouraging registration are prepared to resume full activity this month. Programs in Huntsville (Madison County) and Birmingham, Alabama, and in Florida were mentioned. The NAACP is conducting a program in the Gulfport, Laurel, and Hattiesburg areas of Mississippi, and in East Texas, not, however, with VEP funds. A new staff member will join VEP as of February 1; preparation of materials to stimulate registration is planned after his arrival.

Suggestions for future agenda were brought up throughout the meeting and SIC participants were urged to send further suggestions to the chairman.

January 21, 1963

January 21, 1963

Mr. Courtney Siceloff
Penn Community Services, Inc.
St. Helena Island
Frogmore, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Siceloff:

Mr. Branton has asked me to send you the enclosed tables on the voting age population and the registration by counties in South Carolina.

The total registration figures are taken from the South Carolina Secretary of State's tabulation for 1962. The Negro registration is taken from the report of Mr. John McCray, of the South Carolina Progressive Democrats. The white registration was obtained by subtracting the McCray figures from the total. The voting age population figures were taken from the 1960 census reports.

If we can be of further service to you, please do not hesitate to call upon us.

Very truly yours,

Jack Minnis
Director of Research

JM:js

Encls.

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PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

ST. HELENA ISLAND

FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

JAN 17 1963

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January 16, 1962

Mr. Wiley A. Branton
Voter Education Project
Room 206, 5 Forsyth Street, NW
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Wiley:

Thank you very much for your letter of the 14th. I will be writing Mr. Brooks and the AFL-CIO for materials.

Our workshop on February 1 and 2 will deal with a discussion of how Negroes in Beaufort County can be more effective in the use of their vote. Mr. Leroy Johnson has agreed to be our main speaker, and we are looking forward to having him.

I feel that Beaufort has been rather content with the fact that it has the highest percentage of Negroes to whites registered and has elected the only Negro public (elective) official in South Carolina. However, the potential is much greater. You will note on the enclosed registration figures that in 1958 only 17% of the eligible Negroes were registered. I think it would be helpful for this workshop if you had the percentages of Negroes being registered in several other towns in South Carolina. I think this would place the registration efforts more in perspective and point up the need for increased registration.

It is good to know that you may be coming this way, and I certainly hope that you will plan a stop here.

Sincerely yours,

Courtney Siceloff

BEAUFORT COUNTY VOTING

TOTALS

Total adults, 21 and over 19,345

Number registered	Total	Negro	Percent of Total
1958	4,240	1,234	29
1960	5,471	1,588	29
1962	6,744	2,091	31

Number of voters	
1958 June primary	3,044
1960 general election	3,821
1962 June primary	3,415

Population 1957	30,466	16,209	60
Registered 1958	4,240	1,234	29

Percent of Negroes over 21 registered 17
" " Whites " " " 50

- - - - - - - - - - - -

COMMUNITIES

Registration

	Total	Negro	% of Total
Sheldon			
1958	152	56	36
1960	197	81	41
1962	232	103	44
Beaufort City			
1958	2,107	390	19
1960	2,576	475	18
1962	2,947	519	18
St. Helena			
1958	437	325	74
1960	629	462	73
1962	860	662	76
Hilton Head			
1958	130	92	70
1960	185	104	56
1962	301	163	54
Barrell Landing			
1958	89	3	3
1960	95	3	3
1962	110	8	7
Burton			
1958	346	112	32
1960	494	148	29
1962	616	196	31

	Total	Negro	% of Total
Lobeco-Dale			
1958	158	75	47
1960	188	91	48
1962	248	125	50
Lady's Island			
1958	220	60	27
1960	298	69	23
1962	452	103	22
Port Royal			
1958	267	68	25
1960	379	86	22
1962	436	97	22
Daufuskie			
1958	13	7	53
1960	23	12	52
1962	23	12	52
Bluffton			
1958	321	46	14
1960	407	57	14
1962	519	103	19

VOTER EDUCATION WORKSHOP

Friday, January 11

6:00 PM -- Dinner
7:30 PM -- Plan and Objectives of Workshops (Mr. Charles Washington, Chairman)
7:45 - 8:15 PM — Analysis of Negro Registration and Voting in Beaufort County (Mr. Albert Jackson)
8:15 - 8:45 -- Discussion
8:45 - 9:15 PM -- Precinct, County and State Conventions: Organization and Participation of Negroes (Rev. Mack E. Sharpe)
9:15 - 9:30 PM --Appointment of Poll Managers & Watchers: Duties and Restrictions of Office (Mr. Walter Alston)
9:30 - 10:00 PM -- Discussion

Saturday, January 12

8:00 AM -- Breakfast
9:00 - 11:00 AM -- Elective Offices Within the County
(9 - 9:45) -- Townships, County Board of Directors (Mr. Leroy Browne)
(9:45 - 10:15) -- Beaufort City, City Council, Mayor (Mrs. Jennie Kennedy)
(10:15 - 11) -- County Offices: County Legislative Delegation, Board of Education: Sheriff, Magistrate (Mr. Charles Simmons, Jr.)
11:00 - 11:20 AM -- Coffee Break
11:20 - 12 noon -- Agricultural Committees: ASCS Committees, election and function
FHA Committees, election and functions
(Mr. Alphonso Pendergrass)
12:30 PM -- Lunch

2:00 - 3:00 PM -- County Boards and Appointed Committees (10 minutes each)
Board of Trustees, Districts 1 & 2 (Mr. Johnnie White)
Welfare Board (Mr. A.J. Brown)
County Library Board (Mrs. Nannie Sherman)
County Development Board (Mr. David Barnwell)
3:00 - 3:30 PM -- Summary of Conference (Mr. Washington, Chairman)
3:30 PM — Film, "WHERE WERE YOU?"

6:00 PM -- Dinner

8:00 PM -- Special Speaker: Mr. Frank Reeves, member of the National Democratic Commitee, Washington, D.C.

January 14, 1963

Mr. Courtney Siceloff, Director
Penn Community Services, Inc.
St. Helena Island
Frogmore, South Carolina

Dear Courtney:

I regret to inform you that the Voter Education Project, at this time, does not have any brochures or pamphlets encouraging people to register and vote. While we are planning such materials, they would not be ready within the next month.

Mr. John Brooks, the NAACP field secretary for voter registration, generally has a good supply of materials for both registering and voting, and I would suggest that you write to him direct at 40½ North 2nd Street, Richmond, Virginia. I do not know if he has any film or not.

A source for film would be the AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education (COPE, 815 16th Street, N. W., Washington 6, D. C.)

I hope to get over to your section within the next two or three months, and I will certainly make it a point to come by and chat with you.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:jcs

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED
ST. HELENA ISLAND
FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

COURTNEY SICELOFF
DIRECTOR

January 9, 1963

Mr. Wiley Branton
Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Wiley Branton:

We are holding a couple of workshops on voter education in January and would like to have appropriate material for them. I am wondering if you handle, or know where can be found any brochures or pamphlets encouraging persons to exercise their right to vote after being registered. Our emphasis will not be on registration per se. Likewise it would be helpful to have several films during the workshop, and I would appreciate any suggestions you may have in this respect.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Courtney Siceloff

cs/bbm

February 4, 1963

Mr. Henry Cabirac, Jr.
National Catholic Conference for
Interracial Justice
1046 Baronne Street
New Orleans 13, Louisiana

Dear Mr. Cabirac:

Thank you for your letter of January 30. We have superimposed on your map of dioceses in question, the Congressional Districts for your ready observation and are returning it to you enclosed.

Grants have been made to the NAACP for registration work in the Fifth Congressional District of Louisiana which would embrace most of the easternppart of the diocese of Alexandria. The western portion of that diocese (Fourth Congressional District) is being handled by SCLC. The Sixth Congressional District has been assigned to CORE.

The Coordinating Council of Greater New Orleans is now launching a full time, year-round registration program.

We are not currently supporting any program in the diocese of Lafayette and it is possible, according to Mr. Branton, that VEP would consider a program for some areas in that diocese.

I hope that this information is helpful to you and if we can assist you in any other way please let us know.

Sincerely yours,

Jean Levine
Administrative Secretary

enc.

4-Agencies - Interagency
Miscell.

Southern Field Service

National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice

1046 Baronne Street • New Orleans 13, Louisiana • 523-2901

January 30, 1963

FEB 1 1963

Miss Jean Levine
Voter Education Project
Room 206
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Jean:

According to the information you sent me recently, there are agencies working on Voter Registration in all of the dioceses of Baton Rouge and metropolitan New Orleans. In order to clarify what areas I am discussing, I am inclosing a map with the boundary lines of the diocese. Do you have any hopes of any other agencies' operating a Voter Registration Project in either the Archdiocese of New Orleans or the Diocese of Lafayette? My reason for asking this is that there is a job to be done here and if no one else is contemplating undertaking it, we may very well submit a proposal to do so; but if there is, we might devote our energies to other things. Quite frankly as long as the job is done, I don't care who gets credit.

I would appreciate your organization's thinking on this matter.

Yours sincerely,

Henry

Henry Cabirac, Jr.

HC:kv

ENC.

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Southern Field Service

National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice

1046 Baronne Street • New Orleans 13, Louisiana • 523-2901

November 19, 1962

NOV 21 1962

Miss Jean Levine
Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Levine:

Thank you for the detailed information on the Voter Registration Project. I am sending this to our various southern councils located in the cities where there is a project involved. As you add cities I would appreciate knowing which ones they are so that I may inform our councils.

Yours sincerely,

Henry Cabirac

Henry Cabirac

HC:kv

[illegible]

(H. Cabirac's name is on [illegible]

[illegible]

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4

Southern Field Service

National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice

1046 Baronne Street • New Orleans 13, Louisiana • 523-2901

OCT 26 1962

OCT 26 1962

October 23, 1962

Mr. Wylie Branton
Votor Registration Project
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Wylie:

You will remember that when the votor registration project first got underway, I expressed interest in trying to obtain funds from it to staff an organization working for this purpose in Southern Louisiana. Since then I have discussed the matter with several people and given it much consideration. I don't know how you feel about it and whether you would be in a position to consider it, but this is how it looks to me now.

In order for us to do an effective job and also not get in trouble with the bishops of the three dioceses in which we would be working I would at least have to let them know ahead of time what we were trying to do. If we don't do this, I am afraid that we will miss out on much of the religious motivation that could be put behind this thing if we could get the priests staffing the negro parishes in Southern Louisiana to give this thing a boost.

As you know, all of the bishops who are in charge of their respective dioceses are now in Rome and won't return until December 10. At this particular time, unless I hear to the contrary from you, we will approach the Bishops of New Orleans, Baton Rouge and Lafayette to ask their support in this matter. It is possible that they could refuse us and if so we would have to seek an alternative method but I am hopeful of being able to secure their cooperation.

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I thought I should let you know what the situation is in the event that you have been wondering what ever happened to our idea to go ahead with this. I would welcome your reaction to this.

Yours sincerely,

Henry

Henry Cabivac, Jr.

HC/mw

SEP 28 1962

SOUTHERN FIELD SERVICE
NATIONAL CATHOLIC CONFERENCE FOR INTERRACIAL JUSTICE

1046 BARONNE ST.
SUITE NO. 2

NEW ORLEANS 13, LA.

PHONE 523-2901

September 25, 1962

Mr. Wiley A. Branton
Voter Education Project
Room 206
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Wiley:

Thanks for the voter registration information you sent me. As soon as you have the names of people or organizations who will handle the drive in other areas, I would appreciate your sending them to me.

Yours sincerely,

Henry

Henry

HC:to

Honorary Chaplain: Rev. John LaFarge, S.J. OFFICERS: Dr. John J. O'Connor, *Chairman* (Washington, D.C.); Robert Sargent Shriver, Jr., *Vice Chairman* (Washington, D.C.); John P. Nelson, Jr., *Vice Chairman* (New Orleans); Miss Dorothy Mattingly, *Secretary* (St. Louis); Charles W. Wexler, *Treasurer* (Detroit). EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE: Very Rev. Msgr. Daniel M. Cantwell (Chicago); George K. Hunton (New York); Harold T. Hunton (Brooklyn); James A. Leadon (St. Paul); Guichard Parris (New York); Very Rev. Harold R. Perry (Bay St. Louis). BOARD: Rt. Rev. Msgr. Charles J. Brady (Syracuse); Elmer Paul Brock (Wilmington); Mrs. James E. Brophy (Detroit); Dr. James T. Carey (San Francisco); Daniel Cassey (Detroit); Dennis Clark (Philadelphia); Rev. Joseph Connolly (Baltimore); Robert Andre Dumas (Toledo); Ellsworth Evans (St. Louis); John J. Farrell (Chicago); Dr. Eugene Fontinell (New Rochelle); Norman Francis (New Orleans); Dr. Charles L. Hayes (Greensboro); Rev. Philip S. Hurley, S.J. (New York); Rt. Rev. Msgr. Franklyn J. Kennedy (Milwaukee); George S. Lima (Providence); James K. Luger (Minneapolis); William McCoy (Portland); John A. McDermott (Chicago); Mrs. Anna M. McGarry (Philadelphia); Mrs. Roger Putnam (Springfield); Michael F. Quinn (Indianapolis); Dr. Ferdinand L. Rousseve (Boston); Miss Theresa Staudt (San Antonio); Percy H. Steele, Jr. (San Diego); William H. Thompson (Little Rock); Charles F. Vatterott, Jr. (St. Louis); John Edward White (Pittsburgh). EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR: Mathew H. Ahmann. DIRECTOR, SOUTHERN FIELD SERVICE: Henry A. Cabirac, Jr. (New Orleans).

September 12, 1962

Mr. Henry Cabirac, Jr.
Southern Field Service
National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice
1046 Baronne St.
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dear Henry:

Thank you for your letter of August 30 in which you inform us that you are suggesting to all of your southern councils that they work with all coordinating agencies active in voter registration in their respective territories. I am sure that this will be a tremendous help in the various areas where registration efforts are soon to get under way.

The only place where we currently have a registration effort under way at the present time in the cities mentioned in your letter is in Little Rock where we have a registration effort being sponsored jointly by the Arkansas Council on Human Relations (Mr. Ozell Sutton, Associate Director, 1220 W. Capitol St., Little Rock) and the Greater Little Rock Urban League (Mr. George I. Henry, Secretary, 914 Gaines St., Little Rock).

We will be starting programs in some of the other cities very soon and I will send you a supplemental letter within the next few days giving you the names of organizations and individuals.

Thanks for your cooperation and I expect to see you Saturday night.

Sincerely yours,

Wiley A. Branton

wab:jl

SOUTHERN FIELD SERVICE
NATIONAL CATHOLIC CONFERENCE FOR INTERRACIAL JUSTICE

1046 BARONNE ST.
SUITE NO. 2

NEW ORLEANS 13, LA.

PHONE 523-2901

August 30, 1962

Mr. Wiley Branton
Room 206
#5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Wiley:

You probably will be interested in knowing that I am including in our newsletter a suggestion that all of our southern councils work with whoever the coordinating agency is in their territory. In order for me to be able to furnish them this information, I would appreciate you giving me the names of the agencies and the people to contact in the following places.

Mobile, Alabama	Oklahoma City, Okla.
Little Rock, Arkansas	Charlotte, S. Carolina
Pensacola, Florida	Nashville, Tennessee
Atlanta, Georgia	Dallas, Texas
Lafayette, Louisiana	Galveston, Texas
Jackson, Mississippi	Houston, Texas
Greensboro, N. Carolina	San Antonio, Texas
Raleigh, N. Carolina	Richmond, Virginia

It is my understanding that you will be the guest speaker at Dr. Burns testimonial banquet. I'll be looking forward to seeing you at that time.

Yours sincerely,

Henry

Henry Cabirac, Jr.

HC:ild

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TENNESSEE COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

2011 Grand Avenue • Nashville 12, Tennessee • CYpress 1-7544

Katherine Jones
Executive Director

MAR 27 1963

March 22, 1963

Mr. Wiley A. Branton
Project Director
Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Branton:

Enclosed is an article we thought would be of interest to you and your staff.

Sincerely yours,

Dorothy Webster

Dorothy B. Webster
Administrative Assistant

Enclosure

1- Agencies - Intergroup Miscell.

Tennessean
3-18-63

Democrats Strive To Win Non-Voters

The Democratic party is conducting an intense drive all over the country to register persons who have not previously voted, a party official said here last night.

Charles D. Roche, deputy chairman of the Democratic National Committee, said he feels the Democrats are winning seven persons out of 10 in the non-registered group.

"In all states there are many people who are not registered and who do not vote," he said. "We are working very hard to register these people. We are actively supporting the registration drive in the South among the working people and the minority groups.

"We intend to pursue it."

ROCHE SAID the drive has already showed results and that it had a bearing in many races last November.

"People can give a lot of nice speeches and talks, but unless you have the votes you don't win in politics." he said.

Roche called President Kennedy's proposed tax cut the most important piece of administration legislation to face Congress this year.

"This proposal would put more spending power in the hands of people who need to spend more,"

Charles D. Roche
Voter drive under way

he said. "There is a tremendous reservoir of unmet needs. The tax cut would stimulate more buying, increase use of production facilities, and create more jobs.

"IT WOULD result in more tax money collected because it would increase the gross national product."

Roche said right-wing extremists who are urging invasion of Cuba are "living in a fool's paradise."

Donelson
Phone

program highlights

GEORGIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS - 41 EXCHANGE PLACE, ATLANTA, GEORGIA

March, 1963

ANNUAL

S P R I N G

CONFERENCE

CAN MAN GET ALONG WITH MAN?

The Personal Side of Human Relations

THE GEORGIA COUNCIL on HUMAN RELATIONS
April 26th through April 28th
Friday Night through Sunday Morning

The New Episcopal Camp Reese - 23 miles south of Brunswick, Georgia

A delightful spot overlooking the marshes --- Excellent cuisine
Invite a prospective member from a neighboring town.
Relax - Think - Talk - Study

ATTENTION: BOARD MEMBERS

Semi-annual Board Business Meeting - Saturday Noon.

COST - $15 per person for two nights and five meals.

Scholarships available on request.

4- Intergroup Agencies
Miscell.

Another first for the Georgia Council - a weekend meeting in a congenial atmosphere. The program (an exciting one) is being planned as a unit - so plan to come in time for supper, Friday night (6:00 O'clock) and stay through breakfast on Sunday morning.

Camp Reese, 23 miles south of Brunswick, is a delightful new spot. Beautiful - restful - comfortable.

There are separate dormitories for men and women. The beds have fine new Simmons mattresses.

Bring sheets, pillows, pillow cases, blankets, (it is cool at night) and towels.

A map showing exact directions will be mailed on receipt of your registration.

Dress comfortably (LADIES WEAR FLAT SHOES - the ground is rough).

The Camp will be opened solely for our use. Preparations must be made in advance. RESERVATIONS MUST BE IN BY APRIL 15th.

Please be prompt.

Mail by April 15th

GEORGIA COUNCIL on HUMAN RELATIONS
41 Exchange Place, SE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

( ) I wish reservations for (1)(2) nights and (1)(2)(3)(4)(5) meals.

( ) Enclosed money order, check. I will pay ( ) at the Camp-site. $15 per person.

( ) There will be (1)(2)(3)(4)(5)(6) persons with me. ( ) Male. ( ) Female.

( ) I wish to apply for a partial or full Scholarship.

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____

STATE _____

WHAT'S WHAT WITH JEKYLL ISLAND?

AFTER ALMOST A YEAR OF FUTILE ATTEMPTS TO NEGOTIATIE THE DESEGREGATION OF THE JEKYLL ISLAND GOLF COURSE WITH PERSONS DESIGNATED BY THE STATE OF GEORGIA AS RESPONSIBLE FOR ITS OPERATION, THE GEORIGA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS AND THE NAACP REQUESTED APPEARANCE BEFORE THE NEWLY CREATED JEKYLL ISLAND STATE PARK AUTHORITY TO AIR GRIEVANCES.

For reasons not clearly understood and among which was the expressed belief that "the Council speaks for all Negroes", the NAACP was not granted an audience.

March 11, 1963 - The Staff of the GCHR met with the Jekyll Authority at its annual meeting. We asked for not only free and unrestricted use of Jekyll, but of all public facilities over which the "Authority" exercised jurisdiction.

The Chairman of the State Park Authority and the newly-appointed Director of State Parks were quite firm in their assertion that ample provisions were made for Negroes. The State Auditor suggested that we produce a guarantee that desegregation would not drive the whites away and added: "You (Negroes) might have the right to use the facilities, but we would not like to make a decision until we have talked with the Attorney General (an absent member of the 'Authority')". The GCHR was to be contacted when this decision had been made.

March 23, 1963 - For reasons strictly their own, the NAACP decided to take some independent action. This action took the form of an omnibus move; an attempt to use all facilities on Jekyll Island.

The NAACP Youth Council of Savannah and Brunswick, led by the State President of Brancehes, W. W. Law, and J. C. Hope, Chairman of the Political Action Committee of the Brunswick Branch, visited Jekyll Island on Saturday afternoon, March 23rd. They attempted to use all State operated facilities. They were refused. This refusal does not jibe with Mr. Fortson's statement on March 11, 1963 when he asserted that "the venture of Jekyll Island is so new until a RACIAL POLICY HAS NOT BEEN ESTABLISHED."

Why Use Jekyll Island?? State brochures proudly proclaim the many features of Georgia's year round family beach resort. The "lower end", reserved for use by Negroes, has none of the facilities which are available on the "upper end." Jekyll Island, however, is the one state park listed as operated for both races. Georgia operates a total of 37 parks; 30 for whites, 6 for Negroes - JEKYLL FOR BOTH RACES.

Of the many discrepancies which could be listed, only one is mentioned now, - the matter of financing. Figures for expenditures as listed in the State Auditor's report for 1962 show:

Money spent for 6 Negro parks for Personal Services - $ 8,825.07
Money spent for 29 white parks for Personal Services - $399,058.73

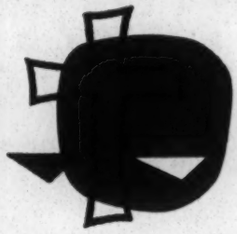
If it costs that much more to operate the white parks, it appears that those parks must offer that much more...

WHAT DOES THIS ALL MEAN AND WHAT SHOULD STATE AND LOCAL COUNCILS DO? PLEASE SEND YOUR SUGGESTIONS.

Southern Field Service

National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice

1046 Baronne Street • New Orleans 13, Louisiana • 523-2901



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Henry A. Cabirac, Jr.

JM

February 27, 1963

MAR 1 1963

Mr. Jack Minnis
Voter Education Project
Room 206
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Minnis:

Thank you for the schedule you sent me recently listing the registration and election dates of officials in several southern states. This can be a very useful tool. Would it be possible for you to send me twenty copies of this schedule in order that I can send them to various southern Catholic Interracial Councils in the areas affected?

Yours sincerely,

Henry Cabirac, Jr.

Henry Cabirac, Jr.

HC:kv

Jack - Sent 3-1-63 JC

April 18, 1963

Mr. Henry Cabirac
National Catholic Conference
for Interracial Justice
1046 Baronne Street
New Orleans 13, Louisiana

Dear Mr. Cabirac:

Mr. Branton had asked me to make a photocopy for you of the Carl Braden report which appeared in the August 31 issue of the Jackson Daily News. There are only two file copies of this article, one is ours and one belongs to the Southern Regional Council. I made a determined attempt to reproduce either of them on our photocopy machine this morning and they are in such bad shape from folding, etc., that I simply was unable to reproduce it in readable form.

I'm sorry about this but wonder if you might be able to write directly to the Jackson Daily News and get a copy of the edition of August 31.

Sincerely yours,

Jean Levine
Administrative Secretary

1 - agencies -
Intergroup Miscell.

Southern Field Service

National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice

1046 Baronne Street • New Orleans 13, Louisiana • 523-2901

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Henry A. Cabirac, Jr.

APR 10 1963

April 9, 1963

Mr. Wiley A. Branton
Voter Education Project
Southern Regional Council
Room 206
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Wylie:

Matt Ahmann, Executive Director of our National Organization has asked me to try to obtain a copy of Braden's report that appeared in the Jackson Daily News. Would you have one that you could send me or tell me where I might be able to obtain one? I would be willing to pay whatever cost that might be involved in doing this.

Yours sincerely,

Henry Cabirac

HC/ej

WBr

MINUTES, SOUTHERN INTERAGENCY CONFERENCE
ATLANTA, GEORGIA - APRIL 18, 19, 1963

Administrative.

The Organization Committee presented its recommendations for the definition and procedures of the Conference. Its report was unanimously adopted, with amendments and with the proviso that procedural rules go into effect immediately but the report will not be released until after the approval of a preamble, to be considered at the fall meeting. Amendments are: (1) the phrase "human relations" is to be changed to "intergroup relations" wherever it occurs; (2) item 7 under "Definition" will be deleted, and the Committee on Organization is instructed to prepare for the document a short preamble that will endeavor to state reasons why this group of people has an identity and purpose, to be presented to the next meeting; (3) the first paragraph under "Participants" will be changed to read: "Participation shall be limited to national and regional agencies having program in intergroup relations extending to more than one Southern state"; (4) under the section "Steering Committee," the word "selection" is changed to "election"; (5) under the section "Voting," paragraph 2, sentence 1 will read: "Issues shall be decided by majority vote of those present except in the matters of participation and the election of chairman, steering committee, and secretariat."

Requests to participate in S.I.C. from Quaker House and the Southern Conference Educational Fund were brought before the group. The chair ruled that Quaker House is ineligible to participate on grounds that participation is limited to agencies having program concerns extending to more than one Southern state. Participants, voting in an open ballot, declined to extend an invitation to participate to SCEF.

Mississippi - Jim Forman and Wiley Branton.

Recent so-called "demonstrations" in Greenwood were not a planned thing. Reports coming out of that city have confused the facts, making it appear that Greenwood police officers and officials were only preventing large numbers of people from gathering, not inhibiting access to the registrar's office. The facts were just the opposite.

There was no "agreement," insofar as is known, preceding the Justice Department's withdrawal of its request for a preliminary injunction against Greenwood and Leflore County officials; city and county officials would not formally agree to any change in tactics. Eight Negroes who had been jailed were released. Much of the harassment directed against voter registration efforts appears to have diminished and the city seems to be aware that it will be hurt unless earlier tactics are changed.

Local Negroes remain enthusiastic about the registration effort and this enthusiasm has overflowed into adjoining counties.

1-agencies
Intergroup. Miscell.

Alabama - Norman Jimerson and Paul Anthony.

There are two threats in the Birmingham situation: the possibility that current demonstrations might cause the state legislature to rescind the city's newly chosen form of Mayor-Council government, and the possibility that Governor Wallace might declare martial law in response to the demonstrations. There is some division in the Negro community in regard to supporting demonstrations at this time; however, it is probable that long-term demonstrations will foster coalescence and support.

The possibility of court ordered public school desegregation in any or all of three communities--Mobile, Huntsville, and Birmingham--remains, as does the assumption that in the event of desegregation Governor Wallace will empower himself to personally remove Negro students from desegregated schools, as he has threatened. Save Our Schools groups are active in these three locales.

It is conceivable that the Governor's hand will be called in June, at the level of higher education, and in Huntsville, where two Negroes (both employees at nearby federal installations) have applied for admittance to the Huntsville Center of the University of Alabama. They are asking for a court order for entrance to the Center for the summer quarter.

Merit Employment and Federal Government Participation - George Butler, President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity.

Within the next year the President's Committee will probably be able to move into the area of requiring of contract holders affirmative action toward employment of minority group members. Until now, the Committee has deliberately avoided spelling out what constitutes affirmative action. Contract-holders will be turning increasingly to existing public or private agencies to produce qualified recruits. Individuals are urged to send complaints to the Committee in known cases of non-compliance on the part of government contract-holders.

Other.

Nominations for chairman, steering committee, and secretariat for the coming SIC year were approved by the group: Chairman, Charles Wittenstein; Steering Committee, Ruby Hurley, Vincent Harding, Paul Anthony, John Morris, Monroe Schlactus, Rosetta Gardner, Tartt Bell, Henry Cabirac, and Jean Russell; Secretariat, Southern Regional Council.

The CORE representative requested that all SIC participants send him descriptive material on their program and function.

Wednesday and Thursday, September 25 and 26, were selected as the dates of the next meeting, and the Steering Committee was asked to explore several possibilities and determine a suitable location.

Southern Field Service

National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice

1046 Baronne Street • New Orleans 13, Louisiana • 523-2901

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Mathew Ahmann
DIRECTOR, SOUTHERN FIELD SERVICE
Henry A. Cabirac, Jr.

April 23, 1963

Miss Jean Levine
Administrative Secretary
Voter Education Project
Room 206
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Jean:

Thanks for trying to send me a copy of Carl Braden's report in the Jackson Daily News. I know how much used material can get and it is easy to understand how this would be beyond the point of being able to make a satisfactory copy.

I'll check with Matt Ahmann again to see if he still wants a copy of this article and if so, the next time I am in Jackson I will get if for him.

Yours sincerely,

Henry

Henry Cabirac

HC/ej

1-Agencies - Intergroups
Misc.

May 2, 1963

Mr. Henry Cabirac
National Catholic Conference for
Interracial Justice
1046 Baronne Street
New Orleans 13, Louisiana

Dear Mr. Cabirac:

The President of the Council of Federated Organizations is Aaron Henry and any correspondence we have with the organization is through him.

His address is:

2138 Fourth Street
Clarksdale, Mississippi

Sincerely yours,

Jean Levine
Administrative Secretary

Southern Field Service

National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice

1046 Baronne Street • New Orleans 13, Louisiana • 523-2901

MAY 1 1963

April 30, 1963

Miss Jean Levine
Voter Education Project
Room 206
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Jean:

Would you please send me the address of the Council of Federated Organizations working in Greenwood so that I might write our Southern Councils and ask them to give whatever support they can to this movement.

Yours sincerely,

Henry Cabirac

HC/ej

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JM RTB Return to WAB

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

St. Helena Island JUN 20 1963 Frogmore, South Carolina

Courtney Siceloff
Director

JUN 20 1963

6/19/63

Dear Wiley Branton

Congratulations on your appointment to CORE (see attached!)

Have just read your report of VEP. Naturally much accomplished but in very readable form. Here's hoping for another half million to maintain the drive.

Courtney

FOR YOUR INFORMATION

JM ✓
RB

Thought you would be interested.

COURTNEY SICELOFF

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INC.

FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

The News and Courier, Tues., June 11, 1963
CHARLESTON, S. C.

. . . CORE Plans

Continued From Page 1-A

may stir up racial unrest in South Carolina. They blame a South Carolinian, 21-year-old Jesse Jackson of Greenville, for starting and sustaining freedom marches in their cities and nearby Thomasville and Lexington.

Jackson, the president of Greensboro's A & T Negro college student body, agrees. He says CORE will soon play "a most significant role in pushing equal rights in South Carolina."

A check with South Carolina CORE headquarters in Sumter yesterday produced some evidence the New York directed organization has already laid the groundwork for extensive desegregation moves especially in the first, fifth and sixth congressional districts.

Frank Robinson, CORE field secretary for South Carolina, said several members of the national staff had visited the state within recent days to observe "certain conditions and lay initial plans for voter registration and a wide range of integration moves."

Robinson said Wiley A. Branton Jr., head of the national CORE Voter Registration Division, has been in the state since Friday studying what steps the group can take to increase registered Negro voters throughout South Carolina.

Earlier, CORE's national director James Farmer and several unnamed members of his staff toured Kingstree, Georgetown, Bishopville, Manning, Summerton, Florence, Darlington, Sumter and Charleston.

Interviewed in Greensboro, Farmer said CORE "is not as patient as the NAACP" and "wants immediate results to satisfy Negro demands for across-the-board integration."

Farmer added "CORE will not hesitate a minute to conduct massive demonstrations if South Carolina fails to follow the North Carolina lead and integrate motels, restaurants, movie houses and all public facilities including libraries, swimming pools and parks."

Robinson said yesterday his instructions — subject to change at any minute — are to press for Negro voter registration in the fifth and sixth congressional districts.

He said CORE attorneys are set to bring suit against Williamsburg County for "slow down" tactics being used to prevent Negroes from registering in the Kingstree area.

Robinson said the federal government will be asked to find out why Williamsburg County rejected 543 out of 600 Negroes who have attempted to register in Kingstree during the past half year.

Both Robinson and James M. Cain, a Sumter native serving as a national CORE program director and the key figure in recent desegregation suits filed against New Orleans hotel facilities, point out Williamsburg is not the only county facing "early pressure" to open registration books to Negroes.

Robinson said CORE has its eye on early registration campaigns in Horry, Georgetown, Clarendon, Marion, Dillon, Florence and Marlboro counties. York, Lancaster, Lee, Berkeley, Chester and Sumter counties were cited as probable counties for later voter registration campaigns.

When asked why CORE is apparently skipping the western half of the state, Robinson indicated South Carolina has been divided into spheres of influence by the NAACP, CORE and several other Negro groups including one supposedly headed by Dr. Martin Luther King.

The groups will meet sometime next week to outline overall moves to force desegregation in South Carolina. Robinson said NAACP Executive Secretary I. Dequincy Newman of Columbia set the affair — possibly in Charleston.

Robinson said he had been asked to go to Marlboro and Florence counties within the next few days to help outline ways to boost Negro voter registration. While agreeing Florence has had "fairly good race relations," he said certain Negro leaders are concerned over the small percentage of eligible colored voters not registered. Slightly more than 11 per cent of the non whites of both Florence and Marlboro counties are registered.

Robinson said CORE hopes to avoid the massive demonstrations in South Carolina. He said appointment of bi-racial groups to study mutual problems and positive steps toward desegregation can prevent the need for freedom marches.

He said "if needed, CORE task forces are ready to come into the state to press for voter registration and integration of public facilities and firms doing business with the public."

"Core, like the NAACP, believes the time has come for a change . . . a change to full racial equality in South Carolina. We're tired of waiting," Robinson emphasized.

He added Sumter officials have been asked to sit down to discuss mutual problems with Negro leaders sometime next week. "Sumter's mayor is out of town but we expect an early answer to our request."

Robinson said similar meetings will be proposed with officials throughout South Carolina.

"Towns as small as Bishopville, Conway, Mullins, Manning and Summerton will not be exempt. The time has come for every municipality to appoint bi-racial committees as means of communication between the races and to help work out agreements."

CORE officials said yesterday the organization would first ask for full equality and if failing in such requests would threaten massive demonstrations and legal action. Continued failure of cities to comply with CORE demands will result in the threats being carried out.

CORE Lays Plans For S. C. Activity

By LEVERNE PROSSER
Roving Reporter

South Carolina officials are so busy watching and anticipating desegregation moves by the National Association for Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) that they may be overlooking an even bigger threat to racial harmony in the state.

That's the supposition advanced by North Carolina mayors whose cities have been plagued by segregation protest demonstrations.

Announced NAACP plans to demonstrate against cities failing to take immediate and definite steps toward total desegregation and "freedom marches" opened in Charleston Sunday and may inadvertently serve as a smoke screen for more pronounced later actions by the more militant Congress of Racial Equality (CORE).

CORE, not the NAACP, was the prime mover behind the freedom marches, boycotts and sit-ins at Greensboro, Thomasville and Raleigh the past few weeks.

It was CORE that sparked demonstrations in High Point that are keeping 50 state highway patrolmen on duty there to preserve the peace and last week pressed freedom marches in Lexington that left one white man dead, another wounded and the town virtually under a state of martial law.

And it is CORE that Greensboro Mayor David Schenck and High Point Mayor Floyd Mehan feel

(See CORE, Page 2-A)

COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

Conway, S. C.
April 8th, 1963

Gentlemen:

The records of the Commission on Civil Rights in Washington, D.C. Show the following:

351 negroes are registered to vote in Hampton county

The correct figure should be 659 negroes are registered to vote in Hampton County.

We hope that you will insert the correct figure in the above and return to me at your earliest convenience. We want the true picture of South Carolina to appear when the next pamphlet is published.

Yours truly,

E R McIver

E. R. McIver
Chmn of S.C. Advisory Com

Gentlemen:

We are only open Frist monday and Tuesday. This is our Correct. Hampton County Reg. B.

Yours Truly
O. Y. Warren Chairman

8/6-1963

1-agencies — Interagency miscellaneous

COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

Conway, S. C.
April 8th, 1963

Gentlemen:

The records of the Commission on Civil Rights in Washington, D.C. Show the following:

26 negroes are registered to vote in Calhoun county

The correct figure should be 179 negroes are registered to vote in Calhoun county.

We hope that you will invert the correct figure in the above and return to me at your earliest convenience. We want the true picture of South Carolina to appear when the next pamphlet is published.

Yours truly,

E R McIver

E. R. McIver
Chmn of S.C. Advisory Com

COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

Conway, S. C.
April 8th, 1963

Gentlemen:

The records of the Commission on Civil Rights in Washington, D.C. Show the following:

388 negroes are registered to vote in Clarendon county

The correct figure should be 484 negroes are registered to vote in Clarendon county.

We hope that you will insert the correct figure in the above and return to me at your earliest convenience. We want the true picture of South Carolina to appear when the next pamphlet is published.

Yours truly,

E R McIver

E. R. McIver
Chmn of S.C. Advisory Com

WEB

Southern Field Service

National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice

1046 Baronne Street • New Orleans 13, Louisiana • 523-2901

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DIRECTOR, SOUTHERN FIELD SERVICE
Henry A. Cabirac, Jr.

4

June 25, 1963

JUN 27 1963

Mr. Wiley A. Branton
Voter Education Project
Southern Regional Council
Room 206
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Wiley:

Thanks for the report on the Voter Registration Drive. Congratulations on making a fine start on a much needed job. Please keep me informed so that in our limited way we can bring whatever resources we have to bear on this.

Yours sincerely,

Henry Cabirac

HC/ej

1-agencies
Intergroup Miscell.

GEORGIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

41 EXCHANGE PLACE, S. E.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

THE REVEREND CHARLES DEMERE
CHAIRMAN

TELEPHONE
525-6468

DR. LIONEL NEWSOM
FIRST VICE-CHAIRMAN

MR. A. J. McCLUNG
SECOND VICE-CHAIRMAN

MRS. F. EARL McLENDON
SECRETARY

MR. JOHNNY GLUSTROM
TREASURER

MRS. FRANCES PAULEY
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

THE REVEREND OLIVER W. HOLMES
ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR

Savannah, Georgia
July 1, 1963

Dear Member:

I wish I might talk with you face to face. I need your answers to many questions. We must all put our heads together and think of new programs; new ways for new days.

FIRST -
Much of the last three weeks have been spent in Savannah. At this moment it is still a question about the outcome of the recent demonstrations in this city. The owners of restaurants, hotels, motels and theaters seem to be saying, "I will if he does." No one seems willing to be the first. No one wants to be a martyr or a hero. Everyone wants to make his dollar without disturbance. The moderate white community is silent.

It takes time to break the silence. There is no time. If an agreement is not reached within the next few days, there will be more demonstrations. White leaders seem tired, very tired, perhaps not thinking clearly. Tempers are high. There are many white people working long hours behind the scene trying to persuade the owners to think of the public interest and open their places of business. They have made some headway, but the time is running out. Many are delighted to work behind the scenes. But few will let their voices be heard. The Episcopal Bishop Stuart is a wonderful exception to this. The majority of the people seem not to sense the urgency. They often seem half asleep.

At the headquarters of the Crusade for Voters (the leaders of the demonstrations) there is little mention of non-violence. There is no mention of 'jail not bail'. In fact today there is great bitterness because a youth leader, Ben Clark, is in jail. There is a statute here which says if you are arrested three times for the same charge before your case is tried you are denied bail. Ben Clark has been arrested more than three times in recent days. The Negroes want his release now, before his trial. It is being denied.

Agencies
1- Intergroup - Miscell.

This is revolution, whether people like it or not. They will be caught in the fire whether they choose sides or sit silently. Some people have been and will be hurt.

The Savannah Council on Human Relations is doing a fine job. If I could tell you all the details you would be extremely proud to belong to the same organization with these people. Your heart would ache because of the suffering of many of them.

The Mayor and the Police Chief have done a magnificent job giving protection to demonstrations through the streets and in their outdoor gatherings. There is a limit to their strength. We hope and pray that a settlement will be made before there is rioting and violence.

I hope by the time you get this there will be a happy solution to the immediate problem and Savannahians will be busy with preparations for the desegregation of schools this fall. All the Catholic schools and at least one grade of the public schools will be desegregated in September. The present plan is similar to the Atlanta plan beginning with the 12th grade this fall. Representatives from some 20 organizations have met to begin work. This bi-racial group has the support and cooperation of the school board.

ECOND -
hat is our job as a Council in this rapidly changing scene? It is ery easy to become frustrated and do nothing because of the size of he task. Not long before the death of Pope John XXIII he said,

> "He may let me do very little but what He will let me do, I intend to do it all."

ere are a few suggestions:

EMBERSHIP — Introducing more people to the work and pleasure of a bi-racial group. Hunt for those who are just beginning to agree with us. Help them to take a first step. Double your membership - not to have a larger organization, but to influence more people.

MPLOYMENT IN TATE POSITIONS — The State of Georgia needs to hire Negroes in various positions such as workers in the local departments of public welfare and in the local state employment agencies. To apply for these positions an examination is necessary. If you wish information write;

MERIT SYSTEM ADMINISTRATION
244 Washington Avenue SW
Atlanta 3, Georgia

or write to our office and we will see that you get an application blank. Examinations will be given in the following places on July 20, 1963:

ALBANY AUGUSTA MACON MILLEDGEVILLE ROME
SAVANNAH

YOU make announcements in churches and clubs and see that qualified people take these exams. If you know of a case of discrimination in the handling of employment in the state employment offices, will you contact our office?

NEW EXECUTIVE ORDER

What is your town building? President Kennedy has issued an Executive Order enabling all Government agencies to cut off funds from any federally assisted construction project where discrimination against Negroes is practiced. The authority extends to such local and state projects as highway, hospital, school and other construction. There may be a company in your town that has a contract in another town. For instance, Woodhurst & O'Brien in Augusta have a $243,000 contract for the Post Office in Hartwell, Georgia. Oscar J. Hansen in Savannah has a $173,600 contract for a Post Office in Elberton, Georgia. Chris R. Sheridan of Macon has a $41,150 contract for repairs at Robins Air Base. How many Negroes are hired on these jobs? How many Negroes have applied for jobs? Find the place where you as a member and your Council as a group can increase assistance on this complicated job of equal employment.

JUSTICE IN THE COURTS

Until more Negroes serve on more juries, we cannot hope for justice in the courts. To serve on a jury a person must be a property owner and have no criminal record. A Jury Commission appointed by the Superior Court Judge selects the names. Could your Council or your sorority or your Sunday School class take a summer project of making a list of qualified Negroes and whites who have not been called to jury service and who own property. Take this list to each member of the Jury Commission and ask that these names be considered for jury service. This could be a first step toward improving the quality of justice in your courts.

MAYOR'S COMMITTEE:

Ten towns in Virginia have newly formed biracial Mayor's committees. Does your town have this additional help?

HOTELS AND RESTAURANTS

Negroes were served recently in the Frances Marion Hotel, Charleston, South Carolina. Every hotel and restaurant should be encouraged to open. Careful negotiations before demonstrations might mean a more rapid success than to wait for demonstrations and then negotiations. Perhaps you can avoid the tension and bitterness and delay by quickly getting to the conference table.

The most difficult step toward success is the first step. Will you encourage some one to move? Persuade people to get around the conference table NOW.

Keep the dates September 20 and 21st open for a joint conference with Alabama. More information later.

Best wishes for a successful summer and another successful step toward a democratic Georgia.

Sincerely yours,

Frances Pauley

Frances Pauley

P. S. To compete in modern America every child needs the maximum training.

In Georgia 703,524 white children use public school plants valued at $446,188,921 or $662 per child. In Georgia 329,740 Negro children use school plants valued at $150,615,014 or $457 per child.

Although Negroes compose almost 47% of the school population, they enjoy the use of only 440 libraries where white children have 1188 libraries as well as free access to the large local public libraries. As soon as the public library in your city is open to the total public, will you see that it is used by all the community? If your library is still restricted, start consultations.

F. P.

INFORMATION

FROM THE
PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE
-ON-
EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY
Washington 25, D. C.

THE VICE PRESIDENT AT GETTYSBURG

On Memorial Day, 1963, Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson, Chairman of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, spoke at Gettysburg, Pa., where President Lincoln delivered his immortal Gettysburg Address 100 years ago. The President's Committee has received many requests for copies of this speech which is sent to you for your information. Additional copies may be had upon request. Text of the speech follows.

On this hallowed ground, heroic deeds were performed and eloquent words were spoken a century ago.

We, the living, have not forgotten -- and the world will never forget -- the deeds or the words of Gettysburg. We honor them now as we join on this Memorial Day of 1963 in a prayer for permanent peace of the world and fulfillment of our hopes for universal freedom and justice.

We are called to honor our own words of reverent prayer with resolution in the deeds we must perform to preserve peace and the hope of freedom.

We keep a vigil of peace around the world.

Until the world knows no aggressors, until the arms of tyranny have been laid down, until freedom has risen up in every land, we shall maintain our vigil to make sure our sons who died on foreign fields shall not have died in vain.

As we maintain the vigil of peace, we must remember that justice is a vigil, too -- a vigil we must keep in our own streets and schools and among the lives of all our people -- so that those who died here on their native soil shall not have died in vain.

One hundred years ago, the slave was freed.

One hundred years later, the Negro remains in bondage to the color of his skin.

The Negro today asks justice.

We do not answer him -- we do not answer those who lie beneath this soil -- when we reply to the Negro by asking, "Patience."

It is empty to plead that the solution to the dilemmas of the present rests on the hands of the clock. The solution is in our hands. Unless we are willing to yield up our destiny of greatness among the civilizations of history, Americans -- white and Negro together -- must be about the business of resolving the challenge which confronts us now.

Our nation found its soul in honor on these fields of Gettysburg one hundred years ago. We must not lose that soul in dishonor now on the dields of hate.

To ask for patience from the Negro is to ask him to give more of what he has already given enough. But to fail to ask of him -- and of all Americans -- perseverance within the processes of a free and responsible society would be to fail to ask what the national interest requires of all its citizens.

The law cannot save those who deny it but neither can the law serve any who do not use it. The history of injustice and inequality is a history of disuse of the law. Law has not failed -- and is not failing. We as a nation have failed ourselves by not trusting the law and by not using the law to gain sooner the ends of justice which law alone serves.

If the white over-estimates what he has done for the Negro without the law, the Negro may under-estimate what he is doing and can do for himself with the law.

If it is empty to ask Negro or white for patience, it is not empty -- it is merely honest -- to ask perseverance. Men may build barricades -- and others may hurl themselves against those barricades -- but what would happen at the barricades would yield no answers. The answers will only be wrought by our perseverance together. It is deceit to promise more as it would be cowardice to demand less.

In this hour, it is not our respective races which are at stake -- it is our nation. Let those who care for their country come forward, North and South, white and Negro, to lead the way through this moment of challenge and decision.

The Negro says, "Now." Others say, "Never." The voice of responsible Americans -- the voice of those who died here and the great man who spoke here -- their voices say, "Together." There is no other way.

Until justice is blind to color, until education is unaware of race, until opportunity is unconcerned with the color of men's skins, emancipation will be a proclamation but not a fact. To the extent that the proclamation of emancipation is not fulfilled in fact, to that extent we shall have fallen short of assuring freedom to the free.

# # #

League of Women Voters of Georgia
7 - 17th Street, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30309

July, 1963

REVIEW OF C.R. I - ELECTIONS - 1961-1963

"An equitable, enforceable system"

The League has long worked to achieve improvement in Georgia's election system. Recently there has been opportunity to make our stand known on some of our goals.

1. A simple system of voter registration which is fair and convenient to the voter, and which safeguards against fraud.

On July 13, 1961, the League of Women Voters of Georgia made a statement to the Election Laws Study Committee, a committee created by the 1961 Legislature which will make a preliminary report to the 1962 session of the Legislature. We stated in part that "we opposed the 1958 Registration Act because, after careful study, we felt that a number of its provisions did not encourage voter participation and other provisions were neither equitable nor enforceable. In our opinion, the major provisions dealing with voter qualifications and registration procedures violate the necessity for clarity and ease of impartial administration. For example, to require an applicant: to answer under 'what constitutional classification' he is making application; to make two trips, unless the Board of Registrars happens to be on hand; and to be literate or answer 20 or 30 difficult questions which college professors in political science have acknowledged they could not answer; certainly makes qualifying to vote unreasonably difficult both for the would-be voter and the Registrars." We also urged "consideration of a date clearly fixed by law for closing registration for the primary and general elections. The present law is not clear with regard to registration deadlines and is subject to periodic rulings by the Attorney-General. In addition, we would like to point out that Georgia is one of the few states closing its registration books as much as six months prior to the voting date."

2. Primary expenses paid from public funds.

In most states primary expenses are paid from public funds, but in Georgia primary expenses are paid by the political party out of party committee funds, usually obtained by candidates' entry fees. When the expenses of conducting a primary are great, this necessitates setting prohibitively high entry fees.

3. Candidates' fees set by law.

In most states primary entry fees are fixed by state law at a small percentage of the salary of the office sought. In Georgia candidates' entry fees are fixed by the party committee. High

entry fees sometimes keep otherwise qualified candidates from running for office.

4. Short Ballot.

If only policy-forming officials - such as governor, lieutenant-governor, and legislators - were elected, and if the governor appointed the administrative executive officers, it would be possible for the voter to hold the governor and legislators strictly accountable for the results.

5. Preservation of the secret ballot.

This item became a C.R. in 1950 after the enactment of the Secret Ballot Law of 1949. It has been retained on the Program so that action may be taken to obtain full protection of the voters' rights whenever election officials fail to provide for a secret ballot or should there be an effort to repeal the secret ballot law. Local Leagues have secured voting machines, stopped the practice of election managers giving instructions to persons who were neither physically-handicapped nor blind, and secured the use of private booths.

6. Regulation of primaries by law, not by party rule.

In 1961, the Legislature repealed the 1952 law which set the state primary date at the second Wednesday in September. The League is urging repeal of the 1961 law which allows a party executive committee to set the date of the primary. A flexible primary date encourages political maneuvering to favor one candidate over another and, in addition, further confuses and disfranchises would-be voters, who may well find that by the time the committee has decided upon a primary date, the registration cut-off has long since passed.

7. Printing of sample ballots.

The process by which a citizen votes should be made simple and clear. Many states require that sample ballots be printed in the newspapers so that voters may study the ballot before going to the polls. It is understood that the Elections Committee is considering favorably the printing of sample ballots, at present illegal in Georgia.

8. Names of presidential candidates be placed on the ballot and electors be pledged to their party's candidate.

The League stated to the Committee that we urge "that it be made mandatory that names of presidential candidates be placed on the ballot that electors be pledged to their party's candidate. We feel that in this age, when the media of communication reach into every community, the voting citizen has the means of determining his own choice for the highest office in the nation and that having made this determination he should have the unqualified assurance that his vote will be so recorded."

The League also criticised the ambiguity of the law regarding petitions to place candidates' names on the general election ballot in district and statewide races. The Attorney General has since ruled that the law's intent is to require signatures of 5% of the registered voters in the territory as a whole, rather than to require 5% from each county in the territory.

1962 LEGISLATIVE ROUNDUP ON ELECTIONS

The law setting the state primary date at the second Wednesday in September was restored.

A new law permits counties to set qualifying fees for general election candidates, except for those nominated in primaries. (The League believes in candidates' fees set by law for primaries.)

Another law clarifies qualifying rules for candidates. It provides that all candidates shall file notice of candidacy 45 days before the general election. Candidates for the General Assembly shall qualify with the ordinary of the county or counties in which they are running. Each candidate who is not nominated in a primary, or whose party polled less than 5% of the votes for such office in the last general election for such officer, shall file a separate petition signed by not less than 5% of the registered voters of the territory in which he is a candidate.

League of Women Voters of Georgia
7 - 17th Street, N.E.
Atlanta 7, Georgia

STATEMENT TO ELECTIONS COMMITTEE

July 12, 1961

The League of Women Voters of Georgia commends this Committee for its serious effort to evaluate and rewrite Georgia's election laws. The act of voting constitutes for many citizens their only participation in government, so it is fundamental that election laws should be clear, equitable, and enforceable. Today in actual practice there is an infinite number of variations in the administration of the laws, due in large part to ambiguity and contradiction. This creates a situation where in many instances local officials become the arbiters and sole interpreters of the laws. The primary responsibility for protecting the right to vote lies with the State - with an obligation that the laws and the administration of such laws be uniform and equitable for all citizens. Therefore, the importance of your work as an Elections Committee cannot be over-estimated.

The ultimate purpose of the League of Women Voters is an informed and active participation in government by citizens. In reviewing early League history, we find that as soon as the Woman's Suffrage amendment had passed in 1920, the League of Women Voters was formed expressly for the purpose of learning how to use the ballot. Citizenship schools were sponsored by the League and interest spread to encourage more citizens, both men and women, not only to vote but to be informed as well. It might be of interest to this Committee to know that one of the first items on the League program was the publication by each state organization of a digest of state election laws.

In the past in Georgia the League has opposed the poll tax, supported permanent registration, the secret ballot, printing of sample ballots, and abolition of the County Unit System, among others. More recently we opposed the 1958 Registration Act because, after careful study, we felt that a number of its provisions did not encourage voter participation and other provisions were neither equitable nor enforceable.

In our opinion, the major provisions dealing with voter qualifications and registration procedures violate the necessity for clarity and ease of impartial administration. For example, to require an applicant: to answer under "what constitutional classification" he is making application; to make two trips, unless the Board of Registrars happens to be on hand; and to be literate or answer twenty of thirty difficult questions which college professors in political science have acknowledged they could not answer; certainly makes qualifying to vote unreasonably difficult both for the would-be voter and for the Registrars. Could all of you gentlemen give the definition of a felony or state the qualifications for jury service in Georgia without prior consultation with the Georgia Code?

We are enclosing with our statement some sections of the 1958 Registration Act which, in League opinion, should be changed along with our reasons for the changes.

The League is happy to see that the Committee is considering favorably the printing of sample ballots and the removal of Superior Court Judges and Solicitors from the General Election ballot. The League has long

supported the printing of such ballots as an educational service to the voter and has over the years advocated the principle of the short ballot.

In addition, we would urge that it be made mandatory that names of presidential candidates be placed on the ballot and that electors be pledged to their party's candidate. We feel that in this age, when the media of communication reach into every community, the voting citizen has the means of determining his own choice for the highest office in the nation and that having made this determination he should have the unqualified assurance that his vote will be so recorded.

The League deplores the recent law permitting the party executive committee to set the date of the primary election. We believe a primary date which is set by law and not subject to political maneuvering is in the best interests of the electorate. We urge the Committee to recommend repeal of the 1961 law and adoption of one to provide a September primary.

We would also urge consideration of a date clearly fixed by law for closing registration for the primary and general elections. The present law is not clear with regard to registration deadlines and is subject to periodic rulings by the Attorney-General. In addition, we would like to point out that Georgia is one of the few states closing its registration books as much as six months prior to the voting date.

The League urges some clarification of the laws regarding petitions to place candidates' names on ballots. At present there is confusion as to whether candidates for state office must have 5% of the registered voters of every county, or whether among the 5% there must be names from every county.

The League supports the two-party system, and deplores laws which discourage its development in our state. We urge the Committee to investigate practices in other states as to percentage requirements for independent candidates.

The League thanks the Committee for this public hearing. We are almost envious of the opportunities for improvement in the Elections Code open to you and hope that our suggestions will be of some benefit.

League of Women Voters of Georgia
7 - 17th Street, N.E.
Atlanta 9, Georgia
July 12, 1961

The League wishes to point up some of the most glaring faults of the 1958 Registration Act as follows:

1. It does not provide for equal application of the law. On the contrary, it would provide every County Board of Registrars with great powers of discretion, making possible unequal application in several instances.

Here are some examples:

a. Section 8 says: "The registration card shall be substantially the following form . . .; but the registrars may require additional information and provide for its inclusion on the card." Even the basic application forms could vary as among individuals and counties.

b. Section 12 requires any person desiring to register to "apply" to a registrar or deputy, and fill in the application form. According to Section 14, these cards are turned over within 10 days to the Board of Registrars who would then examine them, and notify the accepted applicants to appear before them for examination as to their qualifications. These provisions make two trips necessary for completing registration.

Section 17 (c) on the other hand says: "The registrars, if present or in session at the time an application is filed, may proceed to the examination of the applicant instanter and without notice". This would mean some applicants would have to make two trips, whereas others could complete registration in one trip.

c. Section 17 (a). The bill does not specify the section of the Constitution of Georgia or the U. S. to be submitted to the applicant to be read and written. Nor does it fix a standard for "intelligently" reading and "legibly" writing the section submitted. Evidently this test could vary with individuals and counties.

d. Section 18 and 19. The bill does not require Registrars to make available the thirty questions and/or answers in advance to those who are to take this test. Neither does it provide for a standard set of acceptable answers. Who is to decide, for example, what answer will be correct for the question, "What is the republican form of government?"

2. It would make the process of registering more tedious, more confusing, and unreasonably difficult. How many applicants will know what is meant by the question, "Under what constitutional classification do you desire to make application for registration?"

Section 8. How many citizens will be able to make the second trip at the convenience of the Registrars?

Questions for those unable to read or write are unreasonably difficult. "What is the definition of a felony in Georgia?" "What are the qualifications for jury service in Georgia?" "What does the Constitution of the U. S. provide regarding the right of citizens to vote?"

3. There seem to be conflicting interpretations possible as to who would be required to register. Section 1 reads in part, "any person who, after the effective date of this law, desires to register as an elector to vote . . . must do so under the provisions of this law." By inference, this would seem to indicate that all who are now registered would not have to re-register.

   But - Section 2 says, "notwithstanding any other provision of this law, any person who was qualified and registered to vote in the 1956 general election shall not be required to re-register under terms of this law . . ." Does this contradict Section 1, and mean that those who have registered since May 1956 would have to re-register? How is this to be interpreted?

4. Provisions of Sections 1 and 25 taken together are confusing and create a question as to whether registrants would have to register six months prior to the primary in non-general election years.

In summary, this law creates great confusion and difficulties for registrants. But more important, any law which by its own provisions would permit unequal application is obviously in violation of the spirit and intent of United States and Georgia constitutional provisions protecting the rights of citizens to vote.

program highlights

GEORGIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS - 41 EXCHANGE PLACE, ATLANTA, GEORGIA

August, 1963

FALL CONFERENCE

As your thoughts turn to fall, find your calendar and mark October 4 and 5. The Georgia Council and the Alabama Council will have a joint Conference at Tuskegee. There will be experts with new ideas and inspiration to help us plan our winter program. See Tuskegee Campus! The title is "New Ways for New Days". Marion Wright will be the speaker on Friday night. You will have a choice of workshops:

1. Preparation for Desegregation of schools
2. Employment
3. Public Accommodations
4. Community Relations

Each workshop will have experts to help us. Plan ahead! Talk to your chairman! Persuade your friends! Make every effort to plan a meaningful rewarding program in Human Relations for yourself, personally, and your Council.

NEWS FROM THE VIRGINIA COUNCIL

The Richmond Council celebrated Human Relations Night at the base ball game. Plaques were given; the director, Happy Lee, made a speech; brochures were distributed. Here was a positive approach reaching several thousand citizens.

This September eighteen school districts in Virginia will be desegregated for the first time. This brings the total number of Negroes in formerly white schools to approximately 3000.

KENTUCKY MOVES AHEAD

Kentucky Governor Combs issued an executive order June 26, 1963 which is far reaching in it's efforts to remove discrimination in all executive departments and agencies in the state government as well as in businesses and professions which are licensed by the state. (Copy of order may be obtained from the office of Georgia Council on Human Relations).

The summer's civil rights activities throughout Georgia point up the need for new ordinances and new laws prohibiting discrimination. The mere absence of segregation laws is not enough to insure

a person's civil rights. The day has come for Georgians to encourage their law makers, both local and state, in planning for the passage of legislation that will help our state move in a positive direction toward real democracy.

ORCHIDS, A WHOLE LEI OF ORCHIDS, TO BRUNSWICK!

Voluntary desegregation of public schools in Brunswick, Georgia is a first for Georgia and the deep south. This means to the Glynn County Council on Human Relations a rare moment of satisfaction over a victory won after many hours of thoughtful, planning and work. No desegregation in Georgia "just happens". The Brunswick success is a tribute to the work of the City Officials, the bi-racial committee, the astute leadership of the NAACP, the maturity and cooperation of the Brunswick youth as well as continuous, month by month efforts of the Council on Human Relations.

SCHOOL REPORT

Doctor Robert Coles, child psychiatrist, after two years of research in the south publishes a report, A Psychiatric Study, the Desegregation of Southern Schools. Leslie Dunbar says, "I think the special merit of this report is to take our minds off the public role and the function of these children, and lead us to think about them and their individualities. Perhaps, after all, that is their true civil right." (Write us for a free copy). As your city faces desegregation for the first time or increased integration may we always think and speak first for the children, all of the children, involved.

ATTENTION TOWNS WITH URBAN RENEWAL PROJECTS:

Mr. Jack Greenberg of the NAACP announces victory in a suit which will be helpful in challenging discrimination in any urban renewal program. A Negro was denied accommodations at a Holiday Inn in Nashville which had been built on land condemned in a redevelopment project. The Federal District Court ruling, "denies the right of Holiday Inns of America to decline accommodations to Negro citizens since it is situated on a federally underwritten urban renewal site". What public accommodations are being or have been built in your town in urban renewal areas?

THE MODERATE

One extreme says 2 plus 2 equals 4 the other extreme says 2 plus 2 equals 6. The moderate says 2 plus 2 equals 5.

LANCASTER PENNSYLVANIA

Frances Pauley has returned from Lancaster, Pennsylvania where she visited her new grandson, David Francis Beittel. David is also the grand nephew of Dr. A. D. Beittel, president of Tougaloo and the former president of Talladega College. Lancaster has been having mass meetings and public demonstrations seeking integration in private swimming pools and in employment. Mrs. Pauley brought the following letter to the editor from the Lancaster newspaper:

"THEME: HELP, NOT HATE"

"Dear Editor:

It appears that Lancaster has at least as many churches as any American city of comparable size. The recently reported vandalism at the Bethel A.M.E. Church, obviously a result of racial prejudice, leaves little doubt about the failure of organized religion to build character or increase moral conduct.

"We do not, customarily, turn to philosophers for spiritual guidance, but recent events suggest that we can learn from this prayer written by Voltaire: 'Thou hast not given us a heart that we may hate one another, nor hands that we may strangle one another, but that we may help each other to bear the burden of a wearisome and transitory life; that the small distinctions in the dress which covers our weak bodies, in our inadequate languages, in our absurd usages, in all our imperfect laws, in all our senseless opinions, in all our social grades, which to our eyes are so different and to Thine so alike, that all the fine shades which differentiate the atoms called 'men' may not be occasions for hate and persecution.'"

THE PRESIDENT'S CIVIL RIGHTS PROPOSAL

Understand the President's Civil Rights Proposal. Help interpret it to your community. An analysis is attached.

Many wish it were stronger. It is weak in many respects. But it is a step in the right direction. There seems to be in it no relief for the intimidation and reprisals that many Negroes suffer in seeking to register or to vote. The major part of the burden of school desegregation still rests with the Negro child and its parents.

Many feel the bill is too strong. Many Georgians think the public accommodation section is a new and rare proposal. However, 30 states and the District of Columbia and numerous cities already have enacted laws against such discrimination. Some 2/3 of our nation and well over 2/3 of our people are now living under such laws.

The proposal does give the person who has been prohibited service the right to institute court action. It does give the aggrieved party help from the office of the U. S. Attorney General. Likewise it does give the parent of a school child the opportunity for legal assistance from the federal government.

PRESIDENT KENNEDY'S CIVIL RIGHTS BILL

AN ANALYSIS

VOTING

a) The use of different standards, practices or procedures for white and Negro applicants seeking to register and vote in a federal election is forbidden.

b) Bars the denial of the right to vote in a federal election because of errors or omissions on records, applications, payment of poll tax or other acts requisite to voting if these are not material in determining whether such individual is qualified to vote.

c) Provides for interim relief by the use of federal voting referees to determine qualification for registration and voting during the pendency of lawsuits in any county in which fewer than 15 per cent of the eligible Negroes are registered to vote.

d) Provides for preferential treatment of voting rights suits on federal court calendars.

e) Requires a presumption of literacy on completion of the sixth grade in a public school or accredited private school where instruction is predominantly in the English language.

PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS

A. Guarantees to all citizens the full and equal enjoyment of goods, services, and facilities of hotels, restaurants, places of amusement and retail establishments in interstate commerce.

1. An establishment must meet one of the following criteria to be affected by this provision.
   a) The goods, services, facilities, or accommodations are provided to a substantial degree to interstate travelers.
   b) A substantial portion of the goods held out to the public has moved in interstate commerce.
   c) The activities of the establishment substantially affect interstate commerce.
   d) The establishment is an integral part of an establishment covered by the above criteria.
2. Bone fide private clubs or other establishments not open to the public are not subject to this provision.

B. Persons whether acting under color of law or otherwise are prohibited from denying or interfering with anyone's rights to non-discrimination in the said establishments.

C. Any person denied access to these establishments because of race can institute a court action for preventive relief.

D. The Attorney-General can bring a suit where an individual has been denied access to the establishment because of race upon receipt of a written complaint by the aggrieved party, if the aggrieved party is unable (a) to finance a suit, (b) to obtain effective legal representation (c) or there is fear of economic or other injury.

E. Before Attorney-General may bring suit he is required to

1. Refer case for voluntary settlement to the Community Relations Service
2. Give establishment time to correct its practices.
3. Permit state and local equal access laws (if any) to operate first.

F. If plaintiff wins suit, loser required to pay attorney's fees.

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

A. Requires the U. S. Commission to report within two years on the extent of schools segregation at all levels.

B. The Commissioner is authorized to give technical and financial assistance, upon request, to those school districts in the process of school desegregation.

1. Financial assistance to train personnel for the changeover.

C. Authorizes the Attorney General to initiate suits against local school boards and public institutions of higher learning whenever:

1. A complaint of existing segregation is received signed by a parent or the individual.

2. The aggrieved party is unable to undertake a suit for lack of money, effective counsel, or fear of economic or other injury.

3. The Attorney General determines that initiation of such a suit will materially further the orderly process of desegregation in public education.

COMMUNITY RELATIONS SERVICE

A. A federal agency to work with local communities providing them with advice and assistance to work in those communities which lack a local committee and generally to help solve inter-racial disputes and to work quietly to improve relations in any community threatened or torn with strife.

1. Will be established by executive order until given statutory sanction.

CIVIL RIGHTS COMMISSION

A. Extension of the Commission through 1967 and broaden its authority enabling it to serve as a clearing house on civil rights, offering information, advice and technical assistance to any public or private agency requesting it.

EQUAL OPPORTUNITY COMMISSION

A. Provides for a permanent, statutory basis for a Commission on Equal Employment Opportunity with the same powers as the present Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, chaired by the Vice-President.

FEDERAL PROGRAMS

A. Declaration that under any federal program which provides federal financial assistance, directly or indirectly, the federal government is not required to aid where racial discrimination is practiced.

B. Contract made in connection with such program or activity shall contain such conditions as the President may prescribe for the purpose of assuring that there be no discrimination in employment by any contractor or sub-contractor on grounds of race.

SEP 11 1963

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light and variable.

The Dallas Morning News

Section 4

DALLAS, TEXAS, FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 6, 1963 ****

Local News . . . Editorials . . . Classified

Rights Plan Backed By Don Yarborough

By MIKE QUINN

Don Yarborough has come out in favor of President Kennedy's civil rights program, including the controversial public accommodations section, The Dallas News learned Thursday.

The former Democratic gubernatorial candidate's stand was made known in a telegram to Rev. H. Rhett James of Dallas, executive secretary of the United Political Organization.

The Rev. Mr. James had wired Yarborough asking his position on Kennedy's program with specific reference made to the public accommodations section.

Mr. James pointed out in his telegram that Yarborough "may be called upon officially to offer" himself as a candidate for governor in 1964.

Yarborough, a Houston attorney, got into a runoff with Gov. John Connally in the Democratic primary in 1962, losing by a scant 25,000 votes. Mr. James supported Connally at the time and still does. Connally is on record as opposing the public accommodations section of the federal legislation.

There has been considerable speculation that Yarborough will oppose Connally next year in the primary, and if he does, civil rights is almost a cinch to be a key issue.

Yarborough's telegram read in part:

"Dear Rev. James: In July of this year I read your excellent editorial on the historical precedent for, and the moral justice of, national legislation to make public accommodations available to all of our citizens.

"I agreed then, as I do now, with the position you expressed. I have publicly stated many times my pride in the courageous stand which our President has taken on civil rights. I also approve of the present congressional efforts to insure equal access to public accommodations for all our citizens.

"I take my stand on the side of freedom, justice and the future. This is one nation under God and I for one would prefer to be in poverty and chains rather than to raise my voice against the struggle for advance of the Negro citizens of this state and nation.

"Reason compels us to view this federal legislation as the only sensible approach to the national problem which has been characterized by the injustices in many areas of this country."

Yarborough then took a slap at Connally's stand on civil rights, saying:

"It is regrettable that any responsible state leadership in the 20th century would seriously attack the efficacy of such an approach."

Yarborough is one of the first Southern politicians — if not the first—to come out in wholehearted support of Kennedy's program.

Yarborough concluded: "I would rather never hold public office than break faith with my country's destiny in this generation of decision."

—Dallas News Staff Photo by John Flynn

LIGHTNING STRUCK

Deputy Sheriff R. E. Pennington tags 17 gallon jugs of moonshine whisky he and Kleberg Patrolman T. L. Brumit "sniffed out" while investigating a minor accident Tuesday afternoon. A broken 18th jug led officers to the contraband, hidden under firewood in truck of an Oak Cliff Negro.

program highlights

GEORGIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS - 41 EXCHANGE PLACE, ATLANTA, GEORGIA

September, 1963

NEW WAYS FOR NEW DAYS

No one denies that we are living through new days. Few deny we need new ways, new ways for the individual to act and react, new ways for groups to plan programs and courses of action.

As a member of the Georgia Council what new ways have you discovered? Share your experiences with others at the Tuskegee Conference, A Swap Shop for Alabama and Georgia Council members. Technical advisers will be present to assist in the discussions.

WHEN: October 4 and 5, 1963

WHERE: Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Alabama

WHO: Members and friends of the Georgia and Alabama Councils on Human Relations

WHY: To give and to receive help in planning Council program so that during the fall and winter each member and each Council might use time and talent to the fullest to speed the coming of Freedom to all Georgians.

COST:	Room:	Single Room	$6.00	
		Double Room	2.00	to 4.00 per person
	Meals:	Dinner Friday	2.00	
		Breakfast Saturday	1.50	
		Luncheon Saturday	1.50	

Is this your first trip to Tuskegee? If so, sight seeing trips will be arranged.

Do you enjoy football? Tuskegee plays Fisk on Saturday Afternoon.

TUSKEGEE COFERENCE

New Ways for New Days

A Workshop on Common Sense in Program Activities

Friday, October 4

5:00 to 6:00 p.m.	Sightseeing
6:00 p.m.	Registration - Dorothy Hall
7:00 p.m.	Dinner
	Introductory Remarks
	Address - Marion A. Wright, Linville Falls, North Carolina, past President of Southern Regional Council.

Saturday, October 5

9:00 a.m.	Address - Dr. Charles Gomillion, Chariman Department of Sociology, Tuskegee Institute.
9:45 a.m.	Discussion Groups:
	1. Employment
	2. Preparing for School Desegregation
	3. Public Accomodations
	4. Community Relations
12:00 a.m.	Lunch
	Address - Walter C. Lawton, The Ethical Society of Northern Westchester.
1:00 p.m.	Panel - "Projects that Work"
2:15 p.m.	Discussion
3:30 p.m.	Adjournment

From the Newsletter of the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice:

LET'S WORK---If you're interested in racial justice how about getting out and doing something. Pope John XXIII in "Mater et Magista" urged we translate doctrine into deeds. The Interracial Review suggests 12 steps:

1. Read and Study-- know what the facts are.

2. Find Others--who are concerned and want to do something.

3. Raise the Issue--don't stand silent, be the first one to talk about it.

4. Join--it's O.K. to be a loner, but groups get things done.

5. Attend--once you've got it started keep the movement alive by attending the meetings.

6. Write and Visit--let your editors, legislators, pastors, and civic officals know what you think. Put it in a letter and, better still, take time to go and visit them.

7. Break Down Isolation--get the races together. They can't know each other as humans if they don't have the chance to meet.

8. Children--let them know truth and justice from the start at home.

9. Hospitality--how about a coffee party at home as a fine place to get people together.

10. Times of Tension--promote harmony so your neighborhood will be ready when passions rise and tempers flare--remember this isn't all strawberries and cream and it might get nasty--so be prepared.

11. Provide Information--let your community leaders know what is going on in other places.

12. Pray--let's face it--we need help and only He can give it.

NEWS FROM GEORGIA

Brunswick: This city has suffered a disheartening blow. After working for months for a peaceful voluntary (without court order) school desegregation, the Federal Judge (Judge Scarlett) stopped the school board's action. This is an unprecedented action. By the time you receive this we hope the action will be reversed and the six young people from Brunswick will be enrolled in the white High School.

Rome: Our members in Rome also have had disappointments this summer. After peaceful desegregation of the buses and the library there is a stalemate on the desegregation of the lunch counters. Several applicants have been disappointed in their efforts to gain admission to the trade school. Another applicant failed to gain admittance in the Extension School of the University of Georgia. Congratulations to Rome for their persistence. It will be rewarded.

Columbus: The Council in Columbus has had exciting well attended meetings this summer. Congratulations to our members, Mr. McClung, Mr. Kitchens, Mrs. Belcher and Mr. Jackson who have been appointed by the Mayor to the new bi-racial committee.

Brunswick, Valdosta, Athens, Augusta and Columbus have had bi-racial committees appointed by their Mayors.

Americus: Unbelievable police brutality and horrible prison conditions have been suffered by recent SNCC demonstrators in Americus. Do you have a white friend in Americus who might have interest in justice in this city? Please contact them. Negro citizens in Americus, need assistance.

Atlanta: When visiting in Atlanta you might enjoy eating at the Town House Cafe (next to the library), S & W (across from Davisons), Herren's (on Luckie Street) or Cross Roads (Spring & Peachtree).

Savannah: Congratulations to the Council and all other participants in OPTIOS (Operation for Peaceful Transition in Chatham Schools) for smooth and peaceful school desegregation. This was particularly outstanding in view of the recent outbreaks of violence.

Public libraries are open to all citizens in Valdosta, Tifton, Albany, Columbus, Augusta, Rome, Atlanta, Savannah, Macon and Brunswick. Do you know of others? Please write us (41 Exchange Place, S. E.)

Registration Form

Georgia Council on Human Relations
41 Exchange Pl. Atlanta, Ga.

Please register me for the Conference, New Ways for New Days, October 4 and 5, 1963, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama.

Room ☐ Single $6.00 ☐ Double $2.00 to $4.00 per person
Meals ☐ Dinner $2.00 ☐ Breakfast $1.50 ☐ Lunch $1.50
Total $_____, ☐ enclosed ☐ will pay on arrival.

Name_____

Address_____

Please indicate on reverse side if you can provide transportation for others, or if you would like to join a car pool to Tuskegee.

Rec'd 10/ WB

LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS

OF NORTH CAROLINA

NORTH CAROLINA NATIONAL BANK BUILDING

ROOM 300, 123 WEST MAIN STREET

DURHAM, N. C.

MRS. DAVID G. BRADLEY, PRESIDENT

October 3, 1963

Mr. Wiley A. Branton, Project Director
The Southern Regional Council
Room 206
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Branton:

Thank you so much for your careful consideration of our handbook project. We understand your position and appreciate your suggestion that a voter registration brochure might fit in better with your activities. We do hope to undertake this kind of project as soon as we can. As you probably know, we are limited in the leadership and woman power available to us at the state level, and will have to postpone it until we can get the handbook under way. We have had so many requests for the handbook that the board believes it should have priority.

Thank you again. Perhaps we will be able to take up the matter of a registration brochure in the near future.

Yours truly,

Gail S. Bradley

Mrs. David G. Bradley
President

agencies - League of Women Voters

SOUTHWEST STUDENT ACTION COORDINATING COMMITTEE
BOX 8178, AUSTIN 12, TEXAS

OCT 21 1963

WB

October 15, 1963

SSACC is somewhat back in functioning order now. After a short hike around east Texas I found about 50 personal contacts, 2 active groups. I also renewed contact with an active peace group and one student chapter of the CCUN.

Financial Report:

	CHECKS		DEPOSITS	BALANCE
September	$7.20	(stamps)		$9.00
October 15	$4.00	(stamps)		
	2.86	(paper)	$5.00	$7.14

Here is a brief sketch of the November Conference (in Austin area and either first or third weekend in November)

Friday Afternoon:		Registration
	6:00	Supper
	&:30	Film (such as Viva Zapata)
Saturday	8:30	Breakfast
	9:30	History of protest movements in U.S.
	10:30	Discussion
	12:00	Lunch
	1:30	Examination of liberal forces in Texas
	2:30	Break
	3:00	Discussion of Voter Registration
	4:00	Break
	6:00	Supper
	7:00	Duscussion of SSACC

The two articles included in this mailing are hopefully part of a permanent part of the monthly SSACC Bulliten; that of a discussion section. These two articles are to serve as a sort of primer for further discussion. Any article you send in which is under a page in length will be printed; any longer articles will be printed if money for paper allows it. Any news, comments, etc,, of local situations, national happenings, etc., will be welcomed.

DISCUSSION SECTION

(Both of the following articles were written by George Goss - for better or worse)

John and James Giles and Joseph Johnson Appeal

On December 5, 1961, John Gordon Giles and James Vernon Giles, of Spencerville, Maryland, were convicted in the Montgomery County Cirduit Court for the rape of Joyce Carol Roberts, of Hyattesville, Maryland. On December 11, 1961, they were sentenced to death by Judge James H. Pugh of the Circuit Court.

On Spptember 26, 1962, Joseph Elijah Johnson, Jr., of Spencerville, was convicted for the same offense, On November 20, 1962, he was sentenced to death by Judge Matthew Evans of the Circuit Court.

At the present time all three defendents are confined on death row at the Maryland Penitentiary awaiting executing. Unsuccessful appeals have been made to the Maryland Court of Appeals and U.S. Supreme Court. The lives of all three are in the hands of the Governor.

Summary of the Incident

On July 20, 1961, the defendants, who are Negro, and a fourth companion, John Bowie, had been fishing and were returning home. They had to back Bowie's car past another car parked on a secluded dead end road in a wooded area. The 16 year old white complainant and her 21 year old companion, Stewart Lee Foster, were sting in the back seat of the other car. After helping Bowie back up to the driveway of the Cunningham residence, the defendants returned to the car in which Foster and Joyce were sitting. Joseph asked for a cigarette; Foster cursed him, and an arguement ensued. After the window on Foster's side of the car was briken with a stone, Foster got out of the car and was struck in the face by Johnson and knocked to the ground. After laying there for a few minutes he got up and

ran about 221 yards to the home of Joseph Cunningham and called the police, who arrived within a few minutes.

At the same time that Foster got out of one side of the car, Joyce Roberts got out the other side and ran into the woods about 30 ft., tripped, and fell. She was soon joined by John Giles who stayed with her alone in the woods for several minutes. He did not harm or thre ten her and she did not call for help even though there was a house close by. Joyce did not know at this time what had happened to Foster. She offered to have sexual relations with John Giles if he would not call the others. After a few minutes Joyce a and John were joined by James Giles and Joseph Johnson. Joyce removed her shorts and underpants and lay down on the ground. No threats were made to her safety, and no force was used. She had intercourse with Joseph and James. She made no protest or objections to this intercourse. As the police car was arriving, Joyce said to the defendants, "I'm going to tell the police that I was raped." She did not call out to thepolice; she did not call for help at any time. The police searched the area and found her lying on the ground "whimpering," in a "semi-conscious" state, with her clothes still off. These are the aspects of the case on which there are no disagreements between the testimony of Joyce Roberts, Stewart Foster, John Giles, James Giles, and Joseph Johnson.

There are many questions concerning the trial, the jury, and the sentence.

1. It has been 15 years since Maryland l st punished rape with execution. In the case of these three men, the girl consented and no force was used; even by the complaintant's testimony. Last year another defendant was convicted, also in Montgomery County, of raping a woman at gunpoint and cruelly beating her, but he was not sentenced to death.

2. The jury, as is the law in the State of Maryland, was not instructed as to the applicable law. Judge Pugh sent the case to the jury with these words: "Now ladies and gentlemen of the jury, the form of your verdict in this case will simply be 'guilty on the first count' or 'guilty on the first count without capital punishment' or 'not guilty' as you shall find from the law and the evidence.' The jury had no guidelines on the delicate and unsettled law of rape. The jury lacked the rudimentary guidelines about theprosecution's burden of proof, let alone the "reasonable doubt" which must be resolved in favorof the defendants in criminal trials. (Preceding from an article in The Washington Post)

3. There were no Negroes on the jury.

4. Joyce Roberts told the defendants that she had had intercourse with 16 or 17 men that same week and she had admitted to a personal history that in not exactly Puritan; yet a discussion of her record or that of Stewart's Foster's was not allowed in Court.

5. According to the three defendants testimony and one of the conflicting statements made by Joyce Roberts during the trials, John Giles din not have intercourse with her.

6. The testimony of Joyce Roberts became unclear and conflicting as the trials progressed, yet the jury found no"reasonable doubt" as to the guilt of the three defendants.

Upon these questions citizens groups in Maryland and CORE groups around the country are appealing to the Governor of Maryland for clemency. I'll close this summary with the concluding paragraph of the application of the trial lawyers for executive clemency.

It is often observed that a charge of rape is one of the most difficult chargesto defend against. Often, there may be no important evidence other than the testimony of the defendant and of the woman who claims to be wronged. Without more, it is recognized that the defendant is at a severe disadvantage. Surely it is not presumptious to suggest that the handicap of a defendant who happens to be a Negro is multiplied many times. Thus, when new evidence of the nature of that discovered in this case comes to light, it must be weighed heavily by the Governor, who has the responsibility to review sentences. As the Court of Appeals explicitly ruled in this case, the courts in Maryland are not available for consideration of new evidence more than three days after verdict.

Since the only person responsible for the lives of the three is the Governor, I am asking you to write or wire: Gov. J. Millard Tawes, State House, Annapolis, Maryland, in an appeal for clemency.

If you wish more material on this case, write:

CORE
38 Park Rd.
New York 38, N.Y.

The preceding statement was taken from material included in:
1. The August 5, 1963, and September 9, 1962, The Washington Post.
2. The July 25, 1963, Montgomery County Sentinel.
3. The application of the defendants for executive clemency.
4. A summary of the trial background material on the five involved, and the legal questions, prepared by lawers for the defense.

Madame Nhu - One of the Actors in the Fight of S.V. Government and the U.S. Government Against ?

Since Madame Nhu, part of the South Vietnam Government, is now in the United States and will be in Austin, October 24, I feel that it is a good time to offer a few questions and comments on the "war" or wars in South Vietnam.

South Vietnam has been a republic since the Geneva Convention following the Indo-China War. Ngo Dinh Diem was soon elected President and has, since that time, had a parliment favorable to him chosen by the people under rather questionable circumstances. Police "suprivise" the elections and opposition votes and candidates have a way of disappearing. One of Diem's opponents, Phan Quang Dan, ran as an opposition candidate in the 1959 legislative election and was elected with a 35,000 vote majority over the government sponsored candidate. When he tried to take office, he was "disqualified" and is now in the island prison of Poulo Condore in the South China Sea. It seems that voting in South Vietnam is similar to voting, or trying to, in Mississippi. Although the CIA isn't quite as active in Mississippi as in Vietnam.

Vietnam has a history of 2,000 years of peasant uprisings against feudal or regional control, but this is one of the first (in Vietnam) in which the U.S. has actively supported the opposition. On examining this war (with the usual vage and general figures) one finds that the combination S.V., CIA, and U.S. forces number about 510,000 against 31,000 guerrillas (about 10,000 more than last year) and 300,000 "passive" supporters.

The government forces are euiped with relatively modern weapons, have air transport available, and fighter-bomber support. The Viet Cong is supplied with older weapons from North Vietnam, China, and with newer weapons that they capture from Government troops.

Both "sides" indulge in terrorism; the Viet Cong have hacked wounded to pieces, burned crops, held trials for government officials and then executied them, and practiced various types of local intimidation; the Government forces have poisoned village water wells, sprayed chemicals to defolate trees (which also kills crops), and have a practice of attacking a village, which is possibly holding Viet Cong, with jellied gasoline in an air attack (which "regretfully" does not distinguish between Viet Cong and farmers). Another weapon of honerable mention is the Stratigic Hamlet program; which, by gathering families together makes for more efficient agricultural units, but those exlcuded for security reasons from the hamlet are sent to political prison camps.

This is a war in which the U.S. has been doing "reasonably well" in, but a number of military men admit that it will be a continual stalemate if the present S.V. government stays in power.

Another one of the wars features the South Vienam Government against the Buddhists and students. The shooting and killing of 11 Buddhists in a religious parade May 8, 1963, by South Vietnamese troops, armed, trained, and transported by the U.S. and U.S. equipment, was only one of the instances of government percution of a political minority which composes 70 percent of the population. Since that time priests have burned themselves in order to show the depth of feeling held by the Buddhists and point out, by their sacrifice, the harshness of the Diem Government; S.V. troops have conducted raids on Buddhist pagodaos; students have been arrested and held in jail; and street demonstrations have been stopped with tear-gas, rifle butts, and bayonets. Except for the proper names involved, one might think this a description of Birmingham, Jackson, or Selma.

However, this is not Selma, but only one of the other areas of the world, controlled or influenced by the U.S., in which official violence is part of the political order and sustains the present government in power. Madame Nhu isonly one of many, including the various Diems, the military, and regional governors, responsible for the oppression in Vietnam. As one might gather, from my biased viewpoint, this is not written as a protest against Madame Nhu as much as a protest against the seemingly general policy of the United States of expediently supporting or using those who will best "serve the interests of the U.S." without regard for the liberty, well-being, and even the lives of indicidusls involved.

George Goss

program highlights

GEORGIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS - 41 EXCHANGE PLACE, ATLANTA, GEORGIA

WBV
JMV
RTB ✓
LG
JS ✓
JL

October 31, 1963

STOP for a minute in your busy and useful life to give thought to the organization of the Georgia Council on Human Relations.

LOOK back for only a second and see the progress of the Council.

COME to the annual meeting and plan for the future.

MAKE 1963 - 1964 the most wonderful year ever.

Annual Meeting

Saturday November 16, 1963

Y.W.C.A.
72 Edgewood Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

5 o'clock -- have coffee and chat with your friends

6 o'clock -- business session

7 o'clock -- dinner ($3.00)

SPEAKER Leslie Dunbar, director of the Southern Regional Council:
"GEORGIA AT THE END OF ITS LONG DARK NIGHT"

The Georgia Council depends on YOU, the member, to make decisions.

COME!!

Officers and board members will be elected on November 16, 1963. These people have accepted nomination to be your leaders 1963-1964. Nominations may be made from the floor at the annual meeting provided the consent of the nominee has been received.

The nominating committee submits the following list:

Dr. Lionel Newsom, Chairman
Dr. Newsom has served diligently as vice chairman, is professor of Sociology at Morehouse College, is serving on Governor Sanders' Education Commission.

The Reverend Austin Ford, Vice Chairman
Reverend Ford has served well as a member of the Georgia board, is the rector of St. Bartholomew's Episcopal church, DeKalb County.

Mr. A. J. McClung, Vice Chairman
Mr. McClung has been outstanding in his work as vice chairman of the Georgia Council and in the Council in Columbus, Georgia. He is director of the Columbus Y.M.C.A. and a valued member of the Georgia Civil Rights Committee.

Mr. John Glustrom, Treasurer
Mr. Glustrom has served efficiently and tirelessly for several years as treasurer of the Council. He is a successful Atlanta businessman.

Mrs. Harry V. Richardson, Secretary
Mrs. Richardson has filled an unexpired term as secretary. She is an active worker with many state and local organizations and the wife of the president of the Interdenominational Theological Seminary.

The following nominees are submitted for the first time as members of the board of directors, for a three (3) year term of office.

Mr. Joseph Hendricks, Dean of Men, Mercer University, past chairman of the Macon Council.

Mrs. Arnette Waters, past chairman of the Savannah Council.

Mr. Gerard E. Sherry, editor of the Catholic "Georgia Bulletin".

The Reverend Charles Demere, retiring chairman of the Council.

Rabbi Alfred Goodman, active member of the Columbus Council, Rabbi Temple Israel Congregation.

The Reverend H. W. Shipps, Episcopal minister, Savannah, and an active Albany Council member.

The following nominees have consented to have their names submitted for another three (3) year term of office:

Mr. Donald Hollowell, Atlanta
Dr. Edward K. Weaver, Atlanta
Mr. Gordon Kitchen, Columbus
Mrs. Fred Patterson, Atlanta
Dr. J. McDowell Richards, Decatur
Rev. Samuel W. Williams, Atlanta
Mrs. Prentis Q. Yancey, Atlanta
Miss Rosetta Gardener, Atlanta
Mrs. Stephen May, Atlanta

The following board members will continue to serve until fall, 1964:

Dr. E. Clayton Calhoun, Augusta
Mrs. J. Watkins Dimon, Columbus
Mrs. Benjamin E. Mays, Atlanta
Dr. Richard Hocking, Atlanta
Dr. George E. Clary, Atlanta
Rev. Walter Cowart, Atlanta
Dr. Tilman Cothran, Atlanta
Rev. John A. Middleton, Atlanta
Mr. Lester H. Persells, Atlanta
Mrs. Frederick Robin, Atlanta
Mr. Q. V. Williamson, Atlanta
Mr. William Shields, Atlanta
Dr. E. A. Manley, Atlanta
Mr. L. D. Milton, Atlanta
Dr. Guy Wells, Statesboro

The following board members will continue to serve until fall, 1965:

Mr. Vincent Harding, Atlanta
Mr. Frank Hutchings, Macon
Mrs. Fischer Mosley, Macon
Miss Franziska Boas, Rome
Mrs. Dan Hollums, Atlanta
Mr. Harry Adley, Atlanta
Mrs. C. E. Blythe, Albany
Mr. C. W. Aycock, Rome
Mr. Albert W. Thompson, Columbus
Mrs. J. C. Wilkes, Glynn County
Captain Frank Spencer, Savannah
Mrs. LaConstance Taylor, Macon
Dr. R. B. Young, Milledgeville
Mrs. Sujette Crank, Atlanta
Mrs. Carlton Binns, Atlanta
Mrs. John Shields, Atlanta

Chairman of local councils are voting members of the board of directors:

Atlanta, Mrs. Clifton Hoffman
Columbus, Mr. Albert Thompson
Augusta, Dr. Victor C. Vaughan
Savannah, Mr. John Ralston
Glynn County, Mr. E. T. Rogers
Albany, Dr. E. D. Hamilton
Rome, The Rev. Clarence Tuggle
Rome, Miss Franziska Boas
Macon, The Rev. J. L. Key
Macon, Mr. J. Y. Holloway
Glynn County, The Rev. T. P. Martin

Nominating Committee:

Mrs. P. Q. Yancey, Chairman
Mr. Robert Thompson
Mrs. Suzette Crank
Miss Ruth Gogel

WHERE YOUR MONEY COMES FROM AND HOW IT IS SPENT

October 1, 1962, cash on hand - overdraft of $ 294.00

Income

Grants-in-aid from Southern Regional Council	4,800.00
Memberships	2,796.00
Contributions	17,888.25
New South Subscriptions	164.00
Miscellaneous	570.76
Total	$26,219.01

This is approximately $2,000.00 more than we raised in 1962-1963

Expenditures

October 1, 1963, cash on hand $ 1,287.23

The budget for 1962-1963 was $26,300.00

This budget covers travel, salaries, office expense, printing and mailing. Every contact means a long distance call, a visit, or a letter - all costly. Georgia is the largest state east of the Mississippi. Your staff traveled 18,921 miles within the state during the year.

Anyone wishing to see the audit for the year may contact the office.

WHO IS A MEMBER OF THE COUNCIL

	October 1, 1962	October 1, 1963
Atlanta	476	592
Albany	13	21
Augusta	38	46
Columbus	19	28
Macon	59	75
Rome	64	53
Savannah	66	68
Glynn County	20	33
Members at large, Georgia	50	53
Out of state members		54
Total	805	1023

Contributors without membership - 49.
Members at large live in 30 towns in Georgia.
Increase in memberships 1962-1963 - 218 members.

SMALL MEMORIES

"The small memories of childhood can keep one from bitterness as an adult," suggests Mrs. Olive Snead, principal of a Philadelphia grade school. To prove her point, she tells about the kindergartner, invited for the first time to go home and have supper with a school friend. The children played while the mother fixed the meat and set the table. "Get ready for dinner" she said. The visiting child hesitated. "I'm colored," he announced. "I'm white," the mother replied. "Now let's wash up and sit down to eat." From: "Lets Be Human" - Institute of Human Relations

SUCCESS

A League of Women Voters in a small Georgia city accepted the membership of three Negro women. Results: one resignation; thirty new white members; net membership increase thirty two.

FROM THE AMERICUS JAIL

A young Negro girl was scrubbing the floor of the jail and talking to herself. "See that electric wire and me standing in two inches of water, I'll catch hold of it and get out of this mess." The jailer rushed to stop the threatened act - slipped and fell and as he slid across the wet floor he cried "Freedom".

MILITANT

A 6'10" Negro doorman named John Barrow, wearing a splendid $275 uniform, is now on duty outside the Van Ness showroom of Jim Wessman, the Lincoln dealer. Friday, a Little Old Lady sidled up to him and asked: "What army are you with?" Thinking she was putting him on, John smiled: "Why, the Lincoln army, of course." She wagged her head in dismay. "I'm sympathetic to your cause," she said, "but sometimes you go too far!"
From: A San Francisco Newspaper

Reservation
Mail to:
Georgia Council on Human Relations
41 Exchange Place S.E.

Please reserve _____ tickets at $3.00 each for the dinner at the annual meeting. Y.W.C.A. - 72 Edgewood Avenue, N.E. Saturday November 16, 1963.

Signed_____.

NOV 9 1963

WBU
JMT
RTB

National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice

Commitment

21 West Superior St., Chicago 10, Ill. • Southern Field Service, 1046 Baronne St., New Orleans 13, La.

October, 1963

CONVENTION - National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice
November 14-17, 1963

POVERTY, RACE AND RELIGION:
CHALLENGE TO A CATHOLIC COMMUNITY
(details, p.3)

Member councils, parish and other Catholic organizations joined with other religious groups and civil rights organizations in the MARCH ON WASHINGTON FOR JOBS AND FREEDOM on August 28. Some forty councils were directly involved and provided the stimulus and organization for many other Catholic groups which attended.

Mathew Ahmann, executive director of the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice, delivered one of the major speeches of the day, and served as one of the ten organizers and sponsors of the March.

(from left) Sec. of Labor, Arthur Wirtz; Floyd McKissick; Mathew Ahmann; Whitney Young; Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.; John Lewis; Rabbi Joachim Prinz; Dr. Eugene Carson Blake; A. Philip Randolph; the President; Vice President, Lyndon Johnson; Walter Reuther; and Roy Wilkins.

The Washington CIC, in particular, did first rate service in helping to set up sleeping and feeding accommodations for several thousands of the marchers.

On the March day, hundreds of Masses were offered in Washington and across the country for the intention of interracial justice and harmony in our country. The Miami Valley CIC sponsored three such Masses on August 27, 28 and 29.

Seven bishops participated, and Archbishop O'Boyle offered the invocation before the March program. Numerous priests and seminarians joined the throngs that day, and though not present, many nuns had indicated that they wanted to join the marchers.

The Chicago CIC contributed highly to the March by donating full-time services of their office manager, Marion Andert, for the preceding weeks.

The March marked a tremendous joining of hands of tens of thousands of Christians and Jews who hunger after justice for all men, and dramatized the needs of Negroes for millions of Americans in an unforgettable way.

July 27 Special Emergency Meeting — At a special emergency meeting of 225 national Catholic interracial leaders in Chicago, resolutions were adopted in favor of civil rights legislation, urging that all Catholics actively work in their parishes and civil organizations for justice. The meeting helped move the Catholic community abreast of the fast-breaking developments in this summer of crisis. The meeting also laid plans for support of direct action projects, under certain conditions, when negotiation and other preliminary means to secure rights have failed. The consensus also encouraged interreligious cooperation by the establishment of interfaith, biracial organizations - local Conferences on Religion and Race. The resolutions of the meeting were adopted by the board of the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice. (resolutions are available upon request - price 15¢.)

legislation

Archbishop Karl Alter of Cincinnati led the way for Catholic support in the legislative drive by stating in his recent Pastoral that "the first remedy .... is the passage by Congress of the Civil Rights Bill which will grant all citizens, irrespective of race and color, equal rights in voting, in admission to schools on all levels, in employment, in housing, public facilities and in recreation... Our Christian duty at present is to support in an articulate fashion the proposed legislation which is now before Congress.... We should urge favorable action on the part of our representatives in enacting this legislative program."

The San Francisco CIC reports a fair housing victory after a long fight by civil rights groups for a state law. The Rumford bill was passed during the last hours of the legislature's 1963 regular session. The Citizens League for Individual Freedom is now circulating a petition, however, to force a referendum on the new Rumford Fair Housing Act - the group is seeking 292,662 signatures to place the referendum measure on the ballot.

POVERTY, RACE AND RELIGION:
CHALLENGE TO A CATHOLIC COMMUNITY

Convention of the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice will be held November 14-17, 1963 at the International Inn, Washington, D.C.

The National Conference will meet conjointly with the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity; representatives of the Presbyterian Interracial Council and of the Disciples of Christ will also be in attendance.

Convention hosts will be the Catholic Interracial Councils of Washington; Montgomery County, Md.; and Northern Virginia.

Main Speakers: Dwight Macdonald, New Yorker writer, speaking on poverty; Monsignor Raymond J. Gallagher, Sec. of the National Conference of Catholic Charities, speaking on the responsibilities of the Church to the community; Rev. Wyatt Tee Walker, executive director of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Dennis Clark, Philadelphia Council for Community Advancement, speaking on the institutional response of the Church and poverty; and, Dr. Eli Ginzberg of Columbia University speaking on economic solutions to poverty.

Tear off this pre-registration card and send with check or money order by November 1 to:

Miss Mary Hayden, Registration Chairman
1728 Massachusetts Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C., 20006

Enclosed is my check (money order) for $_____ to cover the costs of my convention attendance for the items checked on the right side of this card.

Make checks payable to the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice.

Name_____

Address_____

City_____ Zone____ State_____

I plan to stay Thursday____, Friday____, Saturday____ nights.

My check payable to the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice covers the items marked below:

( ) Convention package, $14.50

( ) Registration Fee, $7.50

( ) Banquet Saturday evening, $7.00

( ) I will pay at the meeting

( ) Please have Room Committee make hotel reservation for me. Rates at the International Inn for the first 200 people placed through the committee: $7 double, $6 triple, per night. Regular rates higher.

Indicate roommate preferences _____

( ) There are several rooms available in private homes. Indicate if you would like to be considered. If you are then assigned you will be notified of the name and address of your host.

Indicate Workshop and Clinic choices on reverse side!

My **workshop choices** for Friday. List 1st, 2nd, 3rd choices. A workshop usually will include presentation of a paper or talk, followed by open discussion.

____1 Catholic Education

____2 Discrimination in Medicine

____3 Equal Employment Opportunity

____4 Family and Race

____5 The Parish and Race

____6 Community Organization

____7 Urban Renewal and Race

____8 Follow-up on National Conference on Religion and Race.

My **clinic choices** for Saturday. Clinics will be smaller than workshop groups and will focus on "how to do it" aspects.

Indicate 1st, 2nd, 3rd choices.

____ 1 Organizing a CIC

____ 2 Fund Raising

____ 3 Program Planning

____ 4 Building Membership

____ 5 Public Relations

____ 6 Building Stronger Boards

____ 7 Running a Benefit

____ 8 Effective Speakers Bureaus

____ 9 Suburban Racial Change

____10 Achieving Civil Rights Legislation

____11 Home Visit Programs

____12 Integrating Southern Catholic Institutions

____13 Employment: Use of Church Funds and Contracts

____14 Picketing

____15 Youth Education

____16 Mediation

.....more on legislation

Officers and members of the Miami Valley CIC recently participated in a state rally and demonstration in support of fair housing law proposal.

Washington CIC's President, Dr. Nuesse, together with other religious leaders met with Senators Dirksen, Humphrey, Kuchel and Mansfield, and Congressmen McCormick and Celler, to urge support, strengthening, and speedy passage of the administration's civil rights bill; the group later met with Attorney General Robert Kennedy to urge full use of existing federal authority.

At the leadership training institute of the National Council of Catholic Women held recently in Highland Park, Matt Ahmann described the very dangerous tendency developing in the country for popular referendums on civil rights issues. Peggy Roach of the NCCW staff in Washington said that NCCW has offered race relations material to the social action committees of Catholic diocesan and parish women's groups for several years and that race relations has been adopted as an official part of the program of women's groups in nearly half of the churches in the U.S.

The murders in Birmingham and other violence against Negroes has underscored the need for strong civil rights legislation... and soon. Now is the time to encourage your congressmen to vote for the rights of all men by their support of the legislation now undergoing hearings. For those attending the national convention of the National Conference, there will be a legislative briefing at the International Inn at 2 PM on Thursday, November 14. Each visitor to Washington should make his own appointment to see his congressman that afternoon. The convention work sessions on Friday and Saturday preclude calls on congressmen on those days. Come early to the convention and visit your congressman.

Housing

The goal of the Detroit CIC this year is open occupancy. The group endorsed the Patric-Ravitz Ordinance and attended public hearings in September. They indicated that many Catholics have already signed opposing petitions circulated by home owners association ... "some out of bigotry, and many out of ignorance." The council indicated that most Catholics don't know that open occupancy has been endorsed by the Metropolitan Conference on Religion and Race, of which the Archdiocese of Detroit is part. The council urged all members to work hard in getting petitions, attending public hearings and sending personal letters and wires to their councilmen. Anne Holden of Ann Arbor CORE attended their recent board meeting and outlined other direct action techniques.

The Brooklyn CIC is co-sponsoring with the NAACP and Urban League a workshop in Urban Renewal and Housing to be presented by the New York City Commission on Human Rights for five Tuesdays in October.

September 1963 saw the excellent first edition of the Archbishop's Committee on Human Relations of Detroit newsletter. The new 4-page issue carried up-to-the-minute, comprehensive coverage of the most urgent problems in race relations ... Detroit's open occupancy ordinance ... Kennedy's civil rights proposal ... home visits ... coming programs of Michigan Civil Rights Commission ... as well as current events and a listing of informative books.

Please make sure your Newsletter mailing list includes all the CIC's. You'll want to know all the goings on - and in this way can maintain a "mutual profit" pool of program suggestions, procedures, resources, evaluation of direct action techniques, etc.

The Catholic Human Relations Council of Union County (New Jersey) recently heard Rev. Eugene P. McManus, S.S.J., author of "Studies in Race Relations", and chairman of the Negro voter registration drive.

Rev. Richard Eisler, executive secretary of the Cincinnati Council of Churches was guest speaker for the Cincinnati CIC's September meeting. Eisler pointed up the deep spiritual impact of the March on Washington and expressed the need to join with other groups and churches in actively seeking solutions to the racial problems existing in Cincinnati.

Friendship House Home Visit Program

The Long Island CIC is planning home visits on a regular on-going basis and announced five planned visits per month; Davenport CIC reports visits a part of their continuing program; Miami Valley CIC carried the program through the summer and is currently carrying on visits with high school seniors and foreign students .. their local high school made home visiting a part of the preparation for broad student participation in coming programs. The CIC of Stark County (Canton, O.) is planning a city-wide Home Visit Day, along with others, on October 27; and Cincinnati CIC is working intensively with other organizations on the program. There are now approximately twenty CIC's carrying on Friendship House Home Visit Program.

Every CIC should be a subscriber to the INTERRACIAL REVIEW. Contact the New York CIC office, 233 Broadway, and request back issues to July, 1963.

Interreligious Efforts

The San Francisco Conference on Religion and Race held last month resulted in commitment to sponsor an on-going Conference on Religion and Race program and employ professional staff to coordinate its efforts. The Rev. Hamilton T. Boswell of the Jones Methodist Church was general chairman for the conference.

John T. Kenna of Washington (National Conference board member) has been named special assistant for program and public relations of the Family Life Bureau of the National Catholic Welfare Conference. Kenna was formerly public information officer for the President's Committee on Youth Employment.

Cardinal Ritter of St. Louis summoned together all the clergy of the diocese for a Pastoral Institute on race relations last month. Among the main speakers of the 3-day session were Monsignor Daniel M. Cantwell; Rev. Rollins Lambert of Chicago; and Matt Ahmann.

Education

The CIC of St. Paul-Minneapolis recently embarked on an ambitious program to place minority group students in Catholic high schools. The council feels that by increasing its membership to 500, there should be little difficulty in accomplishing this program and others.

An Educator's Workshop is being planned by the Stark County CIC. All priests, nuns, brothers, lay teachers, public school teachers and parents will be invited. Father Philip F. Berrigan, S.S.J. will be the guest speaker, and John P. Sisson of the National Conference staff will give the keynote address.

The Chicago CIC publicly announced their opposition to policies of Benjamin Willis, Chicago Superintendent of Schools, who has consistently ignored race relation issues in the public school system.

The South Bend CIC, together with the National Conference of Christians and Jews sponsored a meeting on race, with 180 teachers of Catholic elementary and high schools. The program included a lecture on "The Nature of Prejudice" together with talks on techniques to promote intergroup relations, and small discussion groups.

The National Federation of Sodalities celebrated 400 years of Sodality history at a 4-day leadership training conference culminating in a national convention in Cleveland. One of the three main topics of the October conference was "Christian Responsibility in Effecting Racial Justice."

Membership Drives

The San Francisco CIC membership has topped 200; an encouraging increase for them. The Brooklyn CIC hopes to have at least one member from each of 129 parishes, while at present 52 parishes are represented.

Lawrence W. Pierce, president of the New York CIC, has been appointed by Governor Rockefeller Director of the State Division of Youth. The appointment of Mr. Pierce is one of several appointments of Negroes that the Governor has made to important state positions.

direct action

The Providence CIC voted to picket Alabama Governor Wallace when he speaks at Brown University in November, and at the University of Rhode Island, if he accepts an invitation to speak there.

A group of 400 Catholics, organized by the CIC of Davenport, and representing most of the parishes in town, marched to a civil rights rally in which 3,000 people participated. 30 priests and seminarians, including Monsignor Dingman, Chancellor of the Davenport Diocese marched. Results of the rally were encouraging - several employers called and offered to hire Negroes in good positions. The Action for Civil Rights, sponsor of the rally will become a permanent federation of some twenty organizations which will join efforts to remove racism from Quad Cities.

The swift action of the Chicago CIC in one of the worst racial disturbances in the city helped to avert major violence and restore peace to a "white pocket" community following move-in by two Negro families. CIC priest-members, as part of an interreligious team of ministers and priests which grew out of the Chicago Conference on Religion and Race, patrolled the troubled area nightly, talked with thousands of angry residents, dispelled rumors, counselled, and preached from both pulpit and street the need for peaceful acceptance of the new neighbors.

Employment

The non-discriminatory clause in church building contracts of the type emphasized in the July 27 emergency meeting of the National Conference has been ordered by Bishop Helmsing, of the Kansas City-St. Joseph, Mo. Diocese. His order covers all building projects of the diocese and Catholic institutions of the diocese.

In his July, 1963 address on discrimination, Cardinal Spellman of New York calls the denial of Negro rights an outrage which Americans cannot tolerate. He emphasized the ideals of equality could be reached if employers would drop the barriers of discrimination, if schools can be honestly integrated, if housing laws are better enforced and if civil rights measures are enacted into law. The Cardinal repeated the message he sent in 1949 to the NAACP on its 40th anniversary .. "The Catholic Church repudiates as abhorrent to her very nature the pernicious doctrine that men are born with the stamp upon them of essential racial superiority or inferiority. She recognizes no master race, but proclaims the God-given equality before God of all souls, for whose salvation our Blessed Redeemer suffered and sacrificed."

The Birmingham Tragedy

The Birmingham bombing touched the consciences of most of the nation. The National Conference solicited funds from its member and non-member councils, and has sent to Birmingham, in the councils' name, about $1,000 to the families and for the repair of the church. The Washington CIC contributed $1,500 through the National Conference on Religion and Race. Masses were offered across the land for the victims' families, and several priests from outside the diocese joined some fifteen priests from the Birmingham area to attend the memorial services.

Medicine

Real progress has been made in hospital desegregation in Detroit, as indicated by the employment of some Negro CIC members in previously segregated hospitals.

Bishop Helmsing's (Kansas City-St. Joseph, Mo.) new program to foster interracial justice calls for a clergy conference on race; a review of employment policies of Catholic institutions; a series of sermons in all parishes setting forth and applying the Church's doctrine; and "Racial Peace" as the special intention in Sunday Masses in all parishes of the diocese through July and August.

A fifteen minute tape will be available in November for $2.50 through the National Conference office. It tells the story of discrimination against a Negro Catholic in the North, and will make an excellent discussion piece for all CIC's for use in parish meetings, at retreat houses, etc.

New Materials Available

The Bishops' Statement on Racial Harmony of August 25, 1963 is now available. (5¢, 10 or more; 4¢, 500 or more; 3¢, 1,000 or more.)

Cardinal Ritter forcefully expresses his views about what we must do about Negroes' civil rights in the October issue of MARRIAGE (St. Meinrad, Ind.) He states the need for interfaith cooperation and the desirability of direct action even on the part of the clergy. He goes on to say that the Church should utilize her buying power, and he reflects on much more.

The events of the summer have heightened Catholic consciousness that more needs to be done. This has tripled the requests for information from the National office, and increased demand for printed material many times above anything ever seen before. For example, one small notice in a high school sodality magazine has elicited more than 40 requests for information. This increased interest is indeed gratifying.

National Catholic Conference
21 West Superior Street
Chicago 10, Illinois

RETURN REQUESTED

118

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Mr. Wiley Branton, Director
Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth St. - Rm. 206
Atlanta, Ga.

VOTERS
OF
TEXAS
ENLIST

"A Million More for '64"

1317 SOUTH CONGRESS • HI2-0855 • AUSTIN, TEXAS

November 1, 1963

NOV 4 1963

Mr. Wiley Branton
Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Branton:

Please consider this a request for a supplementary grant for the Texas voter registration program being conducted by Voters of Texas Enlist(V.O.T.E.).

As you know from previous communications, the recruiting of blockworkers, and the broadening of the organizational network through workshops, regional meetings, et. al, continues--all are proceeding according to the general plan adopted by the VOTE board in the July, 1963 meeting that charted this program.

In the past week, the blockworker program has been extended to include the following new cities: Port Lavaca, Donna, Edinburg, Mission, Laredo--in addition to all the cities involved in the regional East Texas effort. In this latter category are the following cities: Palestine, Lufkin, Nacogdoches, Tyler, Athens, Crockett, Huntsville, Conroe, and Navasota.

In the larger cities, the number of blockworkers in Dallas, as of this morning's count, was 1,021, and in the city of Houston, 1,652.

The overhead of maintaining the state staff of four co-directors, to conduct workshops and train local project officers, as well as traveling expenses for regional meetings of project officers and local expenses in each of the participating cities

all combine to continue to tax our resources. Since August 1, 1963, some $53,000 have been raised and spent on this program. This includes grants through the Voter Education Project, as well as additional funds raised locally in Texas.

We herewith request a supplementary grant of $1,400.00.

Cordially yours,

Larry Goodwyn

Larry Goodwyn

LCG:nd

NOV 22 1963

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: ALL PARTICIPANTS OF THE ATLANTA SUMMIT CONFERENCE

FROM: A. T. WALDEN and C. D. COLEMAN, CO-CHAIRMEN

SUBJECT

This is to announce the reconvening of the Summit Conference, Saturday, November 23, 1963 at Allen Temple A. M. E. Church, Simpson Road and West Lake, N. W., Rev. J. A. Middleton, Pastor, at 2:00 p.m., to receive reports and evaluate the progress of desegregation as contained in the document, "Action For Democracy".

This is an URGENT and IMPORTANT meeting

YOUR PRESENCE IS ESSENTIAL!

WB

Southern Field Service

National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice

1046 Baronne Street • New Orleans 13, Louisiana • 523-2901

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EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
Mathew Ahmann
DIRECTOR, SOUTHERN FIELD SERVICE
Henry A. Cabirac, Jr.

December 9, 1963

DEC 11 1963

Mr. Jack Minnis
Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Minnis:

Thank you for replying to my letter on what problems are involved in increasing voter registration. The information you sent will be helpful to us.

I would certainly appreciate you doing everything possible to persuade Wiley to chair our Voter Registration workshop at our Leadership Conference as we would like to give the people attending the benefit of the best resource people.

Yours sincerely,

Henry

Henry Cabirac

fl

1-2-63

December 4, 1963

Mr. Henry Cabirac
National Catholic Conference
for Interracial Justice
1046 Baronne Street
New Orleans 13, Louisiana

Dear Mr. Cabirac:

Mr. Branton has asked that I reply to your letter of November 25. He finds it necessary, because of the nature of his commitments, to defer a decision on chairing the workshop until early next year.

Your question about the main problems of voter registration is a bit difficult. As we see things here, the question can most fruitfully be approached by separating the problems into two categories: Those that stem primarily from white resistance, and those that stem primarily from the roles which Negroes have been forced to play in American life.

Problems of the first category frequently lend themselves to effective solutions through the use of legal and political manipulation. Two examples of the former are the two federal court actions, copies of which are enclosed. We think the subject matter dealt with in these two cases is fairly representative of the problems in this category throughout the South. We find it necessary, of course, continually to re-emphasize that the techniques of white resistance form an almost infinitely variable pattern, and can only be dealt with in general at the risk of over-simplification. We would suggest that a workshop dealing with problems of this category be structured so that the actual problems which persons participating in the workshop have met with could be brought out and discussed specifically. We think such a workshop might appropriately be conducted by a person familiar with the requisites for dealing with such problems with the use of legal and political tools.

Problems of the second category must be, we think, approached with some delicacy. We find it convenient to break these problems down into those of leadership and those of the community in general.

An adequate discussion of leadership problems would probably have to begin by making a distinction between leaders and leading citizens; leaders being those individuals who actually have followers. Leading citizens may have much to contribute to community action, but it is necessary to recognize that that which they can contribute is in the nature of prestige and respectability to a given project, rather than effectiveness in the actual implementation of the project. We suspect that registration projects sometimes flounder because leading citizens are mistakingly perceived as leaders, and have imposed upon them roles which they are ill suited to play.

Leaders, on the other hand, are those who can actually mobilize the potential for action in a community. Problems which arise with leaders, we find, usually have to do with the leader's own inadequate assessment of what he can and should do. For example, leaders can be found in most any community who do not see participation in a registration project as appropriate to the area of activity in which they see themselves functioning. It may be that a minister will feel that religious institutions are inappropriately constituted for dealing with public affairs. This, of course, is but one example; similar problems arise with respect to leaders in many other areas of activity. We think the other basic leadership problem revolves around the failure of leaders adequately to assess the strength they can derive from the mobilization of their followers and potential followers in the Negro community. Thus, leaders will sometimes settle for a crumb when an accurate evaluation of the strength their followers give them would insure the taking of a proportionate share of the loaf.

Problems arising out of the characteristics of the community in general are frequently, and we think most inaccurately, referred to as apathy, ignorance, and indifference. We think that what is usually described as apathy and/or indifference is actually a pretty well justified lack of confidence in the utility of orthodox political institutions and activities in righting the wrongs of past and present. This lack of confidence in American political institutions among the Negro people

is aggravated by the fact that most of the history of their successful manipulation of American political institutions has been deliberately obscured from them. Thus, we would suggest that a workshop dealing with the problems that are usually characterized as apathy, indifference, and ignorance, could effectively be structured around an examination of what the participants actually know about the political history of the Negro people in America.

I am afraid, Mr. Cabirac, that in attempting to answer what was really a simple question, I have introduced some rather profound complexities. My only defense is that your question, though simply put, goes to the very heart of what we are attempting to learn here, and as you can see by the answer, on thing we have learned thus far is that there is a great deal that we did not know.

You asked that we recommend resource personnel who would be particularly effective in dealing with Catholic institutions. I must confess my inability to make such recommendations. I am not well enough informed about Catholic institutions to feel that I can confidently appraise the particular qualifications they require.

If we can be of any further assistance, please do not hesitate to call upon us.

Very truly yours,

Jack Minnis
Director of Research

JM:js

Encls.

Southern Field Service

National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice

1046 Baronne Street • New Orleans 13, Louisiana • 523-2901

Reply for Wiley

November 25, 1963

NOV 27 1963

Mr. Wiley Branton
Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Goergia

Dear Wiley:

We are now in the planning stages for our Southern Field Service Leadership Conference to be held in Atlanta April 30th, May 1-3, 1964. Included in this Conference will be a workshop on Voter Registration.

Would you do me a favor and send me a list of the main problems encountered in this area and some of the top flight resource people including those who have worked most effectively with Catholic institutions? Incidentally, I am going to also invite Jane Duffin to participate. I would very much appreciate you chairing this panel. In the meantime I would appreciate you sending me the problems to be sure that we have them all covered.

Defer decision until early in year

Yours sincerely,

Henry

Henry Cabirac

fl

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4b

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE, INC.
Southeastern Regional Office
1818 South Main Street, High Point, North Carolina
P. O. Box 1307 88 2-0109

CLAUDE C. SHOTTS
Regional Chairman
JAMES MATTOCKS
Treasurer
B. TARTT BELL
Executive Secretary

January 21, 1964

JAN 22 1964

Mr. Randolph Blackwell
Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Street
Room 206
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Randolph Blackwell:

Next Monday I will be in Atlanta for Connie Curry's advisory committee meeting. I would like to talk over with you our plans for next summer's projects in this region. I will be able to stay in Atlanta all week and would appreciate if you could set aside an hour when we could talk (not on Monday due to the other meeting).

Things have been interesting here in Greensboro. We were not organized to use a large group of students volunteers very effectively but good work has been done. Just recently a list of all registered Negroes in the county was published making use of the records the project group in August so meticulously kept. By process of elimination, institutions such as A&T could see very easily which professors were not registered yet. It has surprised quite a few people that so many college professors, high school teachers, doctors, and other professionals in the city had not registered. Some are too ashamed to admit they had not registered so instead of coming to the special registration workshop they are going downtown to the board of elections on their own to register.

M. C. Burt, Jr., from the Alamance County Committee on Civic Affairs, has asked me to speak to their group in Burlington this Thursday night on voter registration. They seem quite anxious to get some help and ideas in how to work on a registration drive. I'm sure he would appreciate being put on your mailing list.

Sincerely,

Richard Ramsay

Richard Ramsay, Director
COLLEGE PROGRAM

RR/bc

cc: Wylie Branton

Agnes

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JAN 21 1964

Sep p. 3

WBV
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Southern Field Service

National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice

1046 Baronne Street • New Orleans, Louisiana, 70113 • 523-2901

CALL FOR DESEGREGATION OF HOSPITALS --- Serious consideration should be given to the immediate desegregation of Catholic hospitals and all phases of their operation. In addition to patient admittance this means hospital staff, nurses and nurses training, laboratory technicians and clerical and administrative personnel. Following the favorable decision obtained by the NAACP in Greensboro, North Carolina, the organization, we understand, is preparing to sue all hospitals using Hill-Burton funds if they practice any form of discrimination.

A FATAL CASE OF PREJUDICE --- The following true story, which occurred two years ago in a Southern medical center, points up tragically the pressing need for integration of Southern hospitals. Indeed, further than the fact of integration, the need for recognition and realization of equal rights and dignity for all persons. And, we repeat, this really happened.

In the fall of 1961, a Negro couple, caring for their infant granddaughter, were told by a pediatrician to rush the child to the hospital for emergency treatment. The regular family doctor was out of town, but the child's symptoms were accurately described over the phone by the child's grandfather, a dentist. The baby's uncle, also a dentist, was on hand, too. These men, medically trained themselves, and the grandmother rushed the baby to the medical center several miles away. Cyanosis (lack of oxygen resulting in strangulation) had already set in. Upon arrival at the reception desk of the hospital, they told of the baby's condition and need for emergency help. They were told by the white receptionist to wait in the colored waiting room. Repeated desperate pleas to see a doctor were met with increasingly curt demands to wait in the colored waiting room till it was their turn. Meanwhile, the receptionist sent in a number of white children for minor and routine treatment.

A half hour after their arrival, she allowed them to see the doctor. As they carried the infant into his office, she died. The doctor berated the grandparents with "Why didn't you bring her sooner-we might have saved her".

After the facts were known, the receptionist was fired, but that Medical Center waiting room still has seperate areas for negro and white.

In all fairness to the receptionist (who was remorseful and sincerely apologetic afterward), she was merely carrying out the Medical Center's usual routine of seperating the races and giving priority to the group whose skin was white. She was adhering to a policy, established by her medical superiors, which created second class patients. This policy is followed in hospitals throughout the South - including many Catholic ones.

SOUTHERN FIELD SERVICE LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE --- Plans are now being made for the Southern Field Service Leadership Conference to be held in Atlanta April 30 - May 3, 1964. His Excellency Archbishop Hallinan of Atlanta has graciously agreed to act as host for the Conference, which has the blessings also of their Excellencies Archbishops Lucey of San Antonio

and Cody of New Orleans. Many Southern Bishops plan to attend or send their administrators. All Southern Catholic Interracial Councils are urged to send delegates to the Conference. Further details of the meeting will be announced.

DESEGREGATION IN REVERSE --- St. Joseph's Mission, which was a Catholic Mission school for Negroes in Huntsville, Ala., this fall admitted 22 white pupils in a total enrollment of 110. Two of the four PTA officers are white.

THE PRIEST AND THE POLITICAN --- The film "The Priest and the Politican" which many may have seen a couple of months ago on television, is available for the rental price of $20.00. Is the story of the struggle between Father Christopher Schneider of Our Lady of Prompt Succor parish, Buras, Louisiana, and arch-segregationist Leander Perez, political boss of Plaquemine parish, Louisiana. Father Schneider's parish is a part of the Archdiocese of New Orleans. Anyone wishing to rent this film may contact Southern Field Service headquarters.

PASTORAL LETTER --- The pastoral letter of the American Bishops, which was issued late this past summer is now available at the following prices: five cents a copy for ten or more; four cents a copy for 500 or more; three cents a copy for 1,000 or more.

CURSILLO PROGRAM --- Several Southern Bishops and Catholic Interracial Council groups are exploring the possibility of conducting Cursillos in their area. Interest in this type of Christian group dynamics was aroused following the attendance of our director, Mr Cabirac, at a Cursillo this summer in this Galveston-Houston diocese. He was so impressed with his Cursillo experience, he sent information on the program to Council Chaplains and Presidents and to the Southern Bishops.

Mr. Cabirac says the Cursillo packs quite a spiritual punch, combining basic elements of Christian doctrine with group dynamics. We should be hearing more of this new program.

NEW SOUTHERN CIC PRESIDENTS --- They include Arthur Harckham of Dallas, W.T. Kelly of Little Rock, and Dr. L.J. Bernard of Oklahoma City. We hope they will be sending us news from their area so we may report it to the other Councils and to others interested in our work.

CIVIL RIGHTS BILL --- What are its present chances of passage? All indications are that it has a better chance of becoming law now than it had before the tragic death of President Kennedy. President Johnson, anxious to overcome the possibility of a "Southern" label being attached to him, is exerting every effort to see the Civil Rights Bill passed. In addition, President Kennedy's loyal followers are working harder than ever to pass this legislation as well as the Tax Bill in order to achieve the late President's major legislative goals. Our part, as individual Southerners, can best be played at the present time by writing President Johnson, assuring him of our loyal support and our desire to have the Civil Rights Bill passed as quickly as possible in commeration of the late President Kennedy.

CATHOLIC INFLUENCE IN SOUTHERN CIVIL RIGHTS DRIVE -- The Executive Director of the Southern Field Service is now serving on the Steering Committee of the Southern Interagency Conference which is a clearing house for all national and regional Civil Rights organizations operating in the South. This is one of the means we hope to use in order to carry out the principles of the American Bishops' statements "Discrimination and the Christian Conscience" and "Concerning Racial Harmony".

BOMBED BURAS SCHOOL REPAIRS DELAYED BY REFUSAL OF THE COUNTY AUTHORITIES TO ISSUE INSPECTION PERMIT -- Catholic school officals in Buras, Louisiana haven't been able to complete their repairs to the school which was bombed in the early fall by arch-segregationists because the Plaquemine parish (county) officals claim that they are too busy to inspect school repairs. Your prayers are requested in this matter in order to open the school and restore some semblance of good will and sanity to this community.

CATHOLIC SCHOOLS IN PENSACOLA DESEGREGATE -- This year, negro students entered without difficulty the schools in Pensacola - part of the Mobile-Birmingham diocese. A group of white and negro Catholics, including some prominent citizens, have been working together quietly for a year and a half to prepare for this event.

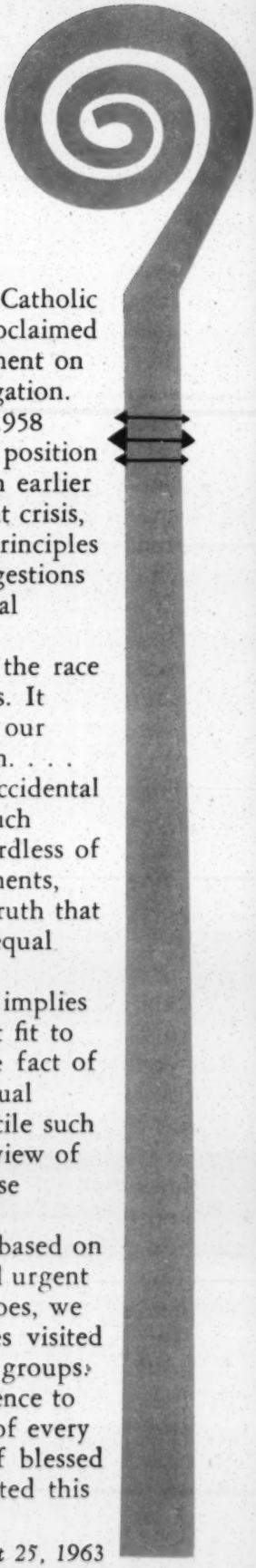
LARGEST PEACEFUL PROTEST MARCH IN THE SOUTH -- Monsignor Charles Plauche, Chancellor and Chaplain of the New Orleans Council, offered the invocation prior to the peaceful march conducted by all New Orleans Civil Rights groups with the permission of the city officals.

PROGRESS IN NASHVILLE -- Recently the Catholic hospital in Nashville opened to all races. High school intra-mural sports have been recently desegregated with the advent of a negro basketball player on the Father Ryan High School team.

GRAIL VOTER REGISTRATION PROJECT -- The Southern Field Service has been instrumental in securing a small foundation grant for The Grail House, which is staffed by six girls in Lafayette, Louisiana, to assist with the Voter Registration project. Because there are more Catholic negroes living in the diocese than any other diocese of the nation, this is extremely important. Not only is there hope to encourage a large number to register to create a better political climate in the state, but there are prospects that some of the interest and energy will spill over into all Civil Rights fields in the area.

LOOK TO THE NEW YEAR -- Our best wishes for the New Year to all members of our Southern Councils and our other friends. Let us all pray that 1964 will see great progress in achieving the goals of social justice and harmony.

STATEMENT OF CATHOLIC BISHOPS OF THE UNITED STATES CONCERNING RACIAL HARMONY



Nearly five years ago, we the Catholic bishops of the United States, proclaimed with one voice our moral judgment on racial discrimination and segregation. This judgment of November 1958 simply reaffirmed the Catholic position already made explicit in a much earlier statement in 1943. In the present crisis, we wish to repeat those moral principles and to offer some pastoral suggestions for a Catholic approach to racial harmony.

We insist that "the heart of the race question is moral and religious. It concerns the rights of man and our attitude toward our fellow man. . . . Discrimination based on the accidental fact of race or color, and as such injurious to human rights, regardless of personal qualities or achievements, cannot be reconciled with the truth that God has created all men with equal rights and equal dignity."

We reaffirm that segregation implies that people of one race are not fit to associate with another "by sole fact of race and regardless of individual qualities. . . . We cannot reconcile such a judgment with the Christian view of man's nature and rights." These principles apply to all forms of discrimination and segregation based on prejudice. In our immediate and urgent concern for the rights of Negroes, we do not overlook the disabilities visited upon other racial and national groups.

It is our strict duty in conscience to respect the basic human rights of every person. Our beloved Pontiff of blessed memory Pope John XXIII stated this

Bishops of the United States / August 25, 1963

fact in his Encyclical "Peace on Earth." He proclaimed that, "in human society, to one man's right there corresponds a duty in other persons: the duty, namely, of acknowledging and respecting the right in question." He not only condemned racial discrimination but asserted that "he who possesses certain rights has likewise the duty to claim these rights as marks of his dignity."

Respect for personal rights is not only a matter of individual moral duty; it is also a matter for civic action. Pope John stated: "The chief concern of civil authorities must . . . be to insure that these rights are acknowledged, respected, co-ordinated with other rights, defended and promoted, so that in this way each one may more easily carry out his duties."

We know that public authority is obliged to help correct the evils of unjust discrimination practiced against any group or class. We also recognize that every minority group in America seeking its lawful rights has the obligation of respecting the lawful rights of others. On this point, Pope John wrote:

"Since men are social by nature they are meant to live with others and to work for one another's welfare. A well-ordered human society requires that men recognize and observe their mutual rights and duties. It also demands that each contribute generously to the establishment of a civic order in which rights and duties are ever more sincerely and effectively acknowledged and fulfilled."

These truths being understood, no Catholic with a good Christian conscience can fail to recognize the rights of all citizens to vote. Moreover, we must provide for all, equal opportunity for employment, full participation in our public and private educational facilities, proper housing, and adequate welfare assistance when needed.

But more than justice is involved. There is also the divine command: "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." Our present Holy Father, Pope Paul VI, at the beginning of his pontificate, reminds us that "Revelation teaches us to love all men, whatever their condition, for they have all been redeemed by the same Savior; and it obliges us to offer to those who have least, the means of arriving in dignity at a more human life."

It is clear that the racial question confronts the conscience of every man, no matter what his degree of direct or indirect involvement. Indeed, the conscience of the nation is on trial. The most crucial test of love of God is love of neighbor. In the words of the beloved Apostle: "If anyone says 'I love God' and hates his brother, he is a liar. For how can he who does not love his brother, whom he sees, love God whom he does not see?"

We can show our Christian charity by a quiet and courageous determination to make the quest for racial harmony a matter of personal involvement. We must go beyond slogans and generalizations about color, and realize that all of us are human beings, men, women, and children, all sharing the same human dignity and nature, with the same desires, hopes and feelings. We should try to know and understand one another.

To do this we must meet and talk openly and sincerely and calmly about our mutual problems and concerns. There are many ways in which such meetings can come about peacefully and naturally and fruitfully. For example those in the same type of work can readily discuss the problems caused by racial barriers. Physicians of one race can talk with those of another. So can businessmen, teachers, lawyers, secretaries, farmers, clerks, and other workers. Parish and diocesan societies, political gatherings, and civic and neighborhood associations can be common meeting grounds.

Our important task is to break down the barriers that have caused such grievous misunderstandings in the past. Where barriers have existed for many decades, deep misunderstandings have all too often arisen. These should be faced, not in a spirit of debate, but with a desire to open doors of understanding.

It is only by open and free exchange of ideas that we can understand the rights and obligations that prevail on both sides. Such

knowledge is the prelude to action that will remove the artificial barriers of race. We must act to remove obstacles that impede the rights and opportunities of our Negro brethren. We should do our part to see that voting, jobs, housing, education and public facilities are freely available to every American.

We can do this in our own area of work, in our neighborhood, in our community. We may act through various lay organizations of the Church, as well as with civic groups of every type. In many parts of the nation there are interracial committees representing the major religious faiths as well as the important aspects of civic life. We bless and endorse such efforts to secure interracial harmony and to implement it in everyday affairs.

But civic action will be more fruitful, and its results more lasting, if all our citizens openly and explicitly proclaim the religious basis of racial justice and love. Accordingly we repeat simply: Love one another, for this is the law of God. Revere in every man his human dignity, for this is a gift of God.

United, as men and women of every faith and race, we can heal the ancient wounds of division. Thus our nation will reflect its true greatness, a greatness founded on the moral principle that all men are free and equal under God.

In all these endeavors, we must remember that they labor in vain, who seek to work without Almighty God. Our daily prayer for guidance will give us that confidence and courage we need to seek racial justice and harmony in our land. Above all, it is our prayer that the love of God may infuse our thoughts and actions, so that we may revere in every man the image of the Eternal God.

Southern Field Service
National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice
1046 Baronne St.
New Orleans 13, La.
phone: 523-2901

Pamphlet Prices: 1-9	*10 cents each*
10-499	*5 cents each*
500-999	*4 cents each*
1,000 or more	*3 cents each*

WB

National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice

21 West Superior Street • Chicago 10, Illinois • MOhawk 4-8222

Southern Field Service
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New Orleans 13, La.
523-2901

20 Vesey Street
New York 7, N. Y.
REctor 2-5417

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Mathew Ahmann
DIRECTOR, SOUTHERN FIELD SERVICE
Henry A. Cabirac, Jr.

JAN 27 1964

January 24, 1964

Dear Mr. Mason:

I'm sorry for the delay in responding to your kind letter of January 7.

Better than giving you any information myself on literacy training projects in the South, I will refer you to the director of our Southern Field Service, who can lead you into some of the programs more easily. His name is Henry Cabirac, Southern Field Service, 1046 Baronne Street, New Orleans 13, Louisiana.

I think you should also get in touch with Mr. Wiley Branton, who is director of the large voter education project which has gotten underway in the last year or so. His address in Atlanta is 5 Forsyth Street, N.W. Finally, you will want to get in touch with the director of the Southern Regional Council, which has overall supervisory functions in relationship to the Voter Education Project. The executive director is Leslie Dunbar, Southern Regional Council, Inc. 5 Forsyth St., N.W. Atlanta.

Our own organization is exploring the possibility of developing a program in this area in parts of Mississippi and perhaps parts of Alabama. You may already know also that the National Council of Churches Commission on Religion and Race is exploring programs as well.

I hope that this information will be of some use to you. When our own project develops, either Henry Cabirac or I will get in touch with you.

Very sincerely yours,

Mathew Ahmann
Executive Director

MA:lh

Mr. David E. Mason
Laubach Literacy Fund, Inc.
1011 Harrison Street
P. O. Box 131
Syracuse, New York 13210

118

XERO COPY XERO COPY XERO COPY XERO COPY

WBV
RTB
DW

January 31, 1964

Committee for Nonviolent Action
Second floor
514 Mercer Avenue
Albany, Georgia

Mr. Stephen R. Roos, City Manager
City Hall
Albany, Georgia

Dear Stephen R. Roos:

This is the letter we promised to send you yesterday concerning our planned, peaceful public witness demonstration at Turner Air Force Base. We have strived to include all the information that would be necessary for you and other Albany authorities to carryout your responsibilities. As always, we will be happy to provide additional information that you may need, and discuss this and other aspects of our activities in Albany with you. We tried to explain our position in regard to permits for demonstrations in our letter of January 25 to you and Mr. Pritchett.

As mentioned in our conversation, we discussed the demonstration with Mayor James V. Davis. A copy of this letter is therefore being delivered to him as well as to Mr. Pritchett. Copies are being mailed to the City Commissioners, the Mayor Pro Tem, to H. Grady Rawls and to Dr. Hilsman. A copy is being mailed and another may be delivered to the Commander of Turner Air Force Base. A dozen copies are included in this envelope for your use and distribution.

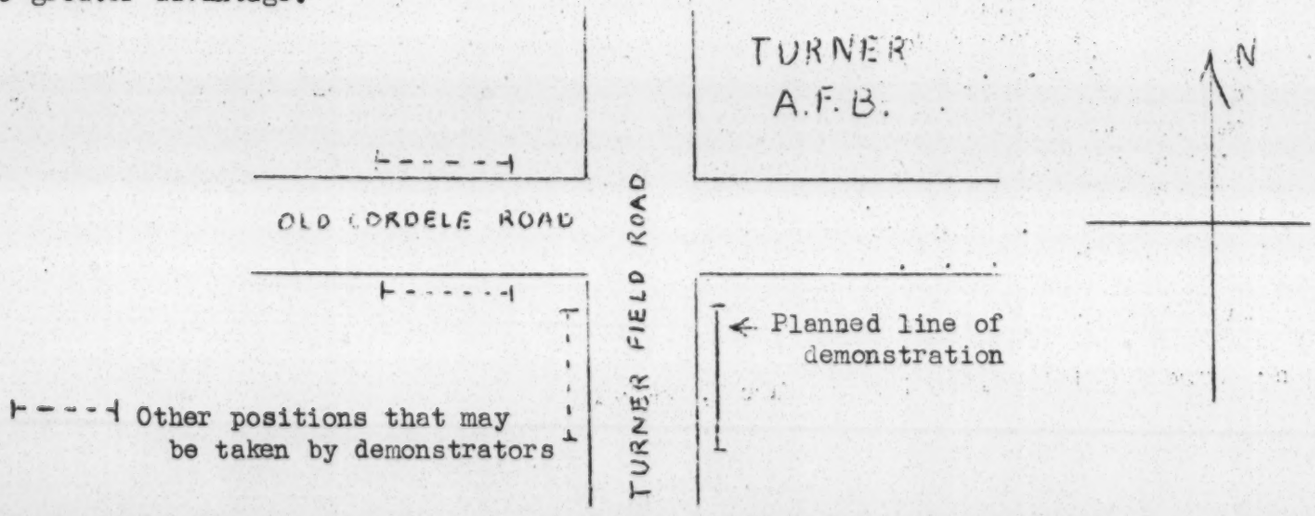
The demonstration is planned to take place Monday, February 3, starting at 7:00 A.M., ending three hours later at 10:00 A.M.

It will be sponsored solely by the Committee for Nonviolent Action (Albany office: Second floor, 514 Mercer; New York office: 325 Lafayette St., N.Y.C.).

It will include six to 12 people, men and women.

The demonstrators will stand in a line along the side of a road near the southwest corner of Turner A.F.B., carry or wear posters and distribute leaflets to those who will receive them. All participants will have accepted our discipline of nonviolence.

The exact location of the demonstration should be clear from the map below. It will be on the east side of Turner Field Road just south of its intersection with Old Cordele Road at the southwest corner of the Base. Demonstrators may move to other positions at the intersection if they believe doing so would display their posters to greater advantage.



Misc. Agen.

We have no intention or plan to trespass on U. S. Government or private property. The participants will stand on public, City property.

Peaceful, public witness demonstrations like this one have been held at hundreds of military bases in this country, Europe and Asia. In 1961, the San Francisco to Moscow Walk for Peace carried out similar demonstrations at the Defense Ministry, Warsaw, Poland, a number of Polish Army and Air Force bases, at a Red Army radar base near Moscow, Russia and in Red Square, Moscow. Traffic control problems, violence from individuals who disagree with us, and interference from the authorities have been very, very rare. Military personnel and authorities in this country have almost always displayed restraint, tolerance and recognition of our moral and legal right to carryout the demonstrations.(A statement concerning our civil liberties is enclosed. The third to last paragraph relates to the Turner demonstration specifically.).

We feel conscientiously compelled to conduct this demonstration for a number of reasons. One is our moral opposition to military power, organized mass violence and murder, which, in the form of "massive retaliation" as carried out by Strategic Air Command bombers, would mean death and suffering to hundreds of millions of innocent men, women and children. Another is our belief, shared and expressed by eminent scientists, statesmen, military strategists and even professional top-ranking officers in our armed forces, that "deterrence", of which SAC bombers are a part, gives rise to an arms race whose eventual outcome will be a large scale thermonuclear war that will destroy civilization and endanger the human race (See the late President Kennedy's speech in support of the nuclear test ban treaty; "Thinking about the Unthinkable" and "On Thermonuclear War" by Herman Kahn; "The Arms Race" by Philip Noël Baker; General Omar Bradley's St. Alban's Academy address of 1958; "Fail Safe", a novel by Eugene Burdick and Harvey Wheeler, etc.). We believe, also, that preoccupation with a military response to totalitarianism stimulates rather than weakens in all countries those political tendencies and institutions which are based on the assumption that physical force and violence are the only possible ultimate arbiters in society -- in short, stimulates totalitarianism and weakens democracy.

In addition, through the demonstration we wish to advance our conviction that arbitrary and oppressive power can be overcome by truth and the voluntary acceptance of unmerited suffering, by nonviolent resistance, and that our defense policies should be rooted in this principle.

Sincerely yours,

Bradford Lyttle, Coordinator
Quebec-Washington-Guantanamo
Walk for Peace

Copies to:

Mayor James V. Davis
Police Chief Laurie Pritchett
Mayor Pro Tem Buford Collins
Commissioner J. P. Champion, Jr.
Commissioner Allen F. Davis
Commissioner James Denson
Commissioner B. C. Gable
Commissioner W. C. Holman, Jr.
City Attorney H. Grady Rawls
City Physician Dr. P. L. Hilsman

Brigadier General Woodrow P. Swancutt

Enclosure: "Civil Liberties in Albany, Georgia"

CIVIL LIBERTIES IN ALBANY, GEORGIA

According to two letters from Melvin L. Wulf, Legal Director in the New York office of the American Civil Liberties Union, the Constitutional liberties of the Peace Walkers are clearly and unambiguously established by Supreme Court decisions.

Albany city officials have refused to permit the Walk along any of several routes proposed by the Walkers for a variety of dates and times, and have arrested Walk members engaged in peaceful and orderly picketing, although neither violence nor significant traffic-regulation problems seemed likely. Mr. Wulf writes --

> The general rule . . . was expressed by the Supreme Court in Hague v. C. I. O., 307 U.S. 496. The ordinance there in issue prohibited parades or assemblies without a permit. A permit could be refused "for the purpose of preventing riots, disturbances, or disorderly assemblage." Holding the ordinance unconstitutional, the Court said:
>
> > . . . (The ordinance) does not make comfort or convenience in the use of streets or parks the standard of official action. It enables the Director of Safety to refuse a permit on his mere opinion that such refusal will prevent "riots, disturbances, or disorderly assemblage." It can thus, as the record discloses, be made the instrument of arbitrary suppression of free expression of views on national affairs, for the prohibition of all speaking will undoubtedly "prevent" such eventualities. But the uncontrolled official suppression of the privilege cannot be made a substitute for the duty to maintain order in connection with the exercise of the right. At 515-516.

In general, a statute will satisfy constitutional requirements if the officer authorized to administer it may not exercise his discretion with respect to the content of activity for which the permit is sought but rather is empowered only to grant or deny a permit on the basis of his good-faith judgment whether the demonstration will hopelessly impair the use of the streets and highways by the general public. In addition, officials have the affirmative duty to insure that the constitutionally protected right of expression is not sacrificed because a crowd which has gathered to observe the proceedings blocks traffic. The appropriate remedy is to regulate the crowd so that a reasonable amount of traffic will flow. Likewise, if a crowd becomes disorderly and threatens the picketers, the remedy is to control the crowd, not suppress the pickets.

. . . . . .

On February 25th of this year, the Supreme Court of the United States handed down its opinion in Edwards v. South Carolina. The petitioners in that case, 187 in number, were convicted in Columbia, South Carolina of the crime of breach of the peace. Their "crime" consisted of walking through the city of Columbia from a church where they first met to the grounds of the South Carolina State House. Their purpose was to submit a protest about the present conditions of discrimination against Negroes. When they arrived at the State House, a crowd of some 200 to 300 onlookers collected on the adjacent sidewalks. In addition, some vehicular traffic at a nearby intersection was slowed down somewhat, but an officer was dispatched to keep traffic moving.

After 30 or 45 minutes, during all of which time the demonstration had been perfectly peaceful, the demonstrators were ordered to disperse

within 15 minutes or be arrested. Upon their refusal to follow the order, they were arrested and convicted. The Supreme Court reversed the conviction. The Court said:

> The Fourteenth Amendment does not permit a state to make criminal the peaceful expression of unpopular views. "A function of free speech under our system of government is to invite dispute. It may indeed best serve its high purpose when it induces a condition of unrest, creates dissatisfaction with conditions as they are, or even stirs people to anger. Speech is often provocative and challenging. It may strike at prejudices and preconceptions and have profound unsettling effects as it presses for acceptance of an idea. That is why freedom of speech is protected against censorship and punishment, unless shown likely to produce a clear and present danger of a serious substantive evil that rises far above public inconvenience, annoyance, or unrest. There is no room under our Constitution for a more restrictive view. For the alternative would lead to standardization of ideas either by legislatures, courts, or dominant political or community groups."

Arrest has been threatened if the Walk holds a public witness demonstration (a quiet picket with signs and leaflets) on public property at Turner Air Force Base, just inside the city limits of Albany. Mr. Wulf writes --

> As to your plans to picket at the Turner Air Force Base, it is my advice that you need not obtain the permission of the Police Chief to do so, nor may he assert any power to prohibit you from doing so. The right to picket is part of the right of free speech guaranteed by the First and Fourteenth Amendments. Thornhill v. Alabama, 310 U.S. 88. True, the police may prohibit mass picketing that would interfere with entrance and exit to the Base or access thereto on adjacent roadways. But that is all that he can properly do. He cannot limit, for example, the number of pickets to a handful for the purported reason of maintaining access to the Base. As long as access is kept open, he cannot diminish your right to picket. Of course, if the property on which you intend to picket is federal property, then the local police chief has no authority whatsoever over your activity there.

The right to distribute leaflets is similarly protected by the Constitution (Lovell v. Griffin, 303 U.S. 444, and others), but this right has not been challenged by the Albany authorities.

We conclude, therefore, that the arrests and threats of arrest are illegal violations of Constitutionally protected civil liberties.

1/23/64
CNVA, 325 Lafayette St.
New York, N.Y. 10012

Smith, Dombrowski Indicted In La.

Atl. World 2-14-64

NEW ORLEANS, La. — Two officers of the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF) and the law partner of one of them, were indicted January 29 on charges of violating Louisiana's subversive activities and communist control law.

Benjamin E. Smith, Esq. SCEF's Treasurer was indicted on 3 counts; Dr. James A. Dombrowski, SCEF's Executive Director on 2 counts; Bruce Waltzer, Smith's law partner on 1 count.

The counts against Smith are: (1) participating in the management "of a subversive organization, SCEF," (2) being a member of SCEF and failing to register with the Louisiana Department of Safety, as such; (3) being a member of the National Lawyers' Guild and failing to register.

Dombrowski was indicted on counts (1) and (2); Waltzer was indicted on count (3).

The maximum penalty on conviction of each count is $10,000 fine, and-or 10 years at hard labor.

Agencies

Sou[illegible] of Educ. Fund.

FEB 14 1964

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ART EMERY
Tennessee representative

JEANETTE ALLEN
GAIL HERSHBERGER
administrative assistants

February, 1964

Dear Friend:

We are pleased to send you enclosed four fact sheets on various government and other programs designed to aid farm families and rural people. We hope that you will find these informational circulars of value and that you will help us to distribute them to the people who can benefit from the information they contain.

These fact sheets and others now in preparation will later be incorporated into a handbook. We would welcome any suggestions or comments you may have regarding these fact sheets to help us make the material in them more useful.

Please let us know if you would like us to send you additional copies of any of these fact sheets for distribution to farm people in your area.

Sincerely yours,

Fay Bennett

Fay Bennett
Executive Secretary

fb:gh
encs.

Agriculture
Misc.

What you should know about

ACREAGE ALLOTMENT PROGRAMS
(for cotton, rice, and peanuts)

This fact sheet tells how the acreage that you can plant in cotton, rice, and peanuts is determined, when it is determined, and what you can do if you think that you are not being fairly treated. It does not try to tell everything about how acreage allotments, along with marketing quotas, operate as a part of the overall price support program.

Market quota, referendum, and acreage allotment

Your local or county ASC committee* each year holds a referendum called by the Secretary of Agriculture to approve the marketing quota for each of these crops for the coming year. This referendum is held not later than December 15th (except for rice, which may be held in the following January). Before the referendum is conducted, your ASC county committee has made the acreage allotment for each farm in your county, and the notice of your allotment (if you are entitled to one) should have been mailed to you. If you hear that a marketing quota referendum is going to be conducted and you have not yet received your notice of acreage allotment, check at once with your county agent or at your local ASC office.

Who takes part in the referendum, the ASC committees, and the acreage allotments

You are entitled to participate in the referendum (and in the election of your local ASC committee) if you operate a farm as a sharecropper, tenant, or owner and are entitled to an acreage allotment. You must have an acreage allotment if you produce cotton, rice, or peanuts for market (if two-thirds of the producers of the country who vote in the referendum approve the marketing quota for the crop).

How big an acreage allotment should you get?

The acreage allotted to you should be your fair share of the acreage allotted to your county for the crop. Generally, your fair share is based upon the past crop history of your farm and of the other farms producing the crop. (Abnormal growing conditions, the land, crop rotation, and your own experience are sometimes considered.) The allotments for all the farms in your county are listed at the ASC county office. Examine this list right away if you do not think your allotment is fair. Even if you have a small farm or a new farm you are entitled to some allotment for the crop. Ask the ASC office or your county agent to explain your allotment to you.

What to do if you don't get your notice on time or think your allotment is unfair

If you do not get a notice of your allotment in the mail at the same time that your neighbors get theirs and before the marketing quota referendum,

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*The ASC committees are committees elected by the local farmers to help carry out the programs of the Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service of the U.S. Department of Agriculture.

inquire at once at your local ASC office and write a letter to the Secretary of Agriculture, Washington 25, D.C., telling him what happened.

When you get a notice of your allotment in the mail, read it carefully right away and save it. If you do not understand it, ask your local ASC office or your county agent to explain it to you. If you are not satisfied with the acreage allotted to you (or your farm marketing quota upon which it is based), file a written application for review with your local ASC committee within fifteen days of the postmark on your notice. Keep a copy of the application for yourself.

If you apply for a review of your allotment in time, it will be reviewed by an ASC review committee of three farmers who have been appointed by the Secretary of Agriculture and who are different from your local ASC committee. This committee will change your allotment if it decides, after considering all aspects of your case, that you did not get a fair share of the crop acreage allotted to your county.

If you still do not think that you are being treated fairly after the review committee has made its findings, you can appeal to the United States District Court or to the State Court of your county for further review. This is likely to be expensive, however, and you should get legal advice before you try to do this.

How to get an extra allotment

If you want to put more acres in the crop than you were first allotted, apply to the ASC committee. The county committee has held in reserve part of the allotted land to take care of the adjustment of any claims made, and sometimes growers do not want to plant all the acreage given them. This excess is divided among all those who apply for it.

The measurement of your land

The correct measurement of your farm is important to you and to the government. If your fields are measured too big, you will not be planting all the acres to which you are entitled. If they are measured too small, you may be planting more than you were allotted and have to plow up some of it or be subject to other penalties. Regularly--at least once every three years--the local ASC committee is supposed to measure all the lands you cultivate without cost to you and can, at any time, check by measuring to be sure you are not planting an excess of the crop. If you request it, the ASC committee must measure your fields before you plant them or will remeasure them later. But you must pay for the cost of this special measurement, so be sure you find out how much it is going to cost you before you ask the committee to do it. If you don't ask for prior measurement or remeasurement, you are bound by the ASC committee's determination of your acreage.

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If your ASC committee office does not treat you with fairness and with courtesy, or if it segregates you or discriminates against you in any other way, get all the facts you can, including what happened and when and where it happened. Get the names of the persons involved and of witnesses if you can. Send a full report of it to the Secretary of Agriculture, Washington 25, D.C.

Prepared by NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND, 112 E. 19 Street, New York 3, N.Y.

What you should know about

HOW FARMER COOPERATIVES CAN HELP YOU

A cooperative is a business owned and operated by the people who use the goods and services it supplies. It is one way that people can pool cash and some of their other resources to work together for a better life for each of them.

Most successful farm operators depend upon cooperatives. They get their electricity through their local rural electric cooperatives, and their seed, fertilizer, feed, and other supplies through purchasing co-ops; sell the products they grow through marketing co-ops; and borrow the money they need to carry on their operations through cooperative land banks and credit unions. Even the smallest farmer -- and the farm worker, too -- may find that cooperatives can help him save money in his farming and in supplying his family's needs.

An Example of a Need - Credit Unions

One of the easiest ways to save money is not to borrow it from the landlord, the supply merchant, the ginner, the loan shark. Yet almost all farmers and sharecroppers must borrow during the growing season, and farmworkers often must borrow during the off season. A study showed that Negro small farmers in St. Landry Parish, Louisiana, were really paying their landlords 11.7% and their supply merchants 14.8% interest (even though it was reported at a lower rate). Those who could borrow from the Production Credit Association or from a bank paid 6% to 6.8% interest (with no extra hidden charges). Most of the loans were from $50 up to $500.

A credit union is one kind of cooperative. It could have lent this money cheaper and might have worked out a better schedule for repayment. It might have been able to help those that the Production Credit Association and the banks would not help, including farmworkers and non-farmers.

How a cooperative operates

A cooperative is organized to save money for all its member-users and to bring them needed services, not to make a profit for just a few stockholders. Most cooperatives operate on these basic principles.

1. Open membership. Anyone can join who can use its services and pay its membership fee. (You have to be a farmer to belong to many farmer co-ops. The fee depends upon the kind of business, usually ranging from $5.00 to $100.00.)

2. Democratic control. The business is controlled by the members, every member can vote, and each member usually has only one vote no matter how much stock he owns.

3. Limited interest on capital invested. Members buy shares in the cooperative so that it will have enough money to operate, but it is set up to serve its members, not to make a profit, so the members limit the amount of interest they pay themselves on their invested capital.

4. Service at as near to cost as possible. After cooperatives have paid their operating expenses and put something in reserve for the future, they pay the interest owed to the members on their invested capital. The money left over is paid to the member-users as patronage refunds. This means that it is divided up on the basis of goods bought or services used during the year. The more you use your co-op the larger refund you will get.

Types of cooperatives

There are almost as many kinds of cooperatives as there are needs for goods and services. Here are a few that have been most useful for rural people:

Purchasing co-ops - to buy at wholesale and to sell to their members such products as seed, fertilizers, machinery, gasoline, home appliances, and groceries.

Marketing co-ops - to gin, pack or prepare their members' products for market; and to sell them locally or ship them to market.

Credit unions - to lend money to its members at reasonable rates. Usually, all members must belong to the same organization, such as a church or civic group.

Other Service co-ops - to own and operate expensive machinery; to develop water, forestry, and conservation districts; to build and operate housing for older persons, and health clinics; to reduce insurance and funeral costs.

How to use a cooperative -- or start a new one

First, visit the cooperative nearest you. Get its literature on how it operates and how to join. If it can meet some of your needs, join it, take part in its meetings, vote in its elections, and use its services. If there is no co-op nearby, try to get the one that best meets your needs to open a branch in your area.

Many co-ops have failed. Before starting one, learn if a cooperative will meet your local needs and if you have the resources to make it successful. (This is called a feasibility study; experts on cooperatives can help you with this.)

Some of the causes of co-op failures have been: (1) Not enough persons in the area had enough need for it; (2) The members did not understand how cooperatives really operate; (3) There was no convenient source of supply for a purchasing co-op or a reasonable market for the products of a marketing one; (4) The manager was not qualified to run the business; (5) The members could not raise enough capital (although loans may have been available if the plans were really feasible).

No matter how big some cooperatives now are, most of them started with just a few persons sitting down and planning together how to get the things and services they need cheaper and better. But expert help is needed; get it from the start.

How to get help

Private organizations and the federal government are ready to help you learn about cooperatives, and to form one if a feasibility study shows you can use one successfully. For further information on cooperatives and the nearest cooperative association that may help you, write to: The Cooperative League of the USA, 59 East Van Buren Street, Chicago, Illinois 60605.

For information and help on credit unions, write to: Credit Union National Association, 1617 Sherman Avenue, P.O. Box 431, Madison 1, Wisconsin.

The Farmers Cooperative Service of the U.S. Department of Agriculture (Washington, D. C. 20250) is set up to advise and help farmers organize and operate cooperatives successfully. Write to it for Bulletin Reprint 6, What is a Co-op, and Circular 18, Organizing a Farmer Cooperative, and for other information. Ask Farmers Cooperative Service for help as you go along.

Prepared by NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND, 112 E. 19 Street, New York, N. Y. 10003

What you should know about

FARMERS HOME ADMINISTRATION LOANS

If you are a farmer and need additional funds at reasonable terms and rates to consolidate debts, for operating expenses, to improve your crop, stock, house, or buildings, or to buy a farm or equipment, Farmers Home Administration may be able to help you. You may have been turned down for an FHA loan in the past--or have been told that it is useless for you to apply. But if your farm experience makes you believe that with enough credit you can manage a farm successfully as either an owner or a tenant, you should apply again. Be sure to apply in writing, as only written applications can be considered.

Floyd F. Higbee, FHA Deputy Administrator, instructed all FHA offices:

> "We must concentrate on helping farmers improve their conditions... rather than to use their problems and shortcomings as a basis for rejecting their applications for assistance....The best efforts of this agency are now directed specifically to assisting family farmers through loans and guidance to the end that no deserving family farmer will have to give up the struggle of remaining on the farm because of factors that have come about through reasons beyond his control." (FHA Bulletin No. 691, February 15, 1961.)

Kinds of loans available

If you think any of the FHA loans listed here might help you, ask your FHA county office for the special leaflets that will tell you much more about them.

Operating loans: To help make your farm and home operations successful. Loans for livestock, feed, fertilizer, and farm equipment; for food, clothing, medical care, and other household expenses; to refinance debts; to produce trees, and to do other things to make your farm more productive. Terms: Loans up to seven years at 5% interest; 3% interest for forestry operations.

Farm Ownership loans: To buy, enlarge, and improve family farms. Loans for farm homes and buildings, to drill wells, to develop and improve forest or recreational enterprises. They are for larger, longer-range projects than operating loans. Terms: Loans up to 40 years at 5% interest; 3% interest for forestry.

Rural Housing loans: To build or improve farm homes or buildings, or non-farm homes in rural areas or communities of less than 2500. Loans to install heating or water, or to modernize; or to buy a house or homesite for persons over 62 years. Terms: Loans up to 33 years at 4% interest. Owners unable to repay a loan may be able to get a grant of up to $1000 for minor safety or health improvements.

Water Development and Soil Conservation loans: To improve your water supply and your land; for wells, farmstead water, irrigation and drainage, grading, fertilizing and seeding; to develop permanent pastures and improve forestry practices; to join a water district; and to pay for engineering plans and legal fees. Terms: Loans up to 40 years at 5% interest; 3% for forestry.

Emergency loans: To help farmers who need special credit to carry on their normal operations because of widespread losses caused by floods, droughts, and other natural disasters. They are usually made only in areas specially designated by the Secretary of Agriculture but sometimes can be made when only one or a few farmers are affected. Terms: Loans up to 7 years for livestock and equipment, up to 20 years for buildings and land improvement, at 3% interest.

Loans to groups: These are available for watershed improvement, water systems, irrigation, soil conservation, the development of grasslands, and forestry and recreation enterprises, and for the building of housing for older persons. Ask the FHA county office for information about these programs.

Who is eligible for FHA loans

The special requirements for the different types of loans are given in the FHA leaflets. All of the loans (except for rural housing) require the following:

1. that you are unable to get credit for the loan you need at reasonable rates and terms from private or cooperative lending agencies;

2. that you have a farm background and the farm experience or training necessary to be successful in carrying out the planned farm operation;

3. that you work out a plan with the FHA county supervisor that will make it possible to carry through the operation and pay off the loan;

4. that after the loan is made you actually will be managing or operating a farm either as owner, or tenant under a written lease, and that you be of legal age (and, in some cases, a U.S. citizen);

5. that you have the character, industry, and ability to carry out the farming operation for which you obtain the loan.

How to apply -- Who determines whether or not you are eligible

Consider your own farm operation very carefully. If you think that with a loan you can increase your cash income enough to both live better and pay off the loan, ask the FHA county supervisor to help you plan your operations and help you prepare your application. Your application will be reviewed by the FHA county committee which will decide whether or not you get the loan. The FHA committee is made up of three local farmers appointed by the FHA state director. The committee may ask you and your family to meet with it. Try to have other farmers who know you tell the committee about your background and ability. The local committee should decide in about two weeks. Appeals may be taken to the state director. Even if you don't qualify for an FHA loan at this time, the FHA office can help you plan for farm improvements.

What to do if you think you are not being treated fairly on an FHA loan

You have the right to have the FHA county office help you review your farm operations and plan your improvements. You are entitled to be treated with courtesy at the FHA county office and to receive help in preparing your loan application. If other debts are keeping you from qualifying, the FHA office may be able to help you try to work out new arrangements with your other creditors. The FHA county committee must consider your application fairly regardless of your color, the smallness of your farm, or any bad credit or operating experiences in the past.

Keep a careful written record of all your contacts with the FHA office and a copy of your applications. Keep every letter or notice that is sent to you, and keep the envelope it came in. If you think that you are not being treated fairly, write a letter telling everything that happened to: The Administrator, Farmers Home Administration, U.S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D.C. 20250.

Prepared by NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND, 112 E. 19th Street, New York, N.Y. 10003

What you should know about

SURPLUS FOOD PROGRAMS

What they are

"Surplus food" is some of the food the farmer grows but cannot sell at the price he wants to get for it. It is available for distribution to people who need it but cannot buy it because they are out of work, unable to work, or paid too little when they are working to carry them over the off-season, or because disaster strikes.

The Department of Agriculture buys or takes over this food under price support and other governmental programs and, through the Agricultural Marketing Service, gives it to state and local welfare agencies and to schools. The federal government usually does not distribute this food directly to the persons who need it, and the Department of Agriculture does not have the money or the staff to do this except on an emergency basis.

How the food is distributed

1. Direct distribution through local public welfare agencies. The Agricultural Marketing Service packages the food and delivers it without charge to central distribution points within a cooperating state. Local public welfare officials decide whether or not they want to participate, to what extent, and for what period of the year. As they pay the cost of collecting the food from the central depots in the state and of distributing it to the persons entitled to it (sometimes with help from the state), there is no way legally to force a local community to take part in the program--or continue in it--if it does not want to do so. Occasionally, a local community has permitted a private welfare agency to assume the responsibility for (and the costs of) local distribution, but the public officials still must supervise the program with the help of AMS workers.

If a local community does take part in the direct food distribution program, it must follow the standards set by the federal government. It can distribute the food only to those in need, and it determines what families are in need. However, it cannot apply different tests to different families. It cannot deny food to persons because of their color or punish them by withdrawing food because of their civil rights or other political activities.

If your community is not taking part in the program or if it ends the program altogether at the end of the off-season, only negotiation or public pressure can bring it to take part or continue in the program. Sometimes local civic and religious groups can be persuaded to intervene. Sometimes a private welfare agency will take up the burden with the consent of the local officials. Sometimes state officials or the Department of Agriculture will intercede.

2. National School Lunch Program. Any public or nonprofit private school can take part in this program if it operates its lunch program on a nonprofit basis, serves lunches free or at a reduced cost to those who cannot pay the full price, and serves lunches that meet the Department of Agriculture's nutritional standards. The federal government will pay $1 out of every $4 paid for some of the food bought locally for the lunch program and will contribute

most of the rest of the food needed. Any group, such as a parent-teacher association, church, or fraternal or other service club, can help the local school start and carry on the program.

If your local school does not have a school lunch program, find out why from the school board. Interest local individuals and groupsin helping to get a program launched. Seek help from the state Department of Education, which supervises the program in each state.

3. Special Milk Program. Even if a school does not take part in the school lunch program, it can still get federal assistance to serve milk free or at a reduced cost. This aid is also available for camps, orphanages, and other child care institutions. For information, write to Agricultural Marketing Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture, Washington 25, D.C.

4. Disaster Relief. Substantial supplies of federally-donated food are almost always quickly available to whole communities when such disasters as hurricanes, floods, drought, and widespread fire strike. But disasters sometimes strike single families too, and the same relief is often available if quickly sought. Check in time of need with local welfare officials and the local chapter of the American Red Cross.

The Food Stamp Program

This is an experimental program operating on a limited budget, and it is not now being expanded to new communities. It permits low-income families to spend their food money to buy food stamps of higher value. The family can then use the stamps to purchase food at any grocery. If you think that your community has a great need for this program, rally local backing and write to the Secretary of Agriculture urging that you be included in it.

If you find that any federally-assisted food program is not being administered fairly and you cannot work it out with local and state officials, gather your facts carefully and send a full account of them to the Secretary of Agriculture, Washington 25, D.C.

Prepared by NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND, 112 E. 19 Street, New York 3, N.Y.

YWCA

National Student Young Women's Christian Association of the U.S.A.

600 LEXINGTON AVENUE
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10022
PLAZA 3-4700
CABLE: EMISSARIUS, N.Y.

WB
BW
RTB

February 14, 1964

FEB 17 1964

Mr. Wiley A. Branton
Voter Education Project
Room 206
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Branton:

We were very pleased to receive the 250 copies of the Voter Education Project election chart. We have included the chart in our preparatory material which has been sent to all students expressing interest in participating in a Voter Registration Project this spring.

To date the National Student YWCA has scheduled Voter Registration Projects from March 22 to March 28 and from March 29 to April 4, 1964 in the following cities:

Atlanta, Georgia
Richmond, Virginia
Raleigh, North Carolina
Greensboro, North Carolina
St. Louis, Missouri

We are in the midst of completing the necessary arrangements for each of these projects. Approximately 250 students from fifty schools have expressed interest in participating in one of these Voter Registration Projects.

We shall try to keep you informed of our plans as they progress.

Sincerely yours,

Margaret Norton

(Mrs.) Margaret Edmunson Norton
Executive

MEN: REM:di

Air Mail

YWCA

YWCA

National Student Young Women's Christian Association of the U.S.A.

600 LEXINGTON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N.Y.
PLAZA 3-4700
CABLE: EMISSARIUS, N.Y.

Southern Region
Suite 301, 41 Exchange Place, S.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia
Telephone: Jackson 5-2372

Chairman
OLGA SEASTROM
Pennsylvania State University

Vice Chairmen
CHRYSTAL KELLOGG
Southwestern College
KATHLEEN MILLER
Oklahoma State University
ALMA SENIORS
Tuskegee Institute

Chairman Administrative Committee
MRS. WILLIAM GENNÉ

Executive
MRS. MARGARET EDMUNSON NORTON

Associate in Administration
ODILE SWEENEY

Associates
JEAN M. WHITTET
Program Development
RUTH SHINN
Personnel and Training
ANNIE-KATE GILBERT
National Support

Consultant in Human Relations
CELESTINE L. SMITH, ED. D.

Administrative Assistant
HELEN BAIRD

President, National Board
MRS. ARCHIE D. MARVEL

General Secretary
EDITH M. LERRIGO

February 14, 1964

FEB 17 1964

MRS. JEAN LEVINE
Voter Education Project of the
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia, 30303

Dear Mrs. Levine:

Thank you so much for sending the two copies of the current Voter Education Project. We are keeping one in our office and sending one to our New York office.

I am indeed grateful for your kindness in supplying us with this information and also with the former list.

Sincerely,

Rosetta E. Gardner

ROSETTA E. GARDNER (V.S.)
Regional Director

REG/vs

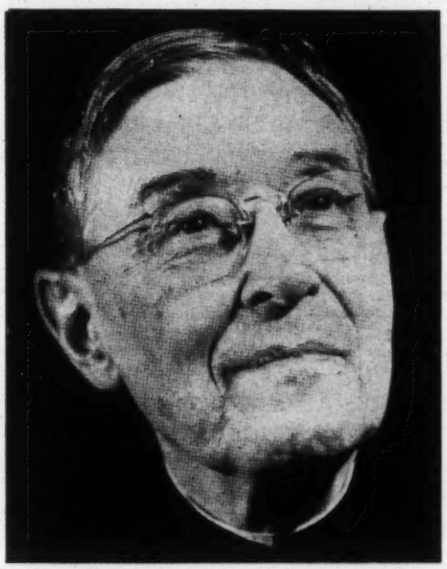
Agnes

National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice

Commitment

21 West Superior St., Chicago 10, Ill. • Southern Field Service, 1046 Baronne St., New Orleans 13, La.

February, 1964



FATHER JOHN LAFARGE, S.J.
Feb. 13, 1880/Nov. 24, 1963

Few men more deserve to join the elect of the Lord than Father John LaFarge, founder of the Catholic Interracial Council movement. The Catholic Church in the United States owes Father LaFarge immense debts of gratitude for his work for interracial justice, the liturgy, rural life, his profound scholarship and his work on behalf of the arts. His was truly a Christian humanism which inspired countless Americans. We can confidently say that Catholic witness for interracial justice has been inspired by his leadership for 30 years. His inspiration will live on in our midst. We will miss his bouyant spirit, his affirmative approach to human affairs, his dedication to the basic truth of the Gospel that all men are one in the Lord. Surely he will continue to advance our cause from the right hand of God.

* * * *

POVERTY, RACE AND PRESIDENT JOHNSON

President Johnson's state of the union message announcing a war on poverty recalls his address in November 1962 when he received an award from the Catholic Interracial Council of Chicago. After speaking of prejudice and poverty in the United States, Johnson said:

> "It is never enough for us to protest against discrimination. We must work with equal fervor for the creation of conditions in America that will allow every group to use its maximum cultural genius for the enrichment of our national life."

The promise of this state of the union message also recalls the title Johnson gave to that Chicago address--"Promise and Performance."

POVERTY, RACE AND RELIGION CONVENTION: WASHINGTON, D.C.

The emphasis was on housing, fair employment practices and civil rights legislation as 250 persons discussed race and religion last November at the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice in Washington.

After four days of discussions, the participants passed resolutions under 12 general headings. Here are a few:

Employment--Where Fair Employment Practice laws do not exist, we recommend that strong efforts be initiated to enact such laws... We urge extension of minimum wage laws to all employees who are over 21 years of age at a minimum of $2.00 an hour, as recommended by a federal study committee.

Education--Our history of racial divisiveness makes acceptance of racial integration puzzling and even frightening to many white people who do not understand the underlying causes and the depths of misery and frustration to which racial segregation has condemned millions... We urge special means of instructions from the pulpit and through parish educational programs to clarify school segregation issues...

De Facto School Segregation--The courts have not yet decided if de facto segregation is illegal; but our consciences know it is wrong and must be eliminated. In our judgment, therefore, transferring and bussing to secure racial integration are morally justifiable.

Housing--Fair Housing laws are a necessary tool to open housing opportunities to Negro and other minority families. Catholics are urged to work for such laws where they do not exist and make use of them effectively where they do, particularly to aid families seeking homes in suburbia or hitherto restricted white neighborhoods.

Catholic Organizations--Catholic social and fraternal organizations which practice segregation or exclusion of Negroes rend the Body of Christ. Such organizations should immediately, therefore, change their policies, or their chaplains should be withdrawn and the organizations disbanded.

Interracial Marriage--Questions of relationship, diversity of faith, and prior marriage bonds as impediments are found in our canon law. Race and color are not. Within the above mentioned limitations, the right to decide to marry and whom to marry resides within the individual person... That present society is cruel to a particular couple because of race does not militate against such a union, but does condemn the present state of society, and calls for its reform.

Civil Rights Legislation--Attention to civil rights legislation on the federal level should demand high priority.

The Revolt of 1963--We commend the Negro protest movement for its moderation and for the spirit of Christian reconciliation which has motivated its action...

In addition to the general topic of the Convention, sixteen different clinics were held on various aspects of organizing and operating Catholic Interracial Council programs.

The convention shared some meetings with the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity.

Many Councils have started programs from what they learned at the convention in formal sessions or through exchanges with people from other sections of the country.

Poverty, Race and President Kennedy

President Kennedy's telegram to the Convention read:

"No concern of the American people is more important than that of securing justice for all of our citizens. I am happy to greet the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice on the occasion of its convention and to extend warm good wishes to the representatives of other major religious groups with whom you are meeting.

"Yours is one of the important movements in our Country which brings white and Negro citizens together to tackle a problem which our Country must resolve soon. Your leadership in organizing the National Catholic Conference on Religion and Race typifies the kind of constructive private action which is so important in the solution of difficult social problems.

"Your 1963 Convention theme indicates the importance of employment in our expanding and full economy. A heritage of disability from years of racial discrimination hampers interracial justice. While it is vital that the basic civil rights of all our citizens are protected and defended, it is also exceedingly important that all have the opportunity for full and equal employment in our rapidly changing work force. In addition to an expanding economy, this calls for increased educational efforts and retraining to remove the obstacles which keep individuals out of the labor force. Securing full justice for all will be speeded by full employment. With every good wish for a fruitful convention.

/s/ JOHN F. KENNEDY"

VOTING

At 2:26 p.m. on January 23 the South Dakota legislature became the 38th state to ratify the 24th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, the anti-poll tax amendment. The action outlaws poll taxes on federal elections still in effect in five Southern states--Virginia, Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi and Texas. States may still, however, impose poll taxes as a requirement to vote in state and local elections.

COMMITMENT IN MICHIGAN

The Michigan Catholic Conference and the five bishops of Michigan have mailed to every Catholic pastor in the state a remarkably detailed 10-point policy statement on race. It states:

1. Catholic health, welfare and educational institutions shall admit persons without regard to their race and shall provide equal treatment in regard to the services and facilities of these institutions.

2. Employment in all Catholic agencies and institutions shall be based on merit and without regard to race, color or national origin.

3. Contracts for the repair and construction of church related institutions shall contain a positive requirement that the contractor maintain a policy of equal employment opportunity without regard to race, creed, color or national origin...

4. Public officers and other leaders ... have special obligations to provide active leadership and good example in working towards the total elimination of discrimination and segregation.

5. The faithful are urged to give active support to programs promoting freedom of housing... No Catholic, in good conscience, can sign petitions or support laws or ordinances that deny minorities a full and equal opportunity to secure decent homes on a non-discriminatory basis.

6. ...There will be established in each diocese of the state a bishop's commission on human relations...

7. Every major community should have a strong and effective public human relations agency. These agencies are as important to the life of a community as the police and fire departments...

8. ...We announce our willingness and desire to work with other major faiths through the establishment of local race and religion councils in the major cities of Michigan.

9. The newly created Civil Rights Commission can be an effective instrument for achieving equality under the law... We offer our support to insure that this commission has sufficient means to achieve its purpose.

10. The (national) administration's civil rights program represents the most significant effort to achieve equal protection of the laws for Negroes in this century...

DIRECT ACTION

In Omaha recently Archbishop Bergan stated, among other things, that "We are in favor, both in principle and practice, of equal opportunity to acquire, by rent or purchase, decent housing for minorities anywhere in the City of Omaha.

Archbishop McGucken and other leaders of San Francisco sponsored an advertisement urging citizens not to sign a petition to nullify the Rumford Fair Housing Act, now object of contention in California.

In Syracuse, New York Bishop Foery has commissioned Father Fahey of Catholic Charities to set up a race relations program in each parish of the city. There will be an eight-week program of instruction and development of leadership within each parish. The program will be aided by the CIC which for some years has had an active speaker's bureau and has distributed literature.

Two Brothers of the White Fathers of Africa missionary order withdrew from Benjamin Franklin University, Washington, D.C., which does not admit Negroes. Father John Wells, Su-

perior of the Brothers explained by letter to the University that he had "no other choice than to do my duty as a Christian and a citizen" and encourage the two Brothers to withdraw. The Brothers learned about discrimination of the school because of picketing by CORE.

1963 Happenings in 11 Southern States, according to the Southern Regional Council summary: More than 20,000 Negroes and white demonstrators arrested. Ten persons have died under circumstances directly related to racial protests. And 35 known bombings have occurred, similarly related.

Tom Farrell of the New York CIC acted as voluntary counsel for four youths under sentence in Americus, Ga., and he and Father Hurley, S.J., represented the CIC at a rally held in New York for those imprisoned in Americus for civil rights.

Boycotting: In a recent address, Rev. John F. Cronin, S.S. said: "Such a policy (of selective buying) seems to rest on moral grounds as well. We show our cooperation with those who have sound racial policies by using their goods and services. We withhold our approval of racial discrimination by looking elsewhere to spend our dollars."

COUNCIL ACTIVITIES

The goal of the SAN FRANCISCO CIC and of a number of other Councils around the nation is to develop leadership on a neighborhood and parish level. The CIC was deeply involved in the San Francisco Institute on the Educators Responsibility for Interracial Justice.

In SAN FRANCISCO the CIC with the St. Thomas More Society has formed a Lawyer's Committee on Interracial Justice which will explain legislation, counsel individuals, and assist in trial and appelate litigations and administrative hearings.

A tutoring and supervised study program in Arlington, Virginia has been jointly sponsored by the CIC of NORTHERN VIRGINIA and other community organizations.

CIC of CHICAGO representatives have appeared before the Chicago Board of Education to offer testimony urging the need for action to resolve the problems of de facto school segregation, the central issue in civil rights in Chicago. In January, the Chicago Council held its annual dinner, to hear an address by Dr. Blake, Stated Clerk of the Presbyterian Church, former head of the National Council of Churches. The Council also honored Dr. Blake with an award for his efforts in race relations, the first time he has been so honored by a Catholic organization.

The CIC of SOUTH BEND, Indiana, together with the National Conference of Christians and Jews, sponsored a Teachers' Institute on Race Relations for all parochial school teachers.

Home Visits, which included a large number of nuns, were sponsored by the CIC of DAYTON, Ohio and by Caritas in Cleveland. About 30 CICs have sponsored home visits.

There will be a Conference on Religion and Race in BUFFALO on March 2. Msgr. Eberz serves on the organizing committee for the Conference and also is in charge of setting up diocesan wide race relations programs. Monsignor's parish program for several summers has involved diocesan and Carmelite seminarians, and high school girls to canvass and instruct Negroes of the parish.

SYRACUSE CIC members are active with civil rights organizations. They have participated in public demonstrations last summer, along with several priests and a nun.

BOSTON CONFERENCE ON RELIGION AND RACE. Three hundred religious leaders met for a day of workshops on January 13, emphasizing the need for Education, Housing and Job opportunities. The conveners voted to continue the Conference, and endorsed a one day boycott of Boston schools in February. Whitney Young of National Urban League gave the principal address.

A large new Council is operating in ALBANY, NEW YORK and has about 100 members. Last summer its chaplain Rev. Tremblay was instrumental in setting up a "three R's" tutoring program for Negro adults and children which is taught by twelve nuns. The program started in Negro church buildings but eventually moved to parochial schools more adequate for classroom activities for several hundred students. The Council's first newsletter is available to other Councils from R. F. Decker, Box 7214, Capitol Station, Albany, New York.

Senator Philip Hart of Michigan spoke on the Civil Rights Bill at the corporate Communion breakfast of the DETROIT CIC. Charles Pecke and Father Sheehan have joined the Committee for Better Human Relations of the Michigan Department of Education which considered the report of publishers on the treatment of minority groups in textbooks.

After its fifth annual Mass, Governor Reynolds of Wisconsin addressed the CIC of MILWAUKEE on "The State and Human Rights."

The MILWAUKEE CIC has sponsored several youth days for Catholic high school students, the last one being attended by more than 400 students.

Eileen Armstrong and Bill Holub, members of the UNION COUNTY, NEW JERSEY CATHOLIC HUMAN RELATIONS COUNCIL have been named chairmen of special committees of the Archdiocese of Newark's Councils of Women and of Men to promote the cause of interracial justice. They are joined by other members of the Human Relations Council who will have charge of different districts. Many laymen and clerics from Newark attended the New Jersey Conference on Religion and Race in Atlantic City at the end of January.

The ROCHESTER, N.Y. CIC responded to the call made in the emergency meeting of Catholic interracial leaders held last summer in Chicago which urged direct action involvement. The CIC has given testimony at public hearings on housing and schools, published statements in diocesan and local press relative to current questions of civil rights, etc. Council members are active with almost all civil rights organizations in the City and work closely with human relations groups of other denominations. One current CIC program will reach out to secure leadership men and women in each parish as members. Recent tensions in Rochester centered on a white boycott of public schools because two grades of overcrowded Negroes were transferred into vacant classrooms in a previously all-white school. The CIC is working with other groups to meet this problem. The CIC was deeply involved in the Rochester Conference on Religion and Race last October which prepared the religious leaders for a deeper involvement.

The newsletter of the CIC of KANSAS CITY, MO., Vol. 1, No. 1, is not only interesting but is a veritable manual which might be used as a model by other CICs.

CIC of LONG ISLAND, N.Y. will host a one or two day Northeastern Regional Convention in August. When their plans are completed shortly they will send out invitations to CICs.

Members of the ST. MARTIN'S COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, Atlanta, Ga. joined others, including priests and nuns, to march to a rally in December to hear Martin Luther King.

KNIGHTS OF COLUMBUS

In early Fall the officers of the Chicago Loop Council of the Knights resigned after members blackballed a Negro whom the officers felt qualified.

In Rhode Island, on the other hand, some 20 Negroes hold membership in the Knights and one of them is a Grand Knight. At a State meeting of Grand Knights in January, the Rhode Island State Deputy received an ovation from the Grand Knights when he called for the eradication of racial prejudice by direct action. He also urged the Grand Knights actively to seek out Negro applicants.

In Georgia, the newest Knights of Columbus Council has been integrated and the State Deputy has transferred his affiliation to this Council.

COUNCIL STAFFS

The CIC of LONG ISLAND is staffed by Mrs. Kathryn Rowcroft. The office is open five days a week.

In OMAHA, Mrs. R. E. Horne works part time for the CIC.

The CIC of NEW YORK will announce its new executive director in the Spring.

Paul Hanlon has become executive director of the ST. LOUIS CONFERENCE on Religion and Race. Hanlon has been on the sociology faculty of St. Louis University until now.

SEMINARIANS, RELIGIOUS AND STUDENTS

The Role of the Priest and Religious in a Time of Racial Crisis was the theme of the program attended by 400 sisters, brothers and seminarians, November 17 in Washington, D.C. The program, under the direction of John Shields, C.S.P. of the Catholic University Conference of Clerics and Religious (Washington 17, D.C.) was aided by Mr. and Mrs. Bernard Wiesman of the CIC of Northern Virginia, and by Mrs. Furth and Dr. Nuesse of the CIC of Washington. Tapes of the program are available through Mr. Shields.

St. Meinrad's Archabbey, Indiana sponsored a seminar on Race. In Menlo Park, California, St. Patrick's seminarians have attended a series of lectures on race relations organized by the San Francisco CIC; while at West Baden, Indiana a number of Jesuit students, who attended a Friendship House weekend last summer, have carried on a program among their fellow students. And several seminarians at St. Mary's of the West, in cooperation with the Superintendent of Schools of the Archdiocese of Cincinnati have mailed a set of race relations material to all history, civics and religion teachers in the Archdiocese.

The National Federation of Catholic College Students, through its Social Action Secretariat, Manhattanville College, Purchase, New York, has mailed to all student government presidents comprehensive program materials for Brotherhood Week, the third week in February. This includes posters, discussion materials, lists of appropriate books and films, and a 21-point program for action.

The children of the seventh and eighth grades of the Diocese of Cleveland have raised $5,000 for the Prince Edward County Virginia Free Schools, the only schools open for Negroes. These funds were the response of generosity to a very carefully planned program by the school administration under the direction of Msgr. McHale.

NEW COUNCILS -- COAST TO COAST

Six new Councils have been approved by the Board of Directors for affiliation with the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice. The six are located in: Akron, Ohio; Bridgeport, Connecticut; Union County, New Jersey; Montgomery County, Maryland; Berkeley, California; and Cleveland, Ohio.

New Councils are operating in Los Angeles; Philadelphia; Memphis, Tennessee; Rockford, Illinois; Albany, New York; Youngstown, Ohio; Clinton, Iowa; Evansville, Indiana; Ann Arbor, Michigan; and Trenton, New Jersey.

OTHER NEWS

The locally arranged regional conventions, of the Christian Family Movement this year and the program for 1964-65 will center on the theme of Race and Politics. Members of CFM have been outstanding in their sensitivity to racial questions and many have been the strongest members of CICs.

The Sister Formation Conference section of the NCEA Convention in Atlantic City, April 1 and 2 will feature a session on the Nun and Racial Justice, involving NCCIJ staff.

Mr. Wiley Branton, Director
Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth St. - Rm. 206
Atlanta, Ga.

National Catholic Conference
21 West Superior Street
Chicago 10, Illinois
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CIVIL RIGHTS

If you are going to Washington while the debate on the Bill is still on, please check in with the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, 704 - 17th St., Washingtoon 20006.

Reminder - Please continue to send copies of replies from your congressmen to the Leadership Conference. And send copies of the letters which you send to your congressmen to President Johnson, White House, Washington 25.

AUDIO-VISUAL

March on Washington Official Album. This recording by all the leaders at the March on Washington last August 28 is available through: WRVR, 490 Riverside Drive, New York 27, for $3.00. Please indicate NCCIJ so that we may be credited for orders generated through our newsletter recipients.

Both the National Council of Catholic Men and Women have prepared kits on race and these are available to CICs: NCCM's, "Release from Racism," $5.00 (25% off to CICs); NCCW's, "Race, Challenge to Justice and Love," $1.25 (no discount). 1312 Mass. Ave., Washington, D.C.

1963 Bishops statement on racial harmony attractively printed in brochure form. Prices: 5 cents (10-499); 4 cents (500-999); 3 cents (1000 or more). 21 W. Superior, Chicago 10, Ill.

Cardinal Cushing's eulogy of Father LaFarge: Write New York CIC, 233 Broadway - Suite 901-3, New York, New York.

APRIL 19

Friendship House, National Home Visit Center, has announced April 19, 1964 as the date of a National Home Visit Day. Seventy (70) cities across the nation have been alerted and temporary convenors are now at work securing interreligious sponsors for their city's day. Visits are planned both in the homes of whites and Negroes as a nationwide demonstration to build bonds of interracial communication. Special literature is being prepared for the day and continuing service will be supplied by the center. Anyone interested in taking part in this national demonstration should contact National Home Visit Center, Friendship House, 4233 South Indiana Avenue, Chicago 53, Illinois (phone: OA 4-7700).

TENNESSEE COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
1106 19th Avenue, South
Nashville, Tennessee 37212

February 20, 1964

A LETTER TO COUNCIL MEMBERS

The Council's annual membership meeting, held in Nashville on January 23, voted to print this issue of the NEWSLETTER and send in duplicate to each Council member. Council members may then send the extra issue to a prospective member, local official, or community civic leader. Additional copies of the NEWSLETTER and brochures are available on request. Mrs. Ernest Silver, of Oak Ridge, has been working toward increase in our membership, and joins me in seeking your assistance in doubling our membership in 1964. The Georgia Council on Human Relations now has a membership of 1133; we have just half that. And you know that we are more progressive than Georgia!

Enclosed is the roster of 1964 officers and Board members.

It's time to pay your 1964 dues. The Council's fiscal year follows the calendar year, therefore your membership is now renewable. Several members paid 1964 dues during the annual meeting, and others have voluntarily mailed in their dues payments. Won't you do this now, and save the Council time and postage by using the blank below for your renewal?

Bill Willis, President

---------- cut here ----------

MEMBERSHIP DUES - 1964
TENNESSEE COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
1106 19th Avenue, South
Nashville, Tennessee 37212

____ Annual Membership ($5.00)

____ Joint Membership ($7.00)
(husband and wife)

____ Contributing Membership ($10.00)

____ Sustaining Membership ($25.00 and up)

____ Student Membership ($2.00)
(Limited to full-time students)

Students do not receive the Southern Regional Council publication, "New South". All other members are subscribers, and $2.00 of your membership dues is forwarded for your subscription. If you are not getting "New South", check here _____.

NAME _____ ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP CODE _____

Agencies

FEBRUARY 1964 Vol. 6, Number 2

NEWSLETTER

TENNESSEE COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
1106 - 19th Avenue, South
Nashville, Tennessee 37212

SIXTH ANNUAL MEETING - January 23 and 24, 1964
Nashville

TELEGRAM - The White House, Washington, D. C., January 22
TO: George E. Barrett, President
Tennessee Council on Human Relations

CONGRESSMAN FULTON, WHO HAS INTERESTED HIMSELF IN THE PROGRAMS OF THE TENNESSEE COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, HAS DIRECTED MY ATTENTION TO THE THURSDAY MEETING OF THE COUNCIL AT WHICH ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL BURKE MARSHALL WILL DISCUSS THE PENDING CIVIL RIGHTS BILL. I THINK IT IS EXTREMELY IMPORTANT THAT ORGANIZATIONS SUCH AS YOURS BE INFORMED ABOUT THE CONTENTS OF THIS SIGNIFICANT LEGISLATION. CERTAINLY MEETINGS AT THE LOCAL LEVEL ARE MOST EFFECTIVE IN BROADENING THE KNOWLEDGE AND UNDERSTANDING OF THIS COMPLICATED AND FREQUENTLY MISREPRESENTED AND MISUNDERSTOOD BILL. I HOPE YOU WILL CONVEY MY GREETING TO THOSE PRESENT AND MY WISHES FOR A VERY PRODUCTIVE SESSION.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

Three hundred citizens from across Tennessee heard Burke Marshall, Assistant United States Attorney General, speaking at the Council's sixth annual meeting, assert that "part of the crisis our country faces is the lack of faith of the citizens in their ability to meet and solve their problems." Mr. Marshall's address at the dinner meeting stressed the facts and fallacies pertaining to the Civil Rights Bill. Referring to a detailed advertisement which has appeared in newspapers throughout the country, he charged that this was a deliberate attempt to mislead citizens as to the effects of this bill.

Recognizing that the bill is "comprehensive but complicated", he urged his audience to consider the bill on its merits and in the context of national interest. He noted that 32 states with two-thirds of the nation's population have public accommodations laws prohibiting racial discrimination, and that "they have survived them without any apparent loss of their freedom, or any apparent encroachment on the rights of the proprietors of the establishments. There's no reason why that can't work well throughout the country." Failure of the bill's passage "would have serious and grave consequences all over the world."

Other guests at the dinner meeting included the recently named members of the Governor's Commission on Human Relations who were introduced by the Commission Chairman, The Rev. Sam Dodson, Jr. Miss Anna Belle

From left to right: Assistant Attorney General Burke Marshall, Dr. Herman Long, Dr. Paul Tudor Jones and Mr. Paul Startup.

Clement, administrative assistant to the Governor, emphasized the state's interest in the Commission and its hopes for its success. Mr. Paul Startup, administrative assistant to the Mayor, made Mr. Marshall an honorary citizen of Nashville.

In introducing Mr. Marshall, Mr. John Seigenthaler, editor of the Nashville Tennessean, recounted his experiences while an official of the United States Department of Justice, Civil Rights Division, and working directly with the speaker. George Barrett, retiring president of the Council, presided at the dinner held in the Andrew Jackson Hotel ballroom.

The annual meeting officially opened on January 23 with a luncheon at the hotel, which was headquarters for all sessions of the conference. Dr. Herman Long, president of Talladega College, director of the annual Race Relations Institute at Fisk University, and long-time TCHR member spoke at the luncheon on "Aims and Objectives in Civil Rights - 1964". In describing our current position, Dr. Long stated that "we have been blinded by myth and not moral conviction. Negroes and whites have been victims of a deadly fatalism". Our impulses become eroded through false slogans, such as, "You can't legislate mores." It would seem to follow, then, that you can't do anything. Our recent experience indicates that such assumptions are dead wrong, and that despite ourselves, we have learned that changes can take place while the economic life of the community is maintained. We must free ourselves of unreasoning compulsion to follow habit and thought which are outmoded, misleading and defeating.

With the shift of the Negro population to urban areas and cash income, there has come a recognition of their part in the economy. The Memphis Negro population accounting for 40 per cent represents 24 per cent of the buying public. Nashville Negro population holds 15 per cent of the buying power. From our experience we know that: a) the racial system is not sacred, b) change in race relations is possible and desirable, c) such change reduces racial tensions and redounds to the advantages of all. We are "changing in spite of ourselves" as evidenced by the change of attitude about school integration.

Goals for 1964 projected by Dr. Long are: eliminate all racial segregation in Tennessee; establish a positive approach emphasizing that desegregation is good for all of us; open all places of public accommodations in the state; repeal all public accommodations laws still on the books, many of which are inoperable; press for equality in employment, recognizing that Negro income in comparison with white population income is worsening with automation.

Following Dr. Long's address, he was presented with a book certificate in recognition of his contribution to the Nashville Community Relations Council and the state Council. Presentation was made by Mrs. Nelson Fuson, president of the Nashville organization.

THE ROLE OF LEADERSHIP
A Panel Discussion

Mr. Amon Evans, publisher of the Nashville Tennessean, introduced the panel by two quotations from addresses by President Kennedy asserting that "it ought to be possible for every American to enjoy the privileges of being an American without regard to race or color." He stressed that it is both our right and duty to achieve racial justice. Under the guidance of Dr. Joseph E. Lowery, moderator, panel participants described their community achievements and problems.

Mr. Jack Day of the City Council-created Oak Ridge Human Relations Board stated that segregation in all publicly owned facilities has been eliminated. In 1961, City Council passed a resolution commending desegregation throughout the city, but recently City Council defeated a public accommodation ordinance. A Launderette, pool room and barbershop are

current targets of pressure to desegregate. Several voluntary groups are working for civil rights, but frequently at cross purposes. High school is integrated, but isolation of Negro community housing has resulted in grade schools remaining segregated; no immediate solution is apparent.

Mr. Ed Backus, vice mayor of Johnson City, described the new mayor-appointed Human Relations Committee. Efforts have been directed toward increasing and upgrading employment for Negroes in clerical and sales jobs both in private and governmental positions. Active recruitment is underway for Negro applicants for civil service jobs in fire and police departments. The new technical school is open to all. Schools through third grade are desegregated as are city parks, except for swimming pools. Hospital serves all. Some employers have signed voluntary desegregation pledge.

Dr. Paul Tudor Jones, past chairman of the Memphis Community Relations Committee, cited the difficulties in forming the committee in 1955. (This is a citizen group with leadership and direction in the hands of influential business leaders.) At its initiation, the Memphis climate was such that Negroes were not invited to membership in the central committee but did serve on small committees. Three years later the committee applied for a charter and its present bi-racial membership was established. Schools, libraries, the zoo and transportation have been opened to all citizens. Efforts are underway to employ Negroes in police and fire departments, and in business firms. Salary upgrading is also a goal. Dr. Jones believes that Memphis has escaped turmoil and violence through efforts of the bi-racial committee.

Mayor Briley of Nashville formed a Metropolitan Human Relations Committee in May and June 1963, less than two months after the consolidated city-county government came into being. The Mayor considers problems relating to race as one among the many problems of living with which government officials must cope. Metropolitan government is interested in a healthy community, economically and culturally for all of its citizens. "There are forces for good and evil and you must learn to work through them. I would like to believe that we are intelligent enough to meet our problems; we attempt to do so, and we have had a fair degree of success." Mayor Briley noted that Nashville was the first city in the South to employ Negro deputy sheriffs, juvenile court officers and welfare officials. New merit system regulations bar racial discrimination. The Mayor believes that in Nashville a voluntary effort is more desirable then law for accomplishing change at this time.

Mayor Ralph Kelley of Chattanooga, mayor for the past ten months, states that Chattanooga citizens have been "too busy to fight among themselves. Good communication is a basic premise to progress. Tolerance is a two-way street and minority group must be tolerant of majority which is changing a long traditional pattern." Major hotels, many restaurants and movie houses are open. City Council resolution ended racial discrimination in publicly owned facilities. Basic problems are better jobs and income, and elimination of blighted housing. Chattanooga's city limit is

From left to right: Mayor Ralph Kelley, Mayor Beverly Briley, Dr. Joseph E. Lowery, Mr. Amon C. Evans, and Mr. George E. Barrett.

the Georgia border, but recent change has come peacefully. City officials are caught in a squeeze by "citizens who want no change, and others who want heaven yesterday." City is undertaking a manpower study and has a large manpower training program underway. In response to query about a city ordinance, barring discrimination, Mayor Kelley believes that "positive leadership sets the tone for voluntary action."

Questions of housing were raised from the audience, both in terms of existing unsafe housing rented at exhorbitant prices, and new construction of flimsy inadequate structures in undesirable commercial, and overcrowded areas. Unresolved was the issue of responsibility of government and developers of new sub-divisions.

Affirmation was given by panelists that resistance to change is not ended.

Mayor John Duncan of Knoxville was unable to participate on the panel because of illness.

LAUNCHING PADS FOR NEW EXPERIMENTS
Constructive Approaches to Old Problems

CREATIVE CONFRONTATION IN OAK RIDGE

With many groups working in human relations and civil rights, one group frequently cuts across another. It is difficult to determine which group should have priority of action, and lack of communication causes work to lose its impact. The need for a clearing house stimulated the formation of the "Committee of the Concerned", which included leaders of CORE, League of Women Voters, clergy, etc. Purpose is to exchange information among all groups, determine problems and give them definition. Results include: a) more commitment from the clergy with increased understanding of the problems and ability to convey them to their congregations; b) unity of activity expressed in churches represented; c) realtors have been interviewed; d) existing groups have increased coordination of effort. Hope of the Committee is toward setting stamp of moral approbation and high level action for human relations progress. (Dr. Arthur Graham, reporting).

NASHVILLE EXPERIMENTS IN MATCHING JOBS AND EMPLOYEES

Through long-time concern of NAACP with employment, a Manpower Pool was formed to register skills of Negroes as well as unskilled and unemployed. Employers invited to let pool know their needs. Goal is to match Negroes with needed skills. Need is for increased awareness on part of Negroes of the Federal training programs such as those instituted under Manpower Development Act, and to stimulate registration. Under the banner of Community Conference on Employment Opportunity, job matching is in progress at NAACP office in Nashville. The Conference is seeking non-traditional employment opportunities through negotiations. Has been successful with Southern Bell Telephone and Telegraph which agreed in May 1963 to hire on a non-discriminatory basis across the state. All job categories are open to all qualified applicants. (Mahlon Griffith, reporting).

EDUCATIONAL ISSUES IN MEMPHIS
Creative Confrontations

Extended day program, announced by Memphis Board of Education, became effective only in Negro schools in September 1962. Early pronouncements claimed it would be temporary but instead was increased in 1963 in number of Negro schools affected. Negro reaction included letters to school board, public meetings, release of stories recounting Negro dissatisfaction to mass news media. Nothing happened. This was then followed by non-violent protest which included placard-carrying, marches on Main Street, proposals by students to limit their school attendance to regular school day, classroom, cafeteria and auditorium strikes by students. "In general, turmoil was created." Opportunity

developed for NAACP to publicize inequality and inadequacy of education offered Negroes, deprivations in curriculum, text-book inequality, lack of competitive merit standard for employing teachers. This brought agreement of the Board to negotiate with Negro leaders. From this negotiation came agreement to modify double shift in Negro schools, and plan towards its elimination. Other agreements included employment of Negro clerical workers and integrated teacher meetings. Way remains open to continue discussion on matters of disagreement, and acceleration of school integration plan. (Vasco Smith, reporting).

KNOXVILLE FINDS TALENT IN TUTORIAL PROGRAM

Two hundred Knoxville high school students registered for the 1963 summer tutorial program. Classes were held in churches and YMCA; city schools furnished the textbooks. Instructors were recruited from University of Tennessee and Knoxville College. Coordinator given small stipend not commensurate with responsibility of raising funds and recruiting instructors. Problems encountered related to continuity of instruction since volunteers frequently were unable to continue throughout the course. Students came because of interest in enrichment program, to be with friends, and through parental interest. Program not racially restricted, but no white students registered. Plan to repeat in 1964 using public schools, more adequate financing and full-term commitments of instructors. (Lewis Sinclair, reporting).

NASHVILLE STUDENTS ADD RESEARCH TO PICKETING

A small restaurant in the university center area of Vanderbilt, Scarritt and Peabody consistently refused service to Negro students and some of the foreign students. Over a period of three years, the management refused to modify policy. Pleas to the owner-manager by faculty members and townspeople were unavailing. Beginning November 6, students and faculty members of the three colleges in the vicinity joined by A&I and Fisk students started a handbill campaign in front of the restaurant. Despite unfavorable weather and occasional violence, the hand-billing continued daily from 7 a.m. to 11 p.m. A careful count of patronage indicated early decline of trade, then increase as supporters of segregation from university and community rallied to the management. A chart showing fluctuation in number of patrons was made and became part of a document describing specific instances of refusal of service to foreign student, and acts of violence which were experienced. This report was presented to the Mayor and the Nashville Metropolitan Human Relations Committee. Restaurant desegregated January 1, 1964.

The experience brought together students from the three colleges in the university area and the cooperative relationship continues. The experiment was described as a "step by step enlistment of white moderates." These students are not ready to participate in more active or radical demonstrations. Through cooperative endeavors with other southern colleges a coordinated appeal is envisioned to "the man in the middle" who eventually will become the middle class home owner facing a racially integrating neighborhood. (Ron Parker, Vanderbilt graduate student, reporting).

CHATTANOOGA FINDS MUTUAL INTEREST THROUGH HOSPITALITY

This report summarized the procedures involved in the mutual exchange of home visits among 175 Negro and white families in Chattanooga. Increased understanding and friendships developed from the ease and informality experienced in the home hospitality. (Mrs. Fred Muhleman, reporting).

BRISTOL BREAKS THE JOB BARRIER

Stimulated by Dr. V. M. Henderson's workshop on "Equal Employment Opportunity" held in Johnson City in March 1962, a Bristol Human Relations Council was organized. An employment committee of the new

Council then began pressure on local plants and factories, especially ones with government contracts. Five plants have now employed an additional 25 to 30 Negroes in non-traditional jobs. Bristol had not previously faced its discriminatory practices, although documented by poverty and menial jobs available to Negroes. Negotiations must be held with both Virginia and Tennessee offices, (such as post office, city hall, employment office, etc.), since state line runs through center of the city and "there are two of everything." Human Relations Council does not observe state line in its membership and undertakings. (Rev. Dogan Williams, reporting).

FAYETTE AND HAYWOOD COUNTIES

Mr. Art Emery of Somerville, representing the National Sharecroppers Fund, described work with Negroes of Fayette and Haywood counties geared toward the improvement of their economic and civic status. Haywood County can anticipate some factory openings for Negroes in the future, and some unity between divergent factions in the Negro community. Fayette County Negro leadership is still so divided that energies are being spent in rivalry for domination. Sharecroppers Fund is working with other voluntary agencies to raise the status of Negroes in the South. Mr. Emery, a Quaker farmer from Earlham, Iowa, moved to Somerville with his family last year, and has organized a vegetable cooperative with 30 Fayette and Haywood county members.

SURVEY OF TECHNICAL TRAINING OPPORTUNITIES IN TENNESSEE

This report was compiled from local surveys by Board members in seven communities in Tennessee. The five page survey, presented by Mrs. Bernard Schweid, was described as a "rough estimate" of resources for training, pointed up the need for both government sponsors of training programs and citizen groups to increase their efforts and methods of recruiting Negro applicants for the training programs. The survey indicated that initiative in desegregation was held by tax supported facilities with little desegregation taking place in privately financed training resources.

COUNCIL CONCERNS

George Barrett, retiring president of the Council, reviewed the history of the Council from its beginning nearly ten years ago when small groups of concerned persons met quietly to consider the implications of the Supreme Court's decision on school desegregation. Such groups took on significance when threats to the peace and order came from outside, and the enemy became the "anarchists" rather than those persons working toward peaceful solution. Economic threats to the community resulted in requests of the Council for advice by persons in responsible positions. The Council's long-time concern for integration of the primary and secondary schools is well known. Involvement in higher education has been limited. Traditionally white schools have gradually opened their doors for the acceptance of Negroes who "fit the mold". There has been little effort to integrate Negro higher education. A new concern of the Tennessee Council on Human Relations could become an attempt to broaden the reach and contribution of Tennessee A&I State University. This state-owned university has a $40 million dollar plant, and should be included in the present dialogue about junior colleges. It would be appropriate to bring to the attention of local and state officials the under usage of the A&I facilities. The Tennessee Council can also play a role in the new challenges inherent in the passage of the civil rights bill.

Congressman Ross Bass was in the audience at the Friday morning meeting and was introduced. He congratulated the Council on its role in achieving community acceptance of civil rights measures. He felt that the Council's assistance would be of inestimable

value in obtaining community support and acceptance following the passage of the civil rights bill. He expected the bill would come to a vote in the U. S. House of Representatives early in February, and he would vote for it. He was applauded vigorously. Telegram was received from Congressman Richard Fulton commending the Council's leadership and the annual meeting.

Mr. William Willis, Jr., Nashville attorney was elected Council president for 1964. Other officers elected were: Mrs. Ernest Silver, Oak Ridge, Secretary; Dr. John J. Compton, Mr. Lewis S. Sinclair and Dr. Vasco Smith - Nashville, Knoxville and Memphis respectively - Vice Presidents; Dr. G. J. Tarlton, Nashville, Treasurer.

Mrs. Eugene Kilgore of Johnson City, Mrs. Fred Muhleman of Chattanooga and Mrs. Ray Allen of Memphis were elected to serve with the officers as the executive committee. President Willis asked for the cooperation of individual members in increasing our membership, and supporting the Tennessee Commission on Human Relations, appointed by Governor Clement. The Commission had its first meeting on January 23.

Council unanimously adopted a resolution commending Mr. Barrett for his leadership during the past two years, and wishing him well in future undertakings. Approximately 400 persons participated in one or more sessions of the Annual Meeting. Mr. William Willis, Jr., served as program chairman. Local arrangements were in the competent hands of Mrs. David E. Rogers, assisted by: Miss Juanita Cleggett, Miss Lurelia Freeman, Mrs. S. H. Freeman, Mrs. Dewey Grantham, Mrs. J. F. Grimmett, Mrs. H. B. Johns, Mrs. Charles S. Johnson, Miss Catherine Mims, Mr. Bruce Mosher, Mrs. John C. Hull, Mr. & Mrs. Burton Pogell and Mrs. Max Schuerman.

Resolutions commemorating three supporters of the Council's objectives whose deaths occurred during the past year were unanimously adopted. These resolutions are quoted in their entirety:

MRS. BERNARD FENSTERWALD, offered by Miss Louise Young:

"Whereas, Mrs. Bernard Fensterwald was one of the founders of the Tennessee Council on Human Relations, and throughout her life supported it actively and generously,

"Whereas, her vision and courage as a champion of human rights at whatever cost gave inspiration to all who knew her,

"Whereas, her wide interest and sympathetic concern found expression in many movements for human betterment at home and abroad,

"Therefore, be it resolved that the Tennessee Council on Human Relations herewith express its great sorrow in her loss and its deep appreciation of all that she meant to this organization, and to the cause of human rights."

SENATOR ESTES KEFAUVER, offered by Rev. M. J. Jones:

"Whereas, Senator Estes Kefauver so completely exemplified, in spirit, word, and action what is the ideal in public and private life, and

"Whereas, too few men of our time stand by 'hard core' principles, adhere to the ideal and live by the ethical standards, so much a part of his being, and

"Whereas, he withstood so much opposition, hate, abuse, and misrepresentation, because of his personal commitment to the ideal as a public servant, and

"Whereas he gave his very life to work for the betterment of mankind everywhere, and without favor, without concern for some to

the exclusion of others, and

"Whereas, he was very concerned for the plight of the common man, the dispossessed, and for those who were exploited for economic profit and personal gain, and

"Whereas, he was so willing to risk all for what he believed, to stand fast for what he understood to be right and true, when other compromised, and

"Whereas, his personal ambitions never robbed him of his unfailing will to sacrifice popularity for personal conviction, commitment to the high and the noble, and

"Whereas, even though those who were his enemies could not help but admit to his honesty, and those who were his friends could take courage because one stood fast,

"BE IT THEREFORE RESOLVED THAT, we, the Tennessee Council on Human Relations, meeting here in Nashville, the 23rd and 24th of January, 1964, express our thanks to God for his life and example as a good servant, and as a fellow-worker for the cause of freedom and liberty for all."

PRESIDENT JOHN F. KENNEDY, offered by Rev. Will D. Campbell:

"The name John Fitzgerald Kennedy will live forever in the minds and hearts of all who work for the cause of a just and democratic society. The torch of freedom which flamed higher during those few years he was its bearer was not dimmed by the tragic event that took his life.

"The Tennessee Council on Human Relations, meeting in annual session on January 23, 1964, expresses its grief at the fact of his death and its joy for the deeds of his life.

"In his memory we pledge ourselves to move ahead in gaining for all people his dream of their full participation in every area of American life. And as a living monument to him we offer ourselves to the end of those good works he had started but which fate did not leave him time to complete."

-*-*-*-*-*-*-

THE TENNESSEE COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS is a voluntary, non-profit, state-wide organization chartered by the State of Tennessee. The Council serves as a rallying point for persons who strive for intelligence, tolerance, and fair play in race relations.

The Council encourages and supports individuals and governmental agencies dedicated to the maintenance of law and order in the implementation of the decisions of our courts.

The Council seeks an environment in which citizens of all races and creeds may live together in decency and dignity, free from discriminatory practices.

Membership is open to all persons who subscribe to these objectives. For further information, write to:

TENNESSEE COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
1106 - 19th Avenue, South
Nashville, Tennessee 37212

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(February 1964)

NEW WAYS WITH THE

TENNESSEE COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

TENNESSEANS have a heritage of fair and friendly relations between the races. This increases our opportunity as well as our obligation, to build together a future which will provide for the fullest personal development for all of us.

We hope for better educational opportunity for all our children.

We wish our citizens to share in the advantages which the expansion of industry with its new job opportunities brings to the state.

We seek for all our people those things which make life rich and free.

the council is:

A voluntary, non-political, state-wide organization of Tennesseans of all races and faiths, living in cities, and small communities engaging in all kinds of occupations. There are active membership groups in Memphis, Nashville, Jackson, Oak Ridge, Knoxville and Chattanooga, and a scattered membership in fourteen other communities. Membership is open to all persons who subscribe to its objectives.

objectives are:

To serve as a rallying point for persons who strive for intelligence, tolerance, and fair play in race relations.

To encourage and support individuals and governmental agencies dedicated to the maintenance of law and order in the implementation of the decisions of our courts.

To foster an environment in which citizens of all races and creeds may live together in decency and dignity, free from discriminatory practices.

activities and program:

Members are encouraged to inform themselves and others as to discriminatory practices obtaining in their own communities. Individually and with other organizations they move toward appropriate changes. Information and assistance may be requested from the state office. At the annual statewide membership meeting reports are made and initiated on problems of wide interest. For example—housing, employment, hospital facilities, voter registration.

The Tennessee Council offers you an opportunity to enrich your own life with new interests and new friends, and to join others in removing injustices and indignities under which many of our fellow citizens are now forced to live. This is an opportunity for Tennesseans to create for themselves, their children and grand children the kind of state they desire.

YOU ARE CORDIALLY INVITED TO JOIN THE

Tennessee Council on Human Relations

~~2011 Grand Avenue~~ 1106 19th Avenue, South

Nashville 12, Tennessee

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- ☐ Annual Membership ..... $ 5.00
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- ☐ Contributing Membership 10.00
- ☐ Sustaining Membership ..... 25.00 and up
- ☐ Student (Limited to full time students) 2.00

All members receive the monthly Newsletter of the Tennessee Council and the monthly magazine of the Southern Regional Council—"New South".

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The Tennessee Council on Human Relations is an incorporated, non-profit, non-political, tax exempt organization deriving its financial support from individual and organization membership dues, contributions, and grants from the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta, Georgia. (Gifts are tax deductible)

INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS
FISK UNIVERSITY
NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE 37203

Race Relations Department
Division of Higher Education and the
American Missionary Association
Board for Homeland Ministries
United Church of Christ

Fellow Colleague in Intergroup Relations:

After serving as director of the annual Institute of Race Relations since 1948, Dr. Herman Long is now preparing to take up his new duties as president of Talladega College in Alabama in January, 1964. Many of our friends and associates, familiar with the challenging and imaginative leadership which Dr. Long has provided for the annual institute meetings, have written to ask us what effect his new appointment will have on the 1964 Institute.

Because you, too, may have been concerned, we are taking this means to let you know that plans for the 21st Annual Institute of Race Relations are already under way. It will be held from June 29 to July 11, 1964 -- as in past years on the campus of Fisk University. We are happy to inform you, further, that Dr. Long has agreed to serve as interim director for the 1964 Institute.

In planning and supervising the two-week program, he will be assisted by two men well-known for their contributions to the leadership of past programs. They are Dr. S. Garry Oniki, the secretary for racial and cultural relations of the Council for Christian Social Action of the United Church of Christ, and Dr. J. Oscar Lee, the director of the Department of Racial and Cultural Relations of the National Council of Churches.

As we are all aware, the United States is now in the midst of a crucial period in the resolution of its so-called racial problems. Because the necessary changes and adjustments touch every aspect of our lives in all parts of the country, the need for enlightened and effective leadership in the field of intergroup relations is greater than ever before.

For this reason, we wish to urge you to start thinking about the 21st Annual Institute of Race Relations well in advance. If you yourself will not be able to attend, you probably know many people who would find it a profitable and enjoyable experience -- a staff worker in your agency, a teacher in the local public schools, a member of your community's human relations commission, a young student in a local college, a representative from your church, or any interested citizen aware of his responsibilities to his community and nation.

For twenty years, the Institute of Race Relations has played a vital role in training people such as these to assume leadership for meaningful and peaceful social change in their own communities. As we prepare to extend this tradition of leadership training into its third decade, we invite you to join us in making the 1964 Institute an important and significant occasion, worthy of the moral and political challenge which confronts America today.

Sincerely,

Carroll G. Barber

Carroll G. Barber
Staff Associate

21st Annual Institute of Race Relations — June 29 - July 11, 1964

To learn more about America's oldest forum on intergroup relations, read

"HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE PUBLIC INTEREST"

Summary of the 19th Annual Institute of Race Relations

1962

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February 21, 1964

Mrs. Margaret Norton
Y.W.C.A.
600 Lexington Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10022

Dear Mrs. Norton:

Thank you for your letter of February 14, in which you inform us that the National Student Y.W.C.A. has scheduled voter registration projects from March 22 through April 4, in Atlanta, Richmond, Raleigh, Greensboro, and St. Louis.

We will appreciate it if you will keep us fully informed as to the plans as they progress.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:jl

Copy

March 20, 1964

Mr. Melvin L. Wulf
Legal Director
American Civil Liberties Union
156 Fifth Avenue
New York 10, N.Y.

Dear Mel:

I have given considerable thought to your letter of March 11, regarding the various uses to which the $15,000 gift to ACLU could be put in "the promotion and protection of voting rights."

I showed your letter to Leslie Dunbar who favors item No. 2. I am rather inclined to concur in your personal preference of using the money to support a succession of lawyers to defend in criminal cases and to introduce affirmative litigation around voterregistration drives and interferences with such drives.

This might involve item No. 5 and would also involve item No. 2 with the exception of the fact that the latter would not be limited to the use of one lawyer.

It is possible that we could be of some assistance in this regard as we recently added to our staff a young lawyer who comes to us as an intern under the Eleanor Roosevelt Foundation program. John Due has already been admitted to practice in the state and U.S. District Courts in Florida and at the momen he is in Mississippi handling some legal matters there which resulted from CORE voter registration efforts.

Let us know if we can be of any further help.

Sincerely yours,

WAB:jl

Wiley A. Branton

ACLU

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WB
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return
Dear

March 11, 1964

#2

MAR 13 1964

Wiley Branton, Esq.
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Wiley:

The ACLU has been given a $15,000 gift whose purpose is "the promotion and protection of voting rights." We have discussed the various uses to which the fund could be put, and agreed that before making a final decision, we would solicit your advice. The suggestions include:

1. Support and organize corps of lawyers willing to contribute several weeks of their time within the next year (or however long the money lasts) to engage in litigation, both offensive and defensive, in the Southern States in support of voter education programs.

2. Support a lawyer, and necessary clerical assistance, for a period of one year in one of the Southern States to be available on call where his services are needed.

3. Commission a writer to do a comprehensive study and report of the denial of the right to vote in one or a few of the Southern States.

4. Support an office in the South staffed by non-lawyers who would assist in voter-registration activity.

Washington Office — 1101 Vermont Avenue, N.W., Washington 5, D.C.; Lawrence Speiser, *Director*; Julie N. Barrows, *Executive Assistant*

With organized affiliates in twenty-seven states and 800 cooperating attorneys in 300 cities of 48 states

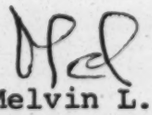
5. Use the money to support a privately initiated federal civil rights voting suit (a suggestion that Bill Higgs made sometime ago which he thinks could be used to set a better pace for government supported suits).

6. Use the money to pay for the printing of an ACLU amicus brief on the appeal in the U.S. Supreme Court from last week's order granting Mississippi's motion to dismiss the federal government's suit to declare many of the Mississippi voting provisions unconstitutional. We had prepared a good brief with an appendix consisting of a first-rate historical examination of voting rights in Mississippi, which we intended to file in the District Court, but the motion to dismiss was granted before we were ready to file. We will use the same brief in the Supreme Court, assuming that they note jurisdiction and take briefs and hear oral argument. It's rather too expensive to file in support of the government's jurisdictional statement.

My own preference is to use the money to support a succession of lawyers to defend in criminal cases and to initiate affirmative litigation around voter-registration drives and interferences with such drives. This is certainly an important need in Mississippi.

We would like to have the benefit of your experience in helping us to select which one of these several possibilities would be most valuable.

Sincerely yours,



Melvin L. Wulf
Legal Director

College Students To Push Vote Registration

YWCA

Atl. Daily News 3/22/64

An estimated 600 students from more than 100 colleges are expected to give their spring vacations starting this week to voter registration projects to be conducted in eight cities under the auspices of the Young Women's Christian Association of the USA.

An additional undetermined number are supporting the projects by remaining in their town or nearby communities to assist both in voter registration and voter education, according to reports received at National YWCA headquarters in New York City.

The Student YWCA activity is one phase of an extended voter registration program initiated by the National YWCA in an effort to increase the number of women as well as men going to the polls.

"Every Woman a Registered Voter" is the theme of the second project being conducted by Community YWCAs. Associations in approximately 200 communities across the nation have received kits to be used in planning local activity

The student project will include voter registration training as well as actual participation in efforts to register voters already under way or planned in the following communities: St. Louis, Mo.; Berkeley, Calif.; Raleigh and Greensboro, N. C.; Birmingham, Ala.; Atlanta, Ga.; Louisville, Ky., and Richmond, Virginia.

Students will go in teams from their respective campuses, joining those attending colleges in the project communities. They will work under the direction of National YWCA staff as well as voter registration directors from the community.

Describing the student program, Mrs. Margaret Norton, executive of the College and University Division of the National YWCA, said:

"It is significant that this major program of the student movement is being conducted during the Easter vacation, not only because students will be free from their studies, but also because it is in the tradition of the Christian heritage of the YWCA that its members demonstrate their concern for their neighbor and work to help each individual realize this full potential as a child of God."

The primary concerns in the student project are: To help people register so that they can be responsible citizens, to train participants for continuing voter registration and education in their own communities, and to work for equal rights for all. The project is also designed to provide experience for students in assessing community conditions and learning techniques for communicating the importance of registration to the individual. It also is seen by the YWCA as a way of involving students personally in social issues.

For the program in Community YWCAs, the special voter registration kits include a guide for a systematic and organized campaign in which large numbers of YWCA members, both teenagers and adults, can be enlisted to help every woman understand the urgent need for exercising her right to vote. The Community YWCA projects also have as an objective reaching especially those sections where women have had least opportunity to vote.

"Through this program we believe we can help undergird and strengthen our democracy as we encourage increased use of the privilege and responsibility to vote in free elections," Miss Ethlyn Christensen, National YWCA staff member serving as co-ordinator of the Community YWCA voter registration program, said.

Both the Student YWCA and the Community YWCA programs are an outgrowth of the Association's continued concern for girls and young women, of all races and economic backgrounds and their families. The student project has the added incentive of the action of the 1963 National Student Council of the YWCA reaffirming the National Student Assembly (1962-63) decision to sponsor voter education programs and registration drives as a part of the work of the student movement.

The findings of the President's Commission on Registration and Voting Participation, November, 1963, which show that fewer women than men vote, also support the YWCA's stand.

Said the President's Commission: "Women's organizations can strike a major blow against the notion that only men should be concerned with politics and government.

May 1, 1963

Dear Mr. Carlton:

The American Library Association is sponsoring a study of access to public libraries in the United States. The research for this study is being conducted by International Research Associates, an independent organization located in New York city.

A vital part of the information needed can be provided by informed observers in local communities throughout the nation. The INRA is particularly interested in learning about the current status of access to public libraries in the South. For this reason, we here at the Southern Regional Council have agreed to send out an INRA local observer questionnaire to citizens of southern communities with whom we are acquainted.

We hope that you will assist in the completion of this project by filling in the enclosed questionnaire and returning it directly to the INRA as soon as possible. We are also enclosing stamped return envelopes provided by the INRA for this purpose.

The facts you provide by answering this questionnaire will be assembled with those provided by librarians and local observers throughout the nation. The overall findings will be presented to the American Library Association. But no individual responses will be released to the ALA; all replies will be kept strictly confidential.

Your help and cooperation in helping to insure the success of this research effort will be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Staige D. Blackford
Director of Research

SDB/mmj
Enclosures

Mrs. Lester Arons
355 East 72nd Street
New York, New York 10021

March 1964

WRITE FOR RIGHTS

MAR 24 1964

You are committed to participate in the struggle for equal rights and opportunities for all Americans. No matter what other activities you and all others you come in contact with are engaged in to further this fight, there is one more thing that you must do. All of you must write letters, as many as you possibly can, urging your own two Senators and other Senators as well, to first vote for cloture (which would end the expected filibuster) and then to vote for the passage of the civil rights bill in its present form, unweakened by omissions, compromises or crippling amendments.

After the late President Kennedy's death, the mail to Capitol Hill was finally reversed from 2-1 against the bill to 2-1 in favor of it. NOW the Senate must be flooded with an even greater amount of mail, because there the fight will be an even more difficult one than was waged in the House. Your letters, each and every one of them, will be necessary if we are to win a meaningful victory. Everyone who cares should write 2 or 3 or 4 letters each day and when they finish addressing their own Senators and those listed below, they should just start in at the beginning and write to all of them all over again, and again, until the bill is passed.

If you are unsure of the names of your own two Senators, phone your local newspaper, Board of Elections or Public Library. Letters should be handwritten, original, brief, should give one or two reasons for your requests and should not refer to any other issue. Letters should be addressed: Senator John Doe, Senate Office Building, Washington 25, D. C., Dear Sen. Doe:

Most of the following Senators have not yet declared their positions, or can probably still be influenced and therefore, should get special attention:

E. L. Bartlett, Alaska
Carl Hayden, Arizona
Gordon Allott, Colo.
J. Caleb Boggs, Del.
John J. Williams, Del.
Len B. Jordon, Idaho
Everett M. Dirksen, Ill.
Jack R. Miller, Iowa
Bourke Hickenlooper, Iowa
Frank Carlson, Kansas
James B. Pearson, Kansas
Thurston B. Morton, Ky.
Leverett Saltonstall, Mass.
Margaret Chase Smith, Me.
J. Glenn Beall, Md.
Carl T. Curtis, Nebr.
Roman L. Hruska, Nebr.
Alan Bible, Nev.
Howard W. Cannon, Nev.
Norris Cotton, N. H.
Clinton P. Anderson, N. Mex.
Edwin L. Mechem, N. Mex.
Quentin N. Burdick, N. Dak.
Milton R. Young, N. Dak.
Frank J. Lausche, Ohio
J. Howard Edmundson, Okla.
A. S. Mike Monroney, Okla.
Clairborne Pell, R. Is.
Albert Gore, Tenn.
Ralph W. Yarborough, Texas
Wallace F. Bennett, Utah
George D. Aiken, Vt.
Winston L. Prouty, Vt.
Warren G. Magnuson, Wash.
Jennings Randolph, W. Va.
Milward L. Simpson, Wyo.

A genuine mail.

MAXINE ARONS
355 East 72nd Street
New York 21, New York

The National Women's Committee for Civil Rights very recently issued a call for Write-ins for Rights to Congressmen. In the material it was stated that "a check of the mail on Capitol Hill shows it is still running 2-1 against the bill." When the Civil Rights bills are introduced in the next Congressional session, bear in mind the following observation that just appeared in the November '63 issue of Family Circle magazine. President John F. Kennedy said:

"Citizens' letters have a real imprint ....Frequently I can see the effect..... on Members of Congress. Some (of them) feel they are responding to some desire on the part of their constituency...(But) I have talked to many Congressmen that I asked to vote for a particular proposal who were doubtful because they tell me that they have only eight, 10, 12, or 15 letters. (They) do not get many letters which are ... not part of an organized drive ... I don't think that means people are not interested. It is just that they don't sit down and write .... That is unfortunate ..... Writing to your Representative and Senators when a specific issue is up for debate and decisions (is) in the best democratic tradition..... Nothing is more effective than a letter that reflects both an understanding of the question involved and a sincere expression of a personal viewpoint based on that understanding....Everybody's vote counts in America, but those who sit down and write letters make their votes count more times."

MAXINE ARONS
355 East 72nd Street
New York 21, New York

"SILENCE GIVES CONSENT" -- DO NOT BE SILENT!

There is a great potential force that a reasonable number of people, in this country, can exert in the interest of mankind. This force should continuously be mobilized in daily efforts that will help to further the achievement of civil rights, justice and human dignity for all American citizens. Many people, both Negro and White, can contribute their energies, abilities and creative thinking as individuals as well as leaders or members of responsible groups. They should indeed constantly participate in present day and future developments toward resolving our American Dilemma and toward fulfilling the promise of true Democracy in the United States.

In addition, following are some suggestions of what they, you and others can do NOW and continuedly from now on:

1) Become as well informed as possible on the history, facts and problems related to segregation and discrimination. Subscribe to at least one Negro newspaper and read the human relations articles that you will not usually find in the white press.

2) Express your point of view on civil rights regularly, either in person, by phone or by mail, with messages of praise or criticism to governmental officials on the National, State or local levels, to businesses you patronize, to local school personnel, to real estate boards and to any group that has recently taken steps to counteract past discriminatory practices or on the other hand is continuing to discriminate.

3) Careful reading of relevant news items will tell you the names of some of the business firms that have finally concluded they should desegregate either their facilities or their employees. You will then know which branded products you will prefer to buy or which stores you will prefer to patronize. Write those firms of your intentions.

4) Become aware of which T.V. program sponsors, which commercials and which advertisers are now beginning to visibly employ Negroes. Write to them saying that you now plan to buy their products and then do so.

5) Actively support political candidates on the National, State and local levels, whose thinking most closely approximates your own and also make your vote count for Civil Rights.

6) Confrontation is the only apparently validated technique for combating prejudice (aside from massive propaganda campaigns.) Whenever possible, initiate or participate in interracial contacts and activities. Help to break down stereotype concepts of members of your own and of other groups and enjoy the broadening of your own associations.

7) Involve everyone else you possibly can in activities similar to those above.

"Let us have faith that right makes might, and in that faith, let us to the end, dare to do our duty as we understand it." ------- Abraham Lincoln.

WB

YWCA

National Student Young Women's Christian Association of the U.S.A.

600 LEXINGTON AVENUE
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10022
PLAZA 3-4700
CABLE: EMISSARIUS, N.Y.

March 26, 1964

MAR 27 196

Mr. Wiley A. Branton
Project Director
Voter Education Project
Room 206, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Branton:

The National Student YWCA received a grant of $5000 to be used in the Spring Voter Registration Project. The budget which was presented to the Foundation included clerical help for the administration of the project here in New York, telephone, materials and scholarships in order that each project could be representative of various parts of the United States.

It was my understanding that Atlanta was to receive $560. for the purpose of subsidizing the living costs and that there was a group in Richmond that was helping to keep the housing costs down to $1.50 per night for each participant. Since Miss Jacklyn Wilkes is the YWCA adviser of the Atlanta project and Miss Rosetta Gardner is the director of the Richmond project, they would be the best sources of information related to these housing subsidies. As you know, they can be reached during this next week as follows: Miss Jacklyn Wilkes, 41 Exchange Place, S.E., Atlanta, Georgia 30303; Miss Rosetta Gardner, c/o Schrafft's Motel, Route 1, Richmond, Virginia.

Sincerely,

Margaret Norton

(Mrs.) Margaret Edmunson Norton
Executive

MEN:gw
cc: Miss Rosetta Gardner
Miss Jacklyn Wilkes

via airmail

YWCA

agencies YWCA

BW
JL

3-30-64

March 21, 1964

Mrs. Margaret Edmunson Norton
Executive
National Student YWCA
600 Lexington Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10022

Thank you for your letter of March 11, in which you enclosed a copy of the description of your voter registration training project. We would be interested in knowing what financial arrangements have been worked out by the YWCA and other groups regarding the cost of your project in Richmond and Atlanta.

We need this information to determine what additional support, if any, VEP will have to give to our local groups working with you.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:jl

WBB
BW

YWCA

National Student Young Women's Christian Association of the U.S.A.

600 LEXINGTON AVENUE
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10022
PLAZA 3-4700
CABLE: EMISSARIUS, N.Y.

March 11, 1964

MAR 16 1964

Mr. Wiley A. Branton
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

Plans for our SPRING VOTER REGISTRATION projects have materialized, and they will be taking place in seven cities: Richmond, Atlanta, Raleigh, Greensboro, St. Louis, Berkeley and Louisville.

Enclosed is information we have mailed to other organizations.

We appreciate your early aid and interest.

Sincerely yours,

Margaret Norton

(Mrs.) Margaret Edmunson Norton
Executive

BP:di

Enc.

YWCA

VOTER REGISTRATION TRAINING PROJECT

OF THE NATIONAL STUDENT YWCA

Approximately 600 students from some 115 colleges responded to the opportunity to trek South at Easter time - not to famed Ft. Lauderdale where rowdy collegians tend to congregate during spring vacation, but to twelve projects in six cities where their energies are needed to swell the rolls of registered voters. In Richmond, Virginia; Raleigh and Greensboro, North Carolina; Atlanta, Georgia; Louisville, Kentucky; and St. Louis, Missouri (also a seventh, Berkeley, California), student YWCA members (and a few men from joint Associations and from men's colleges who have asked to join) will provide fresh manpower for the voter registration campaigns already in progress primarily among members of the Negro community. From the Ivy League colleges of New England to Oregon State University across the continent, from schools as far north as the University of Minnesota and as far south as Spelman in Atlanta, Georgia, have come enthusiastic responses to the call for teams of volunteers issued the first week in January./

In each community there will be one or two projects - apprxoimately half the collegians will work the week before Easter, the remainder the week following. Three purposes of primary concern are as follows: (1) To help people register so that they can be responsible citizens; (2) To train the participants for continuing voter registration and education in their own communities; (3) In accordance with the long-standing commitment of the YWCA, to work for equal rights for all as the first step toward the establishment of a world community based on justice and love. Emphasis will be on both training and practical experience.

The seven Southern cities were chosen on the basis of three criteria: the presence of a college in the area with a student YWCA; the possibility of cooperation from the community YWCA; a local voter registration effort already in progress. The College and University Division is grateful for the assistance given by the correlator of the YWCA for the Southern region and her staff of coordinators who counseled with us on the possible sites and agreed to communicate the details of the project to the community Associations involved. It is hoped that these groups will stand ready to interpret the project to the community and to provide hospitality or transportation where needed.

Besides the twelve projects developed by the National Student YWCA, two other projects should be noted. Oregon State University "Y" entered into a "Books for Birmingham" drive and will join Miles College in a Voter Registration Project during Holy Week. The student YWCA of the State of Arkansas will have a Voter Registration Institute for training and registering voters in Little Rock this month.

In planning the student projects a concerted effort has been made to insure that the participants are properly prepared for this experience. Students, going as a team from each college, have been asked to study together in three separate sessions the preparatory materials written by the special projects staff member in human relations. First, they are asked to do research on voting requirements in their own community; then to discuss the philosophy of the franchise and their motives for participating in the project. Lastly, it is suggested that they role play visiting a prospective voter to rehearse their response in typical situations.

Some of this material will be repeated in the opening day of training on the project site, but with several additions. Those in charge of local voter registration efforts will sketch the pattern of community organizations, the economic and cultural setting, the political facts of life and techniques best suited to the specific community. For the remainder of the week there will be daily seminars and students will contact prospective voters under the guidance of local leaders. In the final evaluation session an attempt will be made to see what learnings can be carried over to the campus and home setting on the student's return.

Already the response to the Voter Registration Project has been impressive. Even those Associations that cannot participate because they have no formal spring vacation write that they have been stimulated to start projects of their own. The University of Texas, the University of Pittsburgh and the University of Kansas are three of many schools in this category.

Another important result is added opportunity for cooperation between the student division and the community division. By means of the Voter Registration Project, students and community members seek to involve themselves concretely in efforts to strengthen democracy and to bring justice to all men. In a nation where less than 65% of the population of voting age cast ballots in the last Presidential election, it behooves each of us to do what be can to increase the number of responsible participating citizens. At least 600 members of the student YWCA have indicated that they are ready and eager to do their share.

CUhq:gw
revised: 3/2/64

SPVRP

NATIONAL STUDENT YWCA

600 Lexington Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10022

To: YWCA SPRING VOTER REGISTRATION LEADERSHIP

For decades the Student YWCA has prided itself on being in the forefront of those lay Christian organizations concerned with and doing something about interracial justice. The pace of events in the early 1960's and the quickened and revolutionary movements in the civil rights field in 1963 - marshalled by a new brand of Negro leadership - suddenly made students and staff within our movement feel that we were out of step, or not really "out in front" in the revolution in civil rights.

Yet, as those of you who know us best can attest, the goals have been and remain firm and unchanging as illustrated in the action of the 1963 National Student Council of the YWCA:

> "We reaffirm the action of the 1962 National Student Assembly of the YMCA and YWCA to sponsor voter education programs and other voter registration drives."

Two committees of the Administrative Committee -- the Human Relations Committee and the Program Committee -- concurrently, requested that top priority, time, and resources be focused on a response to the civil rights crises. The Human Relations Subcommittee presented the skeleton for this focus, which now has some 500 students from 97 colleges enrolled for voter registration during the spring vacation of 1964.

Your job as a leader of this group represents one of the most sensitive and delicate assignments we have asked anyone to assume in recent years. It is significant that few within our organization questioned the desirability of this effort, but many wondered if enough people with the requisite degree of commitment could be found to make this effort worthwhile. Your own role will be central in the answer to this question.

We at headquarters cannot give a blueprint or guideline in this. In the best tradition of the YWCA we have great faith in persons like yourself carrying this role. Our primary concerns are twofold, and necessarily we leave to your judgment how the following concerns may be best presented and brought to bear during this week's discussions, sharing, and activities. The first concern is clarifying the perspective of our faith as a lay Christian group; secondly, offering an interpretation of the institutional perspective since for many participants this will be their first experience of participation in a YWCA project.

To stimulate, and we hope inspire, your thinking and planning, we have enclosed a collection of pertinent reading material.

While through recruitment and training of participants we have aimed to acquire emotionally mature students, we know many might unknowingly bring with them attitudes of condescension, pity or an air of regional superiority. But the nuances of racial and class divisions do not necessarily leave the emotionally mature immune. We would hope in these situations to sympathetically challenge such students to a realization that similar, and sometimes even more devious forces, might well operate in their own communities with greater subtlety to the same devastating end that human persons are forced into apathy, degradation, isolation and an existence without hope.

As we have chosen to be involved in social change, where emotions run high and the socio-political setting is highly volatile, it is imperative that we discourage naive or over-comprehensive conclusions about the community in which we will be working. A majority of the participants will be outsiders, but outsiders who are concerned to identify with and help get under a widespread national problem in this way. It would be unrealistic to assume that our presence represents the most militant outlook within the city limits. Many tireless and dedicated persons have been and are at work in each community who understand the complexities of their several communities, and have in many cases paid a very high price for that understanding. And we must appreciate and accept with some humility a higher price than most of us would or could pay. For this reason participants are asked not to participate in demonstrations, not because we fail to acknowledge the validity of this technique in the civil rights field; but because we have such respect - even awe - for the effectiveness and work of this non-violent method of work. Spokesmen for the more militant groups have often reminded us of the great risks involved when students go for a short week-end and involvement without the understanding, training, and discipline which can only be acquired with time and work.

Though a demonstration may immediately appear more dramatic and irritating to the power structure of a given community, and while demonstrations will come and go, many believe that in the long run voter registration promises the best hope for solid and lasting gains in the civil rights field. For voter registration hundreds of individuals are needed. For this effort the need is for people who can do the necessary leg work and can succeed in relating to and communicating with other human beings. We believe our resources and efforts have helped us find a significant number of such persons. It is our hope and prayer that the presence of such students under your guidance and direction will bring stimulation and refreshment to persons who must be tired but tireless in a demanding but necessary mission. If in our giving and sharing we help another human being to begin the voting habit and so begin to determine the important decisions in his life, we may learn more of ourselves and so begin to lead a life worthy of the dignity we proclaim for all.

If this can happen, all our efforts will have been well spent, and indeed we are grateful for your partnership.

College & University Division
Bernice Pulley:gw
2/64

WS
BW
RTB

APR 10 1964

April 6, 1964

Dear Fellow Citizens:

This comes to bring to your attention an advance copy of the proposed printed program for the Chattanooga Conference. We hope that it will give you some prior knowledge of what the Conference will be like and some added incentive to attend.

Don't forget to make your own hotel reservations.

Hotel Patten	1 East Eleventh Street
The Read House (Hotel, Motel)	West Ninth Street
The Holiday Inn	2100 South Broad Street
The Albert Pick	3210 South Broad Street
The Drake Motal	3515 South Broad Street
The Rosetta Motal	3610 Williams Street

Very truly yours,

M. J. Jones

MJJ/lmp

Miss Agnew

PROGRAM

FOR CONFERENCE ON JOBS, FREEDOM AND CITIZENSHIP RESPONSIBILITY

TUESDAY-APRIL 14, 1964

PLACE: YMCA (HENRY BRANCH) 915 PARK AVENUE CHATTANOOGA, TENNESSEE

10:00 - 12:00 Registration
Orientation Period

12:00 - 1:00 Lunch (Buffet) $1.00

Presiding: Mr. Reginald Stagmaier, President of The Chattanooga Community Relation's Conference

Invocation: Rev. W. W. Morris, Pastor of Stanley Methodist Church, Chattanooga, Tennessee

Solo:

Introduction of Speaker: Attorney Bennie J. Harris, Practicing Attorney in Chattanooga and Member of The Governor's Commission on Human Relations.

Address: Rev. Sam Dodson, Pastor of Calvary Methodist Church - Nashville, Tennessee and Chairman of The Governor's Commission on Human Relations State of Tennessee

1:30 - 4:00 "Basic Issues In The Current Revolution"

Presiding: Rev. John Cooper, Pastor of New Monumental Baptist Church and President of Baptist Minister's Union - Chattanooga, Tennessee

Discussion Panel:
A. Dr. J. E. Lowery, Administrative Assistant to Bishop, Nashville-Birmingham Area, The Methodist Church and Consultant on Church and Race, Department of Christian Social Relations, Woman's Division of Christian Service, The Methodist Church.
B. Rev. Wyatt Tee Walker, Executive Director of Southern Christian Leadership Conference.
C. Mr. Matthew Lynch, President of Tennessee State Labor Council.
D. Mr. Robert L. Cole, Special Assistant to the Administrator of The Agency for International Development - State Department.
E. Rev. John Morris, Director of The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity.

Discussion Leader: Dr. Arthur Graham, Pastor of Unitarian Church, Oak Ridge, Tennessee

4:00 - 4:45

Presiding: Mr. Clarence Robinson, Principal of Davenport Elementary School and President of The Chattanooga Chapter of The Tennessee Voter's Council

Address: "Voter Registration in the South: Progress and Problems", Mr. Randolph T. Blackwell, Field Director of Voter Education Project - Southern Regional Council.

Discussion Leader: Attorney William T. Underwood, Jr., Practicing Attorney in Chattanooga and Campaign Director of Voter Registration Campaign in Chattanooga, Tennessee.

4:45 - 5:30 Reports from Citizenship Education Projects
A. Mrs. Dorothy Cotton, Director of Citizenship Education Projects for Southern Christian Leadership Conference.
B. Mr. Howard Sompayrac, Board Member of The Chattanooga Area Literacy Movement.
C. Mrs. Phillip Sottong, Area Enrichment Project, Community Relations Conference, Chattanooga, Tennessee

6:45 Conference Banquet: Y.M.C.A. (Henry Branch) 915 Park Avenue $2.00

Presiding: Dr. Luke Jackson, Practicing Dentist in Chattanooga and member of the Executive Committee of The Chattanooga Council for Cooperative Action.

Words of Welcome:

Invocation: Rev. John Paul Jones, Pastor of St. James Baptist Church, Chatta.

Solo:

Introduction of Speaker: Mr. F. E. Pitts, Principal of Orchard Knob Elementary School and affiliate coordinator for The Chattanooga Council for Cooperative Action.

Address: Mr. Adolph Holmes, Associate Director of The National Urban League and a specialist in Job Development and Employment in The National Skills Bank.

Solo:

Introduction of Speaker: Mrs. Rosalind F. Solomon, Recruiter-Consultant for The Agency for International Development.

Address: Mr. Robert L. Cole, The Agency for International Development

Discussion Moderator: Mr. Clarence D. Coleman, Director of The Southern Regional Office of The National Urban League.

WEDNESDAY-APRIL 15, 1964

9:30 - 10:45 "Basic Issues: Housing and Poverty"
Presiding: Rev. D. W. Browning, Pastor of Phillips Temple CME Church, Chatta.
A. Mr. Hubert M. Jackson, Specialist in Intergroup Relations, The Public Housing Administration, Atlanta, Georgia.
B. A Representative of The President's Poverty Program, Washington, D. C.
Discussion Leader: Dr. Arnold Slater, Pastor of Pilgrim Congregational Church, Chattanooga, Tennessee

10:45 - 11:15 Address: "The Role of Higher Education In The Achievement of Jobs, Freedom and Citizenship Responsibility", Dr. Jonathan Jackson, Professor of Philosophy, Clark College, Atlanta, Georgia.
Discussion Leader: Rev. A. J. Eberhardt, Pastor of St. Elmo Baptist Church, Chattanooga, Tennessee.
11:15 - 11:20 Coffee Break

11:20 - 12:15
Presiding: Rev. H. L. Parks, Pastor of Bethel AME Church, Chattanooga and President of The Interdenominational Ministerial Alliance.
Address: "An Analysis of The Civil Rights Bill and Its Implications for the Region", Mr. Paul Anthony, Director of Field Activities for The Southern Regional Council.
Discussion Leader: Rev. George Walker, Pastor of Wiley Methodist Church, Chatta.

12:15 - 1:15 Lunch (Buffet) $1.00

1:15 - 3:20 Reports from Tension Areas
Presiding: Rev. Ernest Howard, Pastor of Unitarian Church, Chattanooga, Tenn. and member of the Executive Committee of The Chattanooga Council for Cooperative Action.
Discussion Leader: Rev. Andrew White, Nashville, Tennessee
Discussion Panel:
1. Mr. Hosea Williams, Savannah, Georgia
2. Mr. K. B. M. Crooks, Jr., Atlanta, Georgia
3. Dr. Leon Whitney, Jackson, Mississippi
4. Rev. A. D. King, Birmingham, Alabama
5. Dr. L. L. Haynes, Baton Rouge, Louisiana
6. Rev. William B. McClain, Anniston, Alabama
7. Mrs. Earnest G. Silver, Oak Ridge, Tennessee
8. Rev. William C. Dobbins, Pensacola, Florida
9. Mr. Melvin Robinson, Kentucky

3:20 - 3:30 Coffee Break

3:30 - 4:30 "The Role of The President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunities in The Negroes Struggle for Better Jobs".
Mr. Percy H. Williams, Special Assistant to the Executive Vice Chairman of The President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunities, Washington, D. C.
Discussion Leader: Rev. E. N. Bates, Pastor of Second Baptist Church, Chatta.

4:30 - 5:30 A Community Strategy Panel
1. Miss Kay Jones, Executive Director, Tennessee Council on Human Relations.
2. Mr. Gideon Fryer, School of Social Work, University of Tenn.
3. Miss Carole Hoover, Administrative Assistant, SCLC.
4. Rev. Milton Reid, Pastor of First Baptist Church, Petersburgh, Virginia.
5. Mrs. Ernest Silver, Board member of The Tennessee Council on Human Relations.
6. Dr. Arthur Graham, Pastor of Unitarian Church, Oak Ridge, Tennessee.
7. Dr. J. E. Lowery, Administrative Assistant to Bishop, Nashville-Birmingham Area, The Methodist Church.

8:00 Closing Session WILEY METHODIST CHURCH 504 Lookout Street
Presiding: Dr. H. J. Traylor, President of Zion College and President of The Chattanooga Council for Cooperative Action.
Invocation: Rev. Charles Jenkins, Pastor of St. Paul AME Church, Chattanooga
Solo:
Introduction of Speaker: Rev. A. L. Jarrett, Pastor of Union Hill Baptist Church and Director of American Baptist Seminary Extension, Chattanooga, Tennessee
Address: Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth, Pastor of Revelation Baptist Church, Cincinnati, Ohio and President of Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights.

WEDNESDAY-APRIL 15, 1964 (continued)

Offering: Rev. Maurice Kirby, Rev. B. S. Ransom, Rev. Robert Richards, Rev. W. H. Thompson, Mr. Randolph Martin and Rev. Millard Peace.

Solo:

Introduction of Speaker: Dr. M. J. Jones, District Superintendant of The Knoxville District of The Methodist Church and Program Coordinator for The Chattanooga Council for Cooperative Action.

Address: Mr. Dick Gregory, Comedian, Civil Rights Philosopher, Star of Television and Stage and Champion for Human Dignity and Freedom. "A Satire on Race Relations".

Benediction: Rev. J. W. Williams, Pastor of Carter Street Baptist Church, Chattanooga, Tennessee

Mr. Wiley A. Branton
Voter Education Project
Room 206-5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

OFFICE OF WOMEN'S ACTIVITIES, MOBILE COUNTY DEMOCRATIC CONFERENCE COMMITTEE
507 Davis Avenue. Mobile, Alabama Mob. Bess. & Cela. Ct.
P.O. BOX 4432 6-13-64

TO ALL WOMEN

We need you help! Please fill out and return this questionnaire to the above address.

Name.....Address.....

.....Phone.....

COUNT ME IN! I SHOULD LIKE TO BE ACTIVE IN (Check your preference):

( ) Office Work
- 1-Typing -----
- 2-Memographing -----
- 3-Filing & clerical work -----
- 4-Getting out mail -----
- 5-Clipping newspaper -----

( ) Nation-& State-Wide Work
- 1- Selling the Democrat -----
- 2-Fund raising -----

( ) Helping with Meetings
- 1-Selling tickets -----
- 2-Making refreshments -----
- 3-Getting out invitations-----

( ) Special Skills
- 1-Public speaking -----
- 2-Writing and research -----
- 3-Music -----
- 4-Press,radio and TV -----
- 5-Decorating, crafts -----

( ) Precinct Work
- 1-Doorbell ringing -----
- 2-Registering Democrats -----
- 3-Telephoning -----
- 4-Furnish and drive car -----
- 5-Poll watching -----
- 6-Baby-sitting -----

( ) Getting others to Help
- 1-Recruiting more workers ----
- 2-Enlisting more members ----
- 3-Getting small contributions--

( ) Working at Home
- 1- Typing ---
- 2-Telephoning -----
- 3-Organizind coffee hours -----

( ) Other Activities (Please specify)

MAY 29 1964

250 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E.
SUITE 511
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
TELEPHONE 688-8782

ASLC

Atlanta Summit Leadership Conference

MEMORANDUM

May 29, 1964

To: Members of the Atlanta Summit Leadership Conference and Community Leaders

From: Clarence D. Coleman, Co-Chairman
Samuel W. Williams, Co-Chairman
George T. Bess, Coordinator

: : :

This letter comes to invite you to the next meeting of the Atlanta Summit Leadership Conference Saturday, June 6, 1964 at 3:00 p. m. at Allen Temple A. M. E. Church the corner of West Lake and Simpson.

As you know, the Atlanta Summit Leadership Conference was organized on October 19, 1963, and later published the document, "Action For Democracy." Since that time, it has been engaged in a series of conferences, negotiations and other activities toward the objective of making Atlanta an "open city." Many worthy accomplishments have been made to date. However, it seems apparent that these accomplishments should not lull the citizenry into a sense of false satisfaction.

In light of this, it appears that, as we access our progress today, we must press continually forward with more positively orientated vigor if we are to maintain confidence in ourselves, the confidence of our fellow freedom fighters and the respect of the total Atlanta citizenry.

Keeping the above cited in mind along with the unique character of the Atlanta Summit Leadership Conference, we feel that your presence is vital at this meeting to discuss the following:

1. Political Issues (particularly Attorney Hollowell) prevalent in Atlanta today.
2. Summary of the actions of the negotiating committees, the action committee and community relations committee.
3. The establishment of program priorities for the immediate and distant future.

August 14, 1964

Mr. Howard Zinn
Tougaloo Christian College
Tougaloo, Mississippi

Dear Howard:

Leslie Dunbar was kind enough to share the uncorrected proof of your new book, "SNCC-The New Abolitionists," and I have thoroughly enjoyed reading it.

I noticed at least three possible errors of fact which might be worthy of your checking. On page 22, you refer to Z. Alexander Looby as ".....the long Negro member of the Nashville City Council." I am of the impression that there were at least two Negro members on the council at that time. I think that Robert E. Lillard was a member at that time. On page 46, you refer to John Siegenthaler as a Justice Department attorney. I do not think that he was a lawyer, but was a journalist in charge of press relations. On page 53, you mention that ".....Charles Shuttlesworth from Birmingham....." - did you mean Fred Shuttlesworth?

The book revived exciting memories for me, as I was the attorney who made the defense for the first two bus loads of Freedom Riders to be arrested in Jackson. I also feel a sense of personal involvement in helping to get COFO off the ground, as it was not until VEP decided to channel money through COFO and call them together for that purpose in a special meeting in Clarksdale in August, 1962, that COFO was anything more than just a plan.

With every good wish to you for success with your new book, I am,

Sincerely yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:js

Miss White

NATIONAL
INSURANCE
ASSOCIATION
2400 South
Michigan Ave.
Chicago 16, Ill.
842-6424

Rec'd 8/26/64

WB
JMR

NEWS: For Immediate Release

CONTACT: Chuck Davis

CHICAGO - The National Insurance Association, a trade group of 47 Negro owned life insurance companies, has called on members and their employees to support voter registration drives among Negroes.

The action was authorized in a resolution adopted during the organization's 44th annual convention in Philadelphia last month. It got underway with the appointment of a ten member committee by Atty. Benjamin J. Johnson of New Orleans, president.

Jesse Hill, Jr., actuary of Atlanta Life Insurance Co., Atlanta, was named chairman. Atty. Earl B. Dickerson of Chicago, president of Supreme Life Insurance Co., and author of the resolution, was named co-chairman.

The resolution emphasized that the voter registration effort be non-partisan. In operation, an estimated 8,000 field employees of NIA companies will urge members of over a million Negro households to register in time for the presidential election, if they have not already done so. Committee members have been requested to cooperate with national, regional and local organizations engaging in similar non-partisan efforts, and copies of the resolution have been sent to the headquarters of civil rights and voter registration organizations.

Committee members were chosen to represent the Northeastern, Midwest, Southwest and Southeast areas of the country. They are: J. W. Goodloe, senior vice president, North Carolina Mutual Life Ins. Co., Durham; C. L. Townes, Sr., vice president, Virginia Mutual Benefit Ins. Co., Richmond; George S. Harris, president, Chicago Metropolitan Mutual Assurance Co., Chicago; George A. Beavers, Jr., chairman-board of directors, Golden State Mutual Life Ins. Co., Los Angeles; George W. Lee, vice president, Atlanta Life Ins. Co., Atlanta; J. A. Blaine Dejoie, actuary, Peoples Life Ins. Co., New Orleans; W. S. Hornsby, Jr., president, Pilgrim Health and Life Ins. Co., Augusta and Mrs. Mary Betsch, vice president, Afro-American Life Ins. Co., Jacksonville.

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NATIONAL INSURANCE ASSOCIATION
44TH ANNUAL CONVENTION
SPECIAL RESOLUTION

VOTER REGISTRATION AND CRUCIAL NATIONAL ELECTION

WHEREAS, We are living in a most crucial period in the history of the struggle and climb of our ethnic group, and

WHEREAS, The passage of the Civil Rights Bill is not a panacea, it is a giant step and act of Congress in behalf of our group specifically and America in general, and

WHEREAS, Continued progress to first class citizenship for Negroes and the implementation of the Civil Rights Bill need continued strong bi-partisan political support, and

WHEREAS, The National Insurance Association has 12,000 representatives, of which nearly 8,000 circulate daily in the homes of well over a million non-registered Negro citizens,

BE IT THEREFORE RESOLVED, That this Association assembled in its 44th Annual Meeting does hereby endorse the efforts of national organizations engaged in maximum voter registration and qualification of Negro citizens both in the north and the south,

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That each and every member company of the National Insurance Association participate through its field forces and home office personnel in mass non-partisan voter registration efforts in the various communities in which they operate,

TO THE END, That every potential Negro voter may play a part in the coming national election.

WB

THE AMERICAN HERITAGE FOUNDATION

11 WEST FORTY-SECOND STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10036 • BRYANT 9-4355

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September 9, 1964

Mr. Wiley A. Branton, Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street, N.W.
Room 206
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Branton:

It was good to see you at the recent Register and Vote meeting in Washington. We hope you will see fit to encourage the widest possible use of our new campaign materials by all your local units.

We also hope that local units of the Southern Regional Council will find it possible to take the lead in organizing a Non-Partisan Register and Vote committee and drive in all communities in which you are represented. Suggestions for getting such a drive underway are contained in the enclosed Register and Vote guide.

not included when filed

Newspapers, radio and television stations, mayors and county officials have received our materials and have promised to help us. What is needed at this time is a visit from local leaders of the Regional Council, offering their leadership in organizing the local committee and in conducting the local Register and Vote Drive.

I'd appreciate very much your letting me know whether this is feasible.

Sincerely yours,

Brendan

Brendan Byrne
Executive Director

BB:gc
Encs.

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OCTOBER 18 --- NOVEMBER 2, 1964

OCT. 18

JACKSON:

Thirty-five students from Northern schools who volunteered to help in the Freedom Democratic Party's "Freedom Vote" campaign participated in an intensive orientation program today. About 100 more volunteers are expected to join them on Oct. 26. The volunteers will be assigned to the 1st and 2nd Congressional Districts to help organize FDP rallies and conduct the "Freedom Vote" to be held from Oct. 30 to Nov. 2.

OCT. 19

MERIDIAN:

Mrs. Payne, a local Negro from whom COFO rents its Freedom House, notified police about a threatening phone call she had received. A man who "sounded white" called and asked her if she still rented the house to "those guys." When she replied that she did, he told her, "You'd better get them out or it'll be bombed." The FBI was notified.

McCOMB:

About 200 people attended a meeting of the bombed Society Hill Baptist Church. The meeting was planned to formally hand over a $1,000 check, raised by nationally-syndicated columnist Drew Pearson, to Rev. Ned Taylor to rebuild the church. Mrs. Alyene Quin spoke about her meeting with President Johnson in Washington where she informed him of the McComb bombings. She said that although state officials have accused her of "having a record a mile long, I haven't bombed anyone, I haven't robbed anyone, I haven't murdered anyone." She concluded: "But the record I do want to be a mile long is the record of registering voters in Pike County." The meeting ended with the singing of "We Shall Overcome." Rev. Taylor gave a benediction for the work of COFO. A Freedom Day, scheduled for tomorrow, was postponed until Oct. 26.

OCT. 20

McCOMB:

Mrs. Alyene Quin, McComb bombing victim, issued a joint statement with COFO about the current trial of the white men accused of the bombings: "We think these people are going to go home free. We think that the bombings in Southwestern Mississippi are going to start all over again and that somebody might be killed."

INDIANOLA:

Clifford Vaughs, 27-year-old Negro COFO worker and photographer from Santa Monica, Calif., was beaten in a Pure Oil Co. gas station just outside of Indianola. Vaughs said the gas station attendant motioned and spoke to another white man at the station when he arrived. The second white man (6 ft, 230 lbs) cursed at Vaughs and demanded: "Are you one of them ((civil rights workers)) or are you a nigger?" A Highway Patrolman at the scene drove away just as Vaughs' interrogator began punching him in the face. The FBI was notified.

BELZONI:

COFO workers William Ware, Robert Bass, Ellis Jackson, and Joe Louis Stigler were bound over to the county grand jury on criminal syndicalism charges. Bond set at $1,000 a piece. The four have been in jail awaiting trial since Oct. 15.

While in court they were informed additional charges have been filed against them for "malicious mischief" and the "willful destruction of public property." They are accused of throwing food in the jail, singing Freedom songs, and writing slogans on the walls, and are fined $100 a piece and sentenced to six months in jail. Four other COFO workers in jail with them on similar charges are given similar fines and sentences.

As Ware is escorted out of the courthouse by a highway patrolman, he waves as some COFO workers. The patrolman tears his shirt, pushes him, and strikes him across the nose, upper lip and head with a leather object.

Minneapolis Tribune reporter Dick Cunningham offers to post bond for the eight youths.

OCT. 20 continued

MARKS:

A man who identified himself as a constable threatened COFO workers in Lambert who were registering Negroes in the Freedom Vote campaign. The man asked Dave Harris, a COFO volunteer from Stanford University, what he is doing and then tell him and "them other Freedom Riders" to leave town in five minutes "or else." The alleged constable followed Harris and some fellow COFO volunteers out of town. Before they leave the area however, the constable stops Harris and accuses the COFO workers of planning to attack him in his truck.

TCHULA:

Bruce Gordon, NYC COFO worker who services the COFO radio operation in Mississippi, is fined $14. for driving 75 mph in a 65 mph zone. Earlier in the evening he was given a ticket for a similar phony charge.

OCT. 21

GREENWOOD:

Greenwood Negroes have been receiving threats reading: "Watch out for Halloween."

MARKS:

Dave Harris and other COFO workers were told by the police to leave town when they tried to register Negroes.

Four white teenagers beat and urinated on Frank Morse, 20, a white volunteer from Stanford, California. He was stopped in his car by the youths who told him, "We want to talk to you about civil rights." The attack followed.

COLUMBUS:

A two-county search begins for four volunteers who were supposed to arrive here at 8:00 pm. At 9:30 they have not yet reported in. When they last spoke to the Columbus office at 8:00 the telephpme connection was cut off. It's impossible to reach them again. Volunteers take to the highways in search of the four. Police, highway and local sheriff's offices are contacted. 10:30 p.m. still no answer. SNCC office in Atlanta and the Jackson FBI notified. 11:00 p.m. Search by COFO cars continues throughout back roads which the four sometimes take to avoid harassment by the highway patrol. 11:38 p.m. The four have been found and they are safe. They are in nearby Tupelo. They had asked the phone operator to relay the message that they would call back around midnight. The operator never sent the message.

OCT. 22

INDIANOLA:

The insurance was cancelled for the Baptist Grove church last night. A mass meeting was held there earlier in the week.

A small plane buzzes the Freedom School and drops a flare. On the next pass it drops something that explodes. Four more passes are made. No apparent damage. A car full of whites 100 yards away from the school drives off following the explosion. Police notified.

MERIDIAN:

A Freedom Day is scheduled to attempt to register large numbers of Negroes to vote. Mrs. Fannie Lee Chaney, mother of the slain civil rights worker, James Chaney, will lead a line of Negroes at the Meridian courthouse.

HATTIESBURG:

New York City Councilman Paul O'Dwyer is scheduled to speak at a FDP meeting at the Mt. Zion Church tonight.

MARKS:

Rumor heard that a body of a young Negro was fished out of the river near Ruleville earlier this week. A COFO worker learns that the body was cut up. Undertaker refuses to say anything except that the body was that of an old man, not a young man. Victim's last name learned: Bennet.

OCT. 23

MARKS:

COFO learns that embalmer's original report on body says it was cut.

McCOMB:

A sheriff confiscates film from girl volunteer who tried to take picture of a "Colored" sign above washroom in courthouse.

A repairman is stopped by white men from fixing a COFO car yesterday.

Three civil rights workers arrested today on charges of "operating a food handling establishment without a license." They are released on $100. bond.

Nine more white volunteers and a Negro minister are arrested on a similar charge. The 13 learn that police and sanitation inspectors claim that the COFO Freedom House is subject to licensing regulations because it is a public establishment. COFO claims that the Freedom House is not used either for the public sale or distribution of food. A $100 bond is set foreach defendant and trial is scheduled for Oct.26. Drew Pearson provides the bond money.

Rev. Paul Long,white Presbyterian minister from Rochester,N.Y. working with the McComb COFO office is arrested for "distributing leaflets without a permit." He is releassd on $50. bond.

The thirteen arrested for food handling are transferred from the McComb city jail to the county jail in Magnolia.

McComb Circuit Court judge W.H.Watkins,jr., suspends sentences for the nine men who pleaded guilty to racial bombings in the McComb area. He said the men were "provoked by outsiders who come into your community... who are unwelcome and they have been ...people of low morality and unhygenic..." In explaining the lig ht sentence he says that he considered that the men "came from good fammlies."

COFO sends press release protesting the sentence by Judge Watkins. It reads: "what provocation justifies the bombings of the homes of innocent people?...no one can doubt that had the homes belonged to white families the sentence would have been very different."

Throughout the country,including Mississippi,outraged citizens protest the light sentence. The "liberal" Greenville Delta Democrat-Times of Greenville,Miss. says editorially:"Such light punishment cannot serve as a deterrent to potential perpetrators of similar offenses in the future...Judge Watkin's judicial action in this instance is more astounding than any other sentences handed down from a Mississippi bench within our memory."

One encouraging note: many citizens,white as well as Negro,including the heroic editor of the white McComb Enterprise-Journal,J.O. Emmerich, collected reward money to help apprehend the nine offenders.

Oct.24

JACKSON:

Four Freedom Vote volunteers and a local teen-ager are arrested passing out leaflets urging people to vote for the Freedom Democratic Party. Later in the day two more volunteers are arrested on similar charges.

MCCOMB:

A Freedom Day is scheduled for Oct.26.

TCHULA:

Shots are fired into the home of Hartman Turnbow at 2:45 am. He was a FDP delegate to Atlantic City. Luckily,no one is injured but bullets shatter glasses on a shelf and ledge in the walls.

RULEVILLE:

A rock shatters a window in James King's restaurant. He has been the only Negro merchant in town who would post FDP posters in his window. Five cars circle his home later that day.

INDIANOLA:

About 15 polling places will be set up for the Freedom Vote. COFO workers are encouraged.

A Negro woman tells COFO that a plane dropped a flare near her house and shortly afterwards a ca r hurled an explosive device nearby.

MCCOMB:

40,000 copies of a special STUDENT VOICE edition on the Freedom Vote is awaited eagerly. Literature is desperately needed.

ITTA BENA:

A cafe owned by Mrs. Willie Barnett is burned. She placed signs from the FDP in her window and promised the use of her cafe as a polling place. The fire station is across the street from her cafe but they don't respond to her call. Fifteen minutes later after almost the entire inside of the place has been gutted, the fireman arrive. The barber shop next door is also gutted. A COFO worker measures the distance from the station to the cafe: 83 walking paces. No evidence of arson is uncovered.

JACKSON:

Two carloads of new Freddom Vote volunteers are stopped by the police. No arrests are made but police copy down their names. Then the harassment begins. Police demand of Edward Ziff,22, of Princeton University:"What are you doing here?" "Why didn't you stay where you came from?"

Volunteer Fred Heinze is arrested for allegedly going through a red light and is separated from Leon Phipps,another volunteer who is sitting in Heinze's car. Phipps returns the car to headquarters. The two youths explain that they were ing for the

siting, waiting for the light to change, when police asked Heinze for his driver's license and then arrested him. He was fined $51.

NATCHEZ:

Two local volunteers went into city park and were told by policeman that "if you don't get oft of the park with all these white folks and children, I'll lock you up for trespassing." They left.

OCT. 26

PASCAGOULA:

Two NYC volunteers are arrested on charges of driving with "improper licences" and "improper license plates." They tell police that they have not been in the state for 30 days(when the law requires-newcomers to get Mississippi plates) and that they can prove it but the police answers: "Tell it to the judge."

McCOMB:

The first carload of people who went to the courthouse to register are charged with "contempt of court." They were met by a contingent of law officers and a plainclothesman who read a court order closing the registrar's office. Later some are charged with trespassing. As the day ends,33 persons are arrested, including seven ministers from the National Council of Churches' delegation, a NYC rabbi, COFO people and local Negro citizens. Bond is set at $100 each. The Negro community raises bail for nine. Among those freed on bail are Rev. Daniel Ross, 94, and his wife, 78.

Eighteed people decide to stay in jail although bond money is available for them. They feel it necessary to demonstrate to the nation once again that the Federal government is not involved as much as it must be to prevent local officials from harrassing voter registration.

INDIANOLA:

Bob Newell, 19, a student from the California Polytechnical Institute, is beaten by whites as he helps local Negroes to register. A six footer, weighing at least 200 pounds pummelled Newell directly in front of the Sunflower County Courthouse.

COLUMBUS:

A NYC volunteer, Howard Shulman, 29, is arrested while talking to Negroes in a grocery store. He is searched and "carried" into jail. Police refuse to disclose the charges but say he is being held for "investigation."

BATESVILLE:

Fire-crackers are exploded in front of the COFO office by whites who pass by in a car.

OCT. 27

SUNFLOWER:

A tear gas bomb is thrown into the home of Mrs. Anna Mae King. Robert Smith, 14 year old local Negro working with COFO, suffered a large gash in his leg caused by flying glass. House is used by COFO.

INDIANOLA:

A former Babtist school now used by COFO as a Freedom School is burned. Firemen were at the scene watching the blaze. When COFO workers were trying to get into the building they were stopped and the firemen were heard to say "well, we might as well put it out." Mimeograph machine, short-wave radio, telephone, office supplies and some books in the Freedom School library were destroyed. Fire damage confined to old office part of the building. Firemen have boarded up the building and will not allow COFO people examine the area.

CANTON:

Bob Williams, white Mississipian and COFO staff worker, is charged with improper license and overloading. His truck, carrying supplies to COFO projects, is impounded. and he is fined $54. Bob comments, "I wasn't doing a damn thing."

NATCHEZ:

Four white men are charged with "assault and battery with intent to kill" for beating two civil rights workers last year. The two, George Green, Negro, and Bruce Payne, white, were beaten in a Port Gibson gas station Nov. 30. They were later shot at three times in their car near Fayette, Mississippi by whites.

MILESTON:

The MFDP has decided to challenge the seating of four Mississippi legislators in the US Congress. The decision was made in a state-wide meeting of the MFDP in the newly dedicated Mileston Community Center. The move was triggered by the refusal of the state to except petitions by 1000 voters asking that MFDP candidates be placed on the official ballot for the November 3 election.

RULEVILLE:

A Negro restaurant owner who put LBJ-Hubert Hunphrey campaign posters in his cafe window is harrassed by police and local whites. A police car and paddy wagon pull up in front of his cafe last night and a white man got out and took pictures of the posters. Two nights ago a rock was thrown through his window.

COLUMBUS:

Howard Shulman, arrested yesterday, is formally charged with "disorderly conduct" and "distributing leaflets without a permit". Bond set at $200 on each count.

McCOMB:

Fourteen more arrests here bring the total of arrests to 36 in the last two days. Local Negroes, accompanied by COFO workers and Minister volunteers, were arrested in the Courthouse parking lot as they were about to enter the courthouse to attempt to register to vote. They were met in the lot by Highway Patrolmen, the Sheriff and several deputies, and a plainclothesman who read a court order ordering the registrar to close his office and appear in court in his capacity as County Clerk. They were arrested for "trespassing" and are being held on $100 bond each.

The arrested have refused bail and intend to stay in jail. Jesse Harris, McComb project director, speaking in their behalf, said,"the peop in jail now are there as a protest against such a system and its laws. They will remain in jail in the hope that their being there will expose the kind of justice under which confessed bombers go free and Negro citizens, claiming their rights, are imprisoned."

John Beecher, correspondent for the San Francisco Chronicle, found a cigarette burning on a neatly arranged pile of crumpled papers. A small hole was burned through the vehicle.

Municipal Court Judge Charles Case today found COFO and the 13 difendents, arrested Oct 23, guilty of operating a food handling establishment without a license. A $100 fine was levied against COFO. The judge ordered that no more food could be prepared in the Freedom House until the proper licenses were secured. COFO's motion for dismissal of the case because of the lack of definition of "food handling establishment" was denied by judge Case, who claimed the outcome of the trial would clear up the ambiguity.

Oct. 28

COLUMBUS:

Norman Chastain, white Freedom Vote volunteer from San Francisco, is arrested for driving with "improper license" and " improper tags." He is out of jail on $32 bond.

Oct. 29

INDIANOLA:

Club swinging police broke up an FDP rally at the site of the fire damaged Freedom School. Prior to attacking the crowd of some 230 people police arrested Fred Winn and George Winter, white Freedom Vote volunteers from Sausalito and Ione, California, for failing to extinguish a coal oil lantern used to illuminate the outdoor meeting. Mrs Lovie Brown, loca Negro whose legs are amputated to the knee, was clubbed to the ground when she failed to disperse "in a hurry" as ordered. Mary Williams, 42 year old local Negro, was clubbed across the forehead and then arrested for assault and battery. Mrs Oscar Giles, local FDP delegate and a speaker at the rally, reports that police attacked the crowd without giving any previous order to disperse. Upon the attack the crowd proceeded to disperse in an orderly manner. A total of 13 people were arrested, including 11 local Negroes.

PHILADELPHIA:

John Finley, local Negro highschool student, was shot in the arm last night by two unidentified whites. Finley had testified at a Grand Jury investigation into the murder of the three civil rights workers this summer.

GLENDORA:

Two female Freedom Vote workers threatened by a gun waving policeman in a cafe. He told them he didn't want them in town. He went on to curse them and said "we still have grenades and we'll use them

OCT. 30

MERIDIAN:

Four Freedom Vote volunteers from Oberlin College and a COFO staff member were arrested while distributing LBJ campaign leaflets. The five whites were charged with "distributing leaflets wihhout a permit." Bond is $50 each.

IUKA:

Negro Freedom Vote worker Clifford Trice, of Tupelo, arrested for "reckless driving" as he was delivering ballots and campaign materials to Freedom Vote polling places. Trice reports that police tried to break into the trunk of the car to examine the material but stopped in their effort when he told them the car was from a rental agency.

BELZONI:

White Freedom Vote volunteer Richard Simpson and Miss Lucile Lee, 11 year old local Negro, arrested while canvassing for votes door-to-door. Simpson charged with "contributing to the delinquency of a minor." Miss Lee released in the custody of her parents after being held for several hours.

CURTIS:

Benjamin Graham and Gordon Williamson, Freedom Vote volunteers, placed under "citizens arrest" by a local plantation owner and another armed white while canvassing for votes. They were taken to the Panola County Jail and charged with "trespassing." Bond for the two set at $200 each.

GULFPORT:

Negro Freedom Vote worker Dick Flowers arrested for "reckless driving" while checking mechanics of various polling places in Gulfport. Flowers reports that at the time of the arrest he was traveling 17 mph through a school zone.

OCT. 31

RIPLEY:

The Antioch Babtist Church, 7 miles south of here, was burned to the ground early this morning. The church, site of an FDP rally last night attended by about 230 people, has long been used as forcivll right activities. It was to be used as a polling place for the Freedom Vote.

BELZONI:

Police Chief Nicholson this morning tried to get 11 year old Lucille Lee to sign a complaint against Richard Simpson, arrested with Miss Lee yesterday. Miss Lee reports she refused to co-operate.

Local Negro youths report the police chief has threatened them with arrests and beatings if they continue to work for the Freedom Vote.

GREENWOOD:

Police entered the Blake's Cafe, Freedom Vote polling place, and tore down campaign posters. Police also enter the Town Club, in the Negro Babtisttown section of the city with a search warrent for liquor, adn thoroughly search the cafe. They had previously entered the cafe and tore down campaign posters.

WEST POINT:

Two white volunteers and a local Negro arrested for "exhibiting printed matter without a permit." At the time of the arrest Robert Gilman, of Bethesda, Maryland, Eddie Brooks, of Chicago, Illinois, and John Bell, of West Point, were waiting in a car for another white volunteer, Edward Ziff, a Princeton University student, who was delivering Freedom Vote ballots and ballot boxes to a polling place. Ziff was also arrested and charged with driving with "improter tags" and an"improper drivers' license."

RIPLEY:

Francis Mitchell, SNCC staff photographer, was arrested by high-patrolmen and charged with driving with an"improper license." Mitchell, accompanied by Cleve Sellers, Holly Springs Freedom Vote campaign director, were stopped by a highway patrol roadblock as they were approaching the ruins of the Antioch Babtist Church to investigate last night's blaze. They were ordered to turn back and were stopped as they were leaving the area.

ABERDEEN:

James Dobson, local teen-aged Negro Freedom Vote worker, shot at by a white man from a passing car. He was not hit.

COLUMBUS:

Dick Phillips, white Freedom Vote volunteer from Souther Illinois University, arrested for "distributing leaflets without a permit." He was carrying one copy of the STUDENT VOICE at the time of his arrest. Bond set at $200.

WEST POINT:

Car belonging to James Watts fire bombed early this morning. The interior is totally destroyed and all the windows shattered. Watts, a local Negro, is not connected with the civil rights movement.

SUNFLOWER:

A cross was burned on the farm of Mr. R. Giles early this morning. Mr. Giles, one of the few registered Negroes in Sunflower, is very active in the Freedom Vote campaign.

BELZONI:

Police Chief Nicholson orders Freedom Vote workers to remove campaign posters from the wall of the COFO headquarters. He threatens arrest when told "if you want them down, take them down yourself." Later a compromise is arranged, Nicholson takes down half the posters. "It was a 50-50 deal," one Freedom Vote worker commented.

NOV. 1

CANTON:

Martha Wright, white Freedom Vote worker from San Jose Saate College, arrested while canvassing for votes outside the South Liberty Methodist Church. She is charged with "distributing leaflets without a permit." Bond set at $500.

Over 200 people hear James Farmer, National Director of the Congress Of Racial Equality speak in support of the Freedom Vote campaign.

WEST POINT:

Joel Bernard, white Freedom Vote worker from Ithaca New York and Gavin Lewis, white volunteer from London, England and student at Princeton University, arrested hhile distributing Johnson Humphrey posters in the Negro section of the town. The two are charged with "distributing leaflets without a permit." Bond for the two is $300 each.

Carl Rice, local Negro highschool student, expelled for distributing identification tags to other student Freedom Vote workers.

BOONEVILLE:

White Freedom Vote worker Emma Shrader arrested while driving three white female workers and a local Negro male to Columbus. She was charged with "running a red light" driving with "improper tags" and hav an "improper signiture" on her drivers' license. She was released on $50 cash bond.

Miss Shrader requested an escort to the county line, fearing the car would be followed, and an officer tailed them to a point just north of Baldwin. As the police car left, several other cars fell in behind them. The four took refuge in the City Hall, in the company of the Constable, Mayor, a local FBI agent, several police and highway patrolmen. A crowd of about 30 whites had gathered outside the City Hall, congregating around the Freedom Vote workers' car. All refused to cooperate in arranging a safe exit for the four. The FBI agent, minimizing the situation, said the three ladies needn't fear harm but could give no assurances for the safety of Ike Coleman, Negro male with the four, since he was "just a nigger."

BOONVILLE, cont.

The Jackson office, when notified ot the situation, informed the FBI and called the state office of the Highway Patrol demanding an escort for the four. About an hour later the Mayor dispersed the crowd, telling them "I don't want anybody to harm anyone as low as these people." A highway patrolman provided escort to Tupelo, followed by about 20 cars. The patrolman escorted them to Ruppert's Motel and left the four there for the night. The other cars circled the motel several times, honking their horns, befor dispersing.

COLUMBUS:

Gordon Williamson, white volunteer from New York City, and Roy Robinson, Negro volunteer from Berkeley,California, arrested as they left Pratt's Cafe, a Freedom Vote polling place in near-by Crawford. The two were arrested as they were driving back to Columbus, after checking the balloting at the cafe. Williamson, the driver, was charged with having no inspection sticker and "improper tags." Robinson was charged with "interfering with an officer."

RIPLEY:

A Freedom Vote ballot bax remains amid the ruins of the Antioch Babtist Church, destroyed by fire early yesterday morning. Negro participants in the Freedom Vote refuse to be intimidated by the action and many ballots are being cast at the site. Plans are being made to conduct regular services at the location next Sunday.

NOV. 2

JACKSON:

Madeline McHugh, white Freedom Vote worker, arrested while distributing campaign literature near the COFO office. She is charged with "distributing leaflets without a permit."

MOSS POINT:

Tillmon McKeller, Negro Freedom Vote worker from Hattiesburg, arrested while driving to Pascagoula to deliver Freedom Vote ballots. Charged with "reckless driving."

JACKSON:

Freedom Vote returns tallied all day and night. Final returns show 68,043 people participated in the Freedom Vote. Johnson and Humphre y lead the ticket with 68,029; Sen. Goldwater received 14 votes. Aaron Henry FDP Senate candidate beat incumbent Senator John Stennis 61,044 votes to 139. The three FDP candidates for Congress also won in their contests: 2nd dist., Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer,33,009,Rep. Jamie Whitten,59;4th dist.,Mrs. Annie Devine, 9,067,Rep. Arthur Winstead,4 ; 5th dist., Mrs. Victoria Gray, 10,876.,Rep. William Colmer, 16.

FDP ballots were cast in 56 of the state's 82 counties and "underground" ballots were mailed in from almost every other county in the state. The underground votes were sent in from areas where it was considered dangerous to set up polling places. Some Negro citizens enclosed notes with their ballots explaining that they didn't leave a return address on their envelopes because they feared reprisals by whites.

Over 119 arrests and 63 other incidents of voting harassment(not counting strictly racial incidents) are reported to COFO headquarters in the last three weeks of the FDP campaign.

Lawrence Guyot,chairman of the FDP says that despite the increase in terror during this election, "this election has accomplished the purposes we have set out to achieve. We now have a local grass roots political organization throughout the state of Mississippi." Guyot thanked the 75 out of state volunteers who came to Mississippi specifically for the "Freedom Vote" but singled out the local Negro citizens as the real heroes. "They are the ones," he said,"who have most to gain but also the most to lose." He added:" We are not slowing down after the polls have been closed. We will continue to conduct political workshops,hold meetings and rallies, and disseminate materials, until we register every Negro citizen who wants to be registered in the state of Mississippi."

A N N U A L M E E T I N G

INTERDENOMINATIONAL THEOLOGICAL CENTER

November 28, 1964
9:30 AM - 4:00 PM

PROPOSED AGENDA

: : :

9:30 A. M. - 10:00 A. M.

REGISTRATION

10:00 A. M. - 12:00 Noon

I. PRAYER

II. ANNUAL REPORTS

A. Program

B. Finance

DISCUSSION

III. APPOINTMENT OF COMMITTEES

A. Recommendations

B. Nominations

12:00 Noon - 1:30 P. M.

(If plans can be arranged) LUNCHEON
(Dutch Treat)

Guest Speaker: To be Announced

Subject: "CURRENT ISSUES FACING ATLANTA"

2:00 P. M. - 4:00 P. M.

Special Presentation:

"HISTORICAL ROLE OF NEGROES IN THE POLITICAL LIFE OF ATLANTA"

Dr. Clarence A. Bacote

Panel Discussion:

"CURRENT POLITICAL ISSUES"

A. Voter Registration - Jesse Hill

B. Civic Education and Voting - Warren Cochrane

C. Proliferation of Local Political Organizations - Judge Dan Duke
Bishop M. L. Harris

D. Partisan Politics and the Negro Vote - Judge A. T. Walden
John Calhoun

E. Non-Partisan Politics and Negro-White Relations - Senator Horace Ward

IV. "REAPPORTIONMENT OF THE STATE LEGISLATURE AND ITS EFFECT ON THE NEGRO IN POLITICS

Senator Leroy Johnson
Congressman James Mackey

Resource Leaders:

William A. Fowlkes

Dr. Clayton Powell

Rev. M. L. King, Sr.

Q. V. Williamson

Dr. B. R. Brazeal

ADJOURNMENT

-:-

WB

file

NOV 24 1964

250 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E.
SUITE 511
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
TELEPHONE 688-8782

ASLC

Atlanta Summit Leadership Conference

MEMORANDUM

November 23, 1964

To: Members of the Atlanta Summit Leadership Conference

From: C. D. Coleman - Co-Chairman
S. W. Williams - Co-Chairman
A. T. Walden - Chairman Emertius
Eunice Cooper - Secretary
G. T. Bess - Coordinator

Re: ANNUAL MEETING - ATLANTA SUMMIT LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE
Saturday, November 28, 1964

: : :

As you know, the Atlanta Summit Leadership Conference was organized in October, 1963, when over two hundred organizational representatives and community leaders convened at the Interdenominational Theological Center to plan a unified program of action to make Atlanta an open city. Now that one year has passed, much history and many accomplishments have been made.

In order that we might receive progress reports, assess current problems facing Atlanta, chart new courses of action, and re-elect new officers if the Conference is to continue, we will convene in an Annual Business Session, as cited above.

Atlanta is faced in 1964 with several political issues, as it was faced in 1963 with several Civil Rights issues. For this reason, the Conference will present as a part of its Annual Meeting a Political Seminar dealing with matters of community interest. The purpose of the Seminar will be to review the participation of Negroes in the political life of Atlanta since 1948; to consider the need for an extended Voter Registration and Education Campaign; to discuss the breakdown of our political leadership into a multiplicity of organizations; consider the establishment of machinery for closer political cooperation across racial lines; and to assess the issues facing Atlanta in regard to reapportionment of State Legislature.

A tentative program is enclosed for your information. The program is scheduled to begin at 10:00 A. M., and continue through 4:00 P. M., Saturday, November 28, 1964, at the Interdenominational Theological Center on Beckwith Street. Your attendance is essential.

-:-

ABOUT THE RICHMOND-PETERSBURG CHAPTER...

Our Past -

In 1956 a handful of dedicated people met to form the Richmond-Petersburg Area Chapter of the Virginia Council on Human Relations. In the seven years since that first session, membership has grown to more than 700. The local chapter, one of 20 in the State, has provided a rallying-ground for persons who are deeply concerned about bettering human relations in our community.

Our Present -

Because the Virginia Council on Human Relations works closely with the Southern Regional Council, the Richmond-Petersburg Chapter receives the benefits of communications with the growing group of people throughout the South who are working for complete democracy in such areas as schools, public facilities, employment, voting and housing. Through individual endeavor and study - action committees, the local council is working to foster understanding and acceptance of the legitimate aspirations of all people in the community.

Our Future -

Although our goals are closely allied with the several other organizations working in our community for racial harmony, we feel that our methods differ and our function is unique. The Chapter's first president, Dr. Aubrey N. Brown, Jr., describes our purpose as a continuing one:

> "After the last legal battle for equal opportunity is settled, the need for the ...Council on Human Relations will be just beginning, for the Council provides situations and occasions where Virginians of good will can meet in friendly surroundings, crossing lines of race, national origin, religious faith, color and sex, to deal with current intergroup adjustments. With its emphasis on orderly change, it recognizes that tomorrow morning will not see the day of promise for everyone. But while it works for its early realization, it invites all those who are committed to the bases of our democratic heritage ...to share in its concern and program".

We invite your membership, your contributions and your participation. We sincerely believe that your support of the Richmond-Petersburg Council on Human Relations is an investment in democracy.

AN ADVENTURE IN UNDERSTANDING

1963-64 Program

Richmond-Petersburg
Area Chapter

Virginia Council
on Human Relations

Providing an opportunity for concerned persons to quicken the conscience of the community and secure basic human rights for all through

education
communication
negotiation
persuasion

1-agencies - Intergroup Relations - miscell.

April 30, Tuesday, 8:00 p.m.
Hanover Christian Church
1723 Hanover Avenue

OPENING DOORS TO PUBLIC FACILITIES

Panel: Attorneys Noel Hemmendinger, Alexandria and
S. W. Tucker, Emporia and Richmond
Merwyn Johnson, Union Theological Seminary
Calvin Jones, Virginia Union University
Moderator: Dr. William Kennedy

* * * * *

May 28, Tuesday, 8:00 p.m.
Schauffler Hall, Union Theological Seminary
3400 Chamberlayne Avenue

REPORT FROM THE U.S. COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS,
Berl I. Bernhard, Staff Director

Chairman: Dr. Tinsley Spraggins

* * * * *

June 13, Thursday, 8:00 p.m.
St. James's Episcopal Church
1205 W. Franklin Street

JUDAEO-CHRISTIAN ETHICS IN RACE RELATIONS

Panel: Rabbi Benjamin Eisenberg, Temple Beth Israel;
The Most Reverend Ernest Unterkoefler, Auxiliary Bishop, Richmond;
The Rev. John Brown, Ginter Park Presbyterian Church
The Reverend Wendell Russell, Westwood Baptist Church
Moderator: Dr. Peter Mellette

* * * * *

July 30, Tuesday, 8:00 p.m.
First English Evangelical Lutheran Church
1605 Monument Avenue

DIALOGUE ON PREJUDICE

Speakers: The Rev. Emerson Schwenk, First Unitarian Church
Dr. Robert Williams, Dean, Virginia Union University
Moderator: Mrs. John Collison

* * * * *

August 27, Tuesday

FAMILY OUTING AND PICNIC
Details to be announced later

* * * * *

September 24, Tuesday, 8:00 p.m.
First Unitarian Church
Harrison and Floyd Streets

VOTER REGISTRATION IN THE SOUTH: PROGRESS AND PROBLEMS
Wiley Branton, Director, Voter Registration Project, Southern Regional Council

Chairman: Mr. Harry L. Cohn

* * * * *

October 29, Tuesday, 8:00 p.m.
Virginia Union University

1 in 1,000: A PROGRESS REPORT ON OUR SCHOOLS

Co-Chairmen: Mr. John Collison and
Dr. W. M. T. Forrester

* * * * *

November 19, Tuesday, 6:15 p.m.
Second Presbyterian Church
13 N. 5th Street

ANNUAL MEETING

Speaker: State Senator Leroy Johnson
Georgia State Legislature
Chairman: Mrs. J. M. Hart
Dinner Reservations required: $2.00

* * * * *

January 30, Thursday, 8:00 p.m.
First Baptist Church
Boulevard and Monument

MERIT EMPLOYMENT IN VIRGINIA
Gregory Shinert, Director Equal Job Opportunities Bureau, Virginia Council on Human Relations.

Chairman: Mr. Robert Conklin

* * * * *

March 30, Monday, 8:00 p.m.
St. Phillip's Episcopal Church
2900 Hanes Avenue

INTERNATIONAL STUDENT NIGHT
"What's Ahead for Africa"
Dr. G. McLeod Bryan, Professor of Philosophy,
Wake Forest College

Panel of African students
Chairman: Miss Elizabeth McWhorter

Open Meeting for the Community
Early Spring, 1964
Featuring a nationally known speaker

Richmond-Petersburg Area Council
on Human Relations
17 E. Cary Street
Richmond 19, Virginia

Won't you join us?

Richmond-Petersburg Area Council on Human Relations
17 East Cary Street, Richmond 19, Virginia

I/we apply for membership in the R-PCHR. Enclosed is the following:

$5.00 membership (single or couple)
2.00 New South (monthly periodical)
____Additional contributions

NAME_____

ADDRESS_____

PHONE_____

* Contributions to the Council are exempt for federal income tax purposes.

I am interested in serving on the following committee(s):

Education — Merit Employment — Publicity — Clerical
Public Facilities — Housing — Program

Officers

President, Dr. Isabelle Rogers
1st Vice President, Dr. E. F. S. Davies
2nd Vice President, Program Chairman, Mrs. Timothy Miller
Corresponding Secretary, Mrs. Hilda Warden
Recording Secretary, Miss Virginia Payne
Treasurer, Mrs. L. Wayne Batty

Standing Committees

Ways and Means, Mr. Henry Caravati, Chairman
Education, Mr. John Collison, Dr. W. M. T. Forrester, Co-chairmen
Public Facilities, Mr. Lewis Booker, Chairman
Publicity, Mr. William Moll, Chairman

Directors

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Dr. J. L. Blair Buck
Mrs. Jacob Cohn
Dr. E. F. S. Davies
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Dr. Thomas H. Henderson
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Mr. Clarence L. Townes, Sr.
The Rev. Edward Meeks Gregory

NAIRO

NAIRO

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF INTERGROUP RELATIONS OFFICIALS
2027 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N. W. • WASHINGTON 6, D. C. • 387-7050
FREDERICK B. ROUTH, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

APR 5 1965

1 April 1965

TO: All Members of NAIRO

FROM: Fred Routh

SUBJECT: NAIRO Statement of Public Policy

Attached is the NAIRO Statement of Public Policy; it is the official expression of the membership and the Board of the Association. It is to be used as guidelines for any NAIRO Chapter statement on public matters. It is hoped that it will be discussed by each NAIRO Chapter between now and the 1965 Annual Conference; if there is sufficient desire on the part of Chapters or members it may be discussed or modified at a special session of the Annual Conference.

NAIRO is deeply indebted to George Culberson, who served as Chairman of the Public Policy Committee, the body which originally drafted the statement, circulated it to the membership, and revised it after receiving their comments. In an earlier memorandum sent to all members George Culberson said, in part: "It was . . . apparent that unanimity of opinion on every item is impossible. Such a statement must not be the lowest common denominator of NAIRO concern but rather should represent as far as possible the highest acceptable cutting edge upon which we can agree." It is the opinion of NAIRO leadership that this statement represents that consensus.

Please note that the section on Suggested Appropriate Actions recognizes that not all the suggested actions apply equally to the differing situations about the country and that there is not unanimity among intergroup relations professionals as to their respective value.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF INTERGROUP RELATIONS OFFICIALS

Statement of Public Policy

Foreword

Government, at all levels, is the final determinant of public policy through executive action, enactment of legislation, and court interpretation. In a free and democratic society, basic social institutions, public and private agencies, organized groups and individuals help determine the trend and direction of such public policy. The National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials, and each of its members, has particular responsibility for making maximum contribution to the trend and direction of public policy in the area of intergroup relations.

The 1961 NAIRO Annual Conference adopted a broad statement of concern which is the frame of reference for the more specific goals set forth in this statement. "We dedicate ourselves anew to the goal of a free and democratic society in which each child has equal opportunity to learn and to develop his talents to the fullest; in which no person is denied the job for which he is fitted or the housing of his choice because of artificial distinctions; in which diversity of origin or religious belief is viewed as cause for pleasure rather than prejudice; in which unresolved intergroup differences are freely discussed in an atmosphere of mutual respect; in which the door of the voting place and the path to public office are open to all who are fully qualified -- in short, a society in which each individual is accorded a full and equal measure of human dignity."

The pace of social change is quickening, brought about by increased demands for freedom by those who do not have it, the recent acts of Congress and decisions of the courts, the rising expectations and capabilities of those previously denied equality of opportunity, the extreme mobility of population reducing the sectional character of racial relationships, and the recognition of world-wide implications in a continued gap between preachment and practice. Individually and collectively, intergroup relations practitioners are affected by and contribute to these social changes. As agents of society they assist in facilitating the social adjustments of individuals and groups required by such changes. They have a responsibility to contribute their knowledge and skills to the advancement of the goal of a free and democratic society.

In adopting a Statement of Public Policy, NAIRO recognizes the central role played by Government at appropriate levels in the struggle "to secure these rights" for all people. Social action must be directed to that level of government which has responsibility, local, state or federal, but the evidence is overwhelming that the federal government must continue to give ever increasing national leadership in the civil rights field if the basic problems are to be resolved. In a democracy, broad-based support and encouragement for initiation of such programs must come from a well-informed and concerned public; NAIRO is committed to assisting this effort.

This document undertakes to identify major areas of concern, establish an acceptable goal, set forth elements of the problem, and suggest appropriate and needed action.

Public Policy Statements

I. EDUCATION

The democratic goal

To provide equal educational opportunity without distinction as to race, religion or national origin so that each individual will realize and attain his full potential.

Problem elements

Equality of opportunity in education is basic to attaining equality in economic and social life. The Supreme Court Decision declaring education in segregated schools unequal has established the public policy in this area. It has been supplemented by recent Congressional action. The rate of progress in school desegregation is hopelessly slow everywhere in the country, with "token integration" the order of the day in most of the Southern states and de facto segregation of schools more often the rule than the exception in the North.

Children from depressed areas and poor homes, including a large component from minority groups, are unable to develop their full educational potential. Concentrations of racial, ethnic and religious groups in segregated neighborhoods result in culturally deprived sections in each of our urban and metropolitan areas. In order to achieve equality of opportunity in such areas, educational offerings often have to be decidedly unequal.

Minority group youth are underrepresented in vocational trade training programs and some school systems have wholly inadequate specialized training courses. Vocational counseling is based upon inadequate and out-of-date information in relation to minority opportunities.

A larger proportion of Negroes than the rest of the population do not go on to college; this one-tenth of the population supplies one-twentieth of the nation's college population. Of that one-twentieth, eighty percent are in segregated colleges. These same proportions apply about equally among other minorities, such as Puerto Ricans, American Indians and Mexican-Americans.

II. EMPLOYMENT

The democratic goal

To secure equal employment opportunity and industrial participation for all persons without distinction as to race, religion or national origin.

Problem elements

The right to equality of opportunity in employment has been the subject of legislation in an ever increasing number of states and municipalities since 1945. It is estimated that about ninety-eight percent of the nonwhite citizens of the north and west are now covered by fair employment practices laws. It is apparent that such laws alleviate but do not eliminate the problem of discrimination in employment. In the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the federal government finally recognized its responsibility to take legislative action in this area.

Traditional patterns developed over long years of neglect cannot be changed by enjoining the employer to hire the best, most qualified man, that is, "merit employment." The act of discrimination does not occur only at the time a decision is being made to hire or promote. The discrimination and segregation which has been practices for many generations prohibits the minority group individual from attaining the background and experience which makes such competition possible. To give minority group individuals equality of opportunity will require new programs of an affirmative nature and conscious effort on the part of employers.

Apprenticeship training programs have been on the decrease but nonwhites never had adequate representation in such programs. In similar fashion, nonwhites have been excluded from management training programs throughout industry.

While the great majority of labor unions have express policies of non-discrimination at the national or international level there are all too many which do not. Even those which do, however, find difficulty in securing cooperation and compliance at the local level. That all is not well in the labor movement is dramatized by the existence of The Negro American Labor Council.

The Negro or other minority worker displaced by automation will not have equal opportunity with majority group individuals similarly situated. In comparison with the white job hunter he starts with an inferior education and no experience in jobs which might otherwise be open to him. The rate of unemployment for Negro workers remains constantly about twice that of white workers.

III. HOUSING

The democratic goal

To open the housing market to freedom of choice without distinction as to race, religion or national origin in order that equality of opportunity be achieved and compulsory residential segregation be eliminated.

Problem elements

Discrimination in housing is related to the larger pattern of racial and ethnic discrimination and contributes significantly to maintaining barriers as well as feeding on them. Increased equality in housing therefore will have a generally beneficial effect upon equality in all fields.

Residential segregation of racial and ethnic groups has a direct and controlling relationship to the institutional compositions, such as schools, churches, places of recreation and shopping areas.

The concentration of minority groups in slums is traditional but whereas ethnic groups of white stock have been able to eventually break away from the area of concentration, nonwhites find it next to impossible. The traditional pathway of escape from slums is obstructed by the color barrier.

Urban redevelopment and renewal projects have cut heavily into the available housing supply, particularly for Negroes, in every section of the country. Rehousing has been accomplished largely in still other areas of racial concentration, merely changing the geographic location.

The long existing federal policy of leaving racial occupancy patterns and the selection of renters and purchasers of federally assisted housing to local

determination has unnecessarily prolonged the achievement of equality of opportunity in housing.

Some sixteen states and forty cities have enacted laws prohibiting discrimination in some types of housing. In nine of these states and in two cities, such prohibitions cover purely private housing as well. This is a small beginning and will bear fruit. Much experimentation is needed and is going on in the development of techniques and procedures used in administering such laws.

The Housing Industry has been the operating agent administering the actual controls and sanctions which maintain the restrictions generally approved by the white population. Segregation has been the direct result of such controls.

Voluntary private effort to bring about change has been notably successful in a few experimental programs but has not attracted sufficient interest and support to have any appreciable effect on the problem. Most of these have not significantly advanced the democratic goal of freedom of choice.

IV. PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS

The democratic goal

To secure equality of opportunity without distinction as to race, religion or national origin for use of places of public accommodation and service in places of business.

Problem elements

The list of types and categories of places of public accommodation is lengthy and need not be catalogued because they have one thing in common, they were established to serve the needs of the general public. It matters not that some are supported by tax revenue and some are commercial business enterprises. The man-in-the-street can walk in and use the facility or receive the service. Such facilities, services or businesses are sometimes denied individuals because of race, religion or national origin.

In northern states the principle of nondiscrimination, including segregation, has been established by state legislatures for several decades. Some provide relief for an aggrieved individual through court action and more recently through administrative agencies. As the years have gone by these states have gradually increased the number of categories included as places of public accommodation by amendment to law or by court interpretation. Southern states generally have had laws requiring segregation in places of public accommodation. Acceptance of the public accommodations section of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 has been heartening.

In practice, whether in the North or South, the principle of equality of opportunity has not yet been firmly established and public policy notwithstanding there is lack of uniformity. The uncertainty of acceptance is not the least of the problems growing out of failure to treat all people alike in places of public accommodation.

Such discriminatory practices are by definition open to public view. Incidents occur which could, and in the past have, provoke disputes which lead to violence. Two of the most savage interracial outbursts of this century were started in public recreational facilities. Each summer, the police and human relations agencies gird themselves for the opening of the swimming pools.

The national conscience has been quickened by the dramatic and courageous action of the "freedom riders" and "sit-in" demonstrators. Change has taken place as a result of these activities and equality of opportunity is closer to realization because of them.

The Supreme Court Decision in the schools' cases, followed later by decisions in other public accommodation areas, has clearly established the fact that separate facilities are inherently unequal. Segregation or discrimination because of race, religion or ethnic origin is on the way out; its demise assisted by the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

SUGGESTED APPROPRIATE ACTIONS

In each of the areas covered, education, employment, housing and public accommodations, there are appropriate actions which should be undertaken by government -- federal, state or municipal -- and by private agencies. It is recognized that not all of the suggested actions which follow apply equally to the differing situations about the country; it is also recognized that there is not unanimity among intergroup relations professionals as to their value. They are listed, as the section title implies, as suggested actions -- to be considered for use where the situation seems appropriate.

I. EDUCATION

1. The Department of Justice of the U. S. Government must become more active and aggressive in giving assistance to citizens in those states and communities which continue to resist desegregation.

2. Under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, Federal Aid to Education should be withheld from states or school districts which fail to abide by the Supreme Court decision.

3. Local government officials, school and police authorities, and community leaders need to give strong and unswerving leadership to accomplish peaceful desegregation in Southern communities.

4. Federal, state and private scholarship programs need to be increased and made available to able young people, particularly among minority youth.

5. States need to earmark additional funds for programs in behalf of deprived children. Such funds should provide for curriculum enrichment, intensified counseling services, more adequate facilities, and incentive pay for teachers in these depressed areas.

6. Local School Boards should discover ways and means of giving children in racially homogeneous neighborhoods as much cross-cultural experience as possible. They should redistrict where this can be done without undue hardship; make minority teacher assignments an educational device; and above all make quite certain that children in such neighborhoods have the opportunity for an education that is equal to, or better than, any other section of the school district.

7. All colleges and universities, and particularly Negro colleges, should re-examine curriculum offerings in relation to changing labor market needs and give particular attention to counseling Negro and other minority students in the expanding and changing opportunities.

8. Vocational Trade Schools must give unlimited and unrestricted choice of trade training opportunities to qualified minority youth and at the same time take the initiative in encouraging such youth to take non-traditional type training.

9. Educational and vocational counselors in high schools, parents of minority youth, voluntary agencies and churches should become familiar with the new occupational categories being made available to minority group individuals and counsel accordingly.

II. EMPLOYMENT

1. The newly created federal Equal Employment Opportunity Commission must forthrightly move to carry out its mandate utilizing affirmative action as well as claims processing.

2. State and municipal fair employment practice agencies must have the right to initiate complaint action and must make more use of this activity than past records reveal to be the case. The small number of complaints actually filed by aggrieved individuals does not reflect the true incidence of discriminatory practice.

3. Administrative enforcing agencies at all levels need to give major attention to programs of employer surveillance to bring about "pattern" adjustment. Analysis of utilization of minorities in all job categories in relation to available and qualified persons in the labor market should be carried out in all business and industrial establishments on a continuing basis.

4. Attention of state and municipal administrative enforcing agencies should be directed to revision or modification of existing fair employment practice laws or ordinances to eliminate provisions which prevent positive and affirmative employer action. Most laws prevent conscious effort by employers to recruit or upgrade minority workers and the lack of minority designations on any records seriously hampers study and analysis of progress and problems.

5. Voluntary agencies need to give continuing attention and support to existing programs designed to secure equal employment opportunity and to development of a climate of opinion which permits maximum progress. There is a tendency to leave this function entirely to the public agency. Records show that while progress has been achieved in certain areas that the opportunity gap has not narrowed appreciably.

6. Joint labor-management apprenticeship training programs need to be fostered. This could be accomplished by government stipulation in federal contracts. Reasons for the non-employment of apprentices once trained require attention in some locations but by and large there is a scarcity of apprenticeships.

7. Federal, state and municipal administrative agencies all require more adequate financing and staffing to accomplish the goal. An expansion to meet the requirements of affirmative action will dramatically increase costs of administration. Civil rights groups and concerned citizens must bring this matter to the attention of appropriating bodies and enlist taxpayer support for such increases.

8. Minority group youth must have much better counseling than in the past. The plain fact is that jobs now being opened to minority workers are unknown to youth in time to prepare for them. This is demonstrated by futile recruiting efforts by industry in colleges and universities. Parents need information and counseling because they influence the choices and goals of their children.

9. Retraining of displaced workers is especially important for minority persons. All such training centers must also be aware of the changing times and emphasis needs to be placed upon non-traditional job categories. The emphasis upon a "job available" may tend to negate equal employment opportunity efforts.

III. HOUSING

Appropriate actions

1. The Executive Order covering equal opportunity in federally assisted housing should be considerably strengthened and it should remain in effect until adequate legislative action is taken. The Federal Government is a major force in the housing field and can do much to end the biased practices of lending agencies, developers, public housing authorities, and local urban renewal programs. Neither tax revenue nor federal guarantees should be used to perpetuate traditional discriminatory practices.

2. The Federal Government should give encouragement if not direction to the housing industry and local communities to provide suitable supply of new housing for families of moderate and low incomes. The trickle-down theory has resulted in minority group families always having to live in hand-me-downs at the time when such property is in a state of deterioration.

3. States and municipalities should follow the example of those which have enacted legislation prohibiting discrimination in private housing. Such legislation should prohibit discrimination by any part of the housing industry as well as individual owners, with the possible exception of two-family owner occupied units. It should be administered by an agency with power to initiate as well as receive complaints, and it should have the right to seek injunction during the process of negotiation and conciliation.

4. National and local associations of the housing industry should take the lead in enunciating and implementing an industry-wide policy conforming with the principle of a free housing market. This is not only a social responsibility but is in the economic interest of the industry to broaden the market through removal of restrictions.

5. Freedom of the market place in housing is not achieved through the use of quotas. All families, in a democracy, should have the right of free choice and to compete on equal terms and under the same conditions in this market place. The decision as to where to live should properly be left to individual families. Controlled occupancy has been a useful demonstration that desegregation can take place under certain conditions. However, artificially maintained integrated units require tight controls. No one would advocate that an entire community or city be subject to quota controlled occupancy. Civil rights advocates need to reexamine their position on this question.

IV. PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS

Appropriate actions

1. The U. S. Community Relations Service should utilize affirmative action as well as complaint processing in carrying out its mandate under Title II of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

2. The President, through firm leadership and example, can exert enormous influence and help avert crisis situations. When they occur, the President must be heard, pointing to desirable solutions and calling for calm and wise local leadership to cooperate in working out these solutions.

3. States which have segregation laws should repeal them.

4. The right of all to access and use of public accommodations and services must be assured by law in every state. Experience with such laws supports the conclusion that they should be administered by a regulatory agency which has the power to initiate as well as receive complaints. Once the law is enacted, it must be uniformly and firmly enforced.

5. Equal protection under the law must be afforded every citizen. The effective employment of police power will assure the maintenance of law and order in times of social change and is a minimum condition necessary for progress. The right of free speech and of protest must be guaranteed and protected by all law enforcement agencies.

6. The federal government must assume responsibility in situations where local authority has broken down or where the responsibility for maintaining law and order has been subverted.

7. Voluntary agencies and citizen groups must continue to press for equality of opportunity in places of public accommodation and service in place of business, in both North and South. Methods of mediation, education, conciliation and persuasion, including demonstrations and picketing, should be used.

* *
*

GREATER ATLANTA
COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

TELEPHONE
525-6468

TO: SRC STAFF, GEORGIA COUNCIL, VOTER EDUCATION STAFF, ESCRU STAFF, MERRY WAY EMPLOYMENT

FROM: ELIZA PASCHALL

I WOULD LIKE TO INTRODUCE TO YOU ALL THOMAS MCPHERSON, WHO HAS BEEN EMPLOYED AND ASSIGNED BY THE UNITARIAN SERVICE COMMITTEE TO WORK WITH THE ATLANTA COUNCIL. HE STARTED SEPTEMBER 1, AS ASSISTANT DIRECTOR.

MAC IS FROM AUGUSTA, A MORRIS BROWN GRADUATE AND A JUNE GRADUATE FROM THE INTERDENOMINATIONAL THEOLOGICAL CENTER. HE IS AN ORDAINED MINISTER IN THE AME CHURCH. HE SERVED AS ASSISTANT COLLEGE CHAPLAIN AT MORRIS BROWN. DURING THE SUMMER HE ATTENDED THE HUMAN RELATIONS WORKSHOP AT BOSTON UNIVERSITY.

HE AND HIS WIFE, SHIRLEY, AND ELEVEN WEEKS OLD SON, DAVID, LIVE AT 2518 ABNER PLACE, N. W.

Southern Field Service

National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice

1046 Baronne Street • New Orleans, Louisiana, 70113 • 523-2901

NON-DISCRIMINATION CONTRACT---Bishop Connare of Greensburg, Pa. and Bishop Reed of Oklahoma City have inserted non-discriminatory clauses in their church construction contracts.

FOLLOWING HIS STEPS---A moving story of Bishop Waters' development of a full understanding of racial justice, told in his own words, is available at our office. All you have to do is write for it. The director of the Southern Field Office, Henry Cabirac, at Bishop Waters' invitation, visited with him and with interested groups in Raleigh, Durham, Charlotte, Asheville, and Greenville, North Carolina urging more work for voter registration, further public school desegregation, and equal employment opportunities.

ATLANTA PROGRESS---Parochial schools in Atlanta have had the largest registration in history--this follows desegregation and shows that people of Christ will follow His path. Archbishop Hallinan is giving his full support to the Atlanta Interracial Council which is presenting excellent panels to parish organizations and other places when requested. Atlanta hospitals are desegregated.

CHARITY---Front pages all over the nation carried the story when a New Orleans area pastor was slugged by one of his parishoners who objected to integrated classes for children preparing for their First Communion. Perhaps the sequel in which the pastor refused to press charges against the assailant was not given the same coverage.

FIGHTER---Congratulations are in order for John P. Nelson, vice-chairman of the National Council and secretary of the New Orleans Council on Human Relations, who was one of those responsible for the lowering of the racial barrier at Tulane University. Not content to rest on his laurels, John has filed suit to open Terrebonne Parish, Louisiana schools to Indians in the area.(Remember-discrimination is not limited to one color.)

TRAVELER---Mr. Cabirac's been on the go--places he has visited in recent months include Savannah, Charleston, Washington, New York, Mobile, Nashville, Jackson, Atlanta, Chicago, Birmingham, Lafayette, Monroe, Dallas,

Shreveport, Little Rock, Oklahoma City, Austin, San Antonio, Houston, Raleigh, Greensboro, Durham, Charlotte, Asheville. If you want him--just buzz him--he'll come arunning provided you get him enough in advance so he can plan his trip to cover as many places as possible.

RATES BASED ON COLOR---It has come to our attention that some Southern-based insurance companies charge Negroes as much as 80 per cent more than national companies do. If you know anything about this practice, please help fight it.

LITERATURE---Here are some recommended pieces of literature we have on supply. Dr. Spock's "Prejudice in Children's Conversations with Dr. Spock"--.25 cents. "Challange to Religion"--National Conference on Religion and Race--$1.65, and "How to Organize a Catholic Interracial Council"--$1.50.

LET'S WORK---If you're interested in racial justice how about getting out and doing something. Pope John XXIII in "Mater et Magista" urged we translate doctrine into deeds. The Interracial Review suggests 12 steps:

1. Read and Study--know what the facts are.
2. Find Others--who are concerned and want to do something.
3. Raise the Issue--don't stand silent, be the first one to talk about it.
4. Join--it's O.K. to be a loner, but groups get things done.
5. Attend--once you've got it started keep the movement alive by attending the meetings.
6. Write and Visit--let your editors, legislators, pastors, and civic officals know what you think. Put it in a letter and, better still, take time to go and visit them.
7. Break Down Isolation--get the races together. They can't know each other as humans if they don't have the chance to meet.
8. Children--let them know truth and justice from the start at home.
9. Hospitality--how about a coffee party at home as a fine place to get people together.
10. Times of Tension--promote harmony so your neighborhood will be ready when passions rise and tempers flare--remember this isn't all strawberries and cream and it might get nasty--so be prepared.
11. Provide Information--let your community leaders know what is going on in other places.
12. Pray--let's face it--we need help and only He can give it.

PERMISSION OF CHANCELLORY NEEDED---All priests desiring to participate in the August 28 march on Washington are required to get the permission of their Chancellory Office and have this forwarded to His Excellency Archbishop O'Boyle in Washington. Archbishop O'Boyle is providing board and lodging for that one day to all those in need of it. For further information please write the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice, 21 West Superior Street, Chicago 10, Illinois.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON RELIGION AND RACE---By now you are all aware of the historical National Conference on Religion and Race which was held in Chicago in January. This is the first time in the history of the country that the heads of the three faiths agreed to meet on a national level on any subject. Follow-ups of the conferences are being held throughout the country and there have been some concrete results. In your own community you should try to co-operate with such a follow-up committee, or if there is none, try to initiate one.

PARTICIPATION OF ALL CATHOLICS IN CHURCH ACTIVITIES---Unfortunately because Negroes have been resented for so long they frequently avoid participation in all forms of Catholic life such as parish and diocesian organizations, schools, etc., even when they are able to join. Those of us that are interested in Christian Unity and racial justice and charity should do everything possible to encourage Catholic Negroes to participate to the fullest extent.

PRESIDENT'S CIVIL RIGHTS BILL---All Southern Catholic who are interested in implementing the principles of our Bishops regarding racial justice and charity have given priority to putting our house in order. This is correct. However our concern for justice should not stop here. If you will recall the Bishops' statement "Discrimination and the Christian Conscience" these principles should be applied to all walks of life.

Just as we are very much concerned with such evils in the community as indecent literature because it affects Catholics as well as non-Catholics, this should be the case with racial injustice. We therefore urge you to contact your Senators and Congressmen to ask that they modify some of their opposition to this bill, or in the case of the few areas of the South where your Senators and Congressmen are on the defensive, to encourage them to vote for it. It would be better not to identify yourself as belonging to a Catholic Interracial Council or a Human Relations Council.

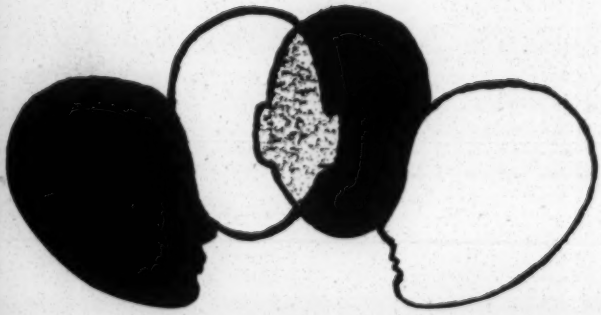
Southern Field Service
1046 Baronne Street
New Orleans, La. 70113

RETURN REQUESTED

BULK RATE
U. S. POSTAGE
PAID
Permit No. 303
New Orleans, La.

Miss Jean Levine

Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth St. Room 206
Atlanta 3, Georgia



WHAT IS THE GREATER ATLANTA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS....?

It is primarily a meeting ground where Negroes and whites can discuss their problems and get better acquainted. It works to secure dignity and freedom for all persons and to solve problems without hatred or violence.

1. — Intergroup Services — Misc

WHAT DOES THE GREATER ATLANTA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS DO..?

By informing, consulting, conferring, it is working...

.To bring about desegregation of medical and health services and training programs.

.To make desegregation of Atlanta's schools and colleges successful.

.To provide a Student Council for high school and college students with an opportunity to work for better human relations in their own age group.

.To maintain close contact with Negro transfer students and their parents.

.To increase merit employment.

.To provide hospitality for foreign visitors in our city.

.To consult with ministers, educators, civic leaders before problems become critical.

.To make cultural facilities available to all citizens.

.To improve housing, education, employment, health services, public accomodations and the arts for all citizens of Greater Atlanta.

LAST YEAR THE GACHR HELPED:

.To desegregate Decatur-DeKalb library..

.To desegregate Grady Hospital training programs.

.To desegregate Atlanta movies.

.To prepare a survey of employment practices....

ALSO GACHR

.Counseled with Transfer Students.

.Compiled a list of integrated facilities.

.Presented UN Undersecretary Ralph Bunche and White House Associate Press Secretary Andrew Hatcher as special speakers to the community.

.Opened office and doubled membership.

.Distributed a monthly Newsletter and held monthly membership meetings.

COOPERATED WITH OTHER GROUPS

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HOW IS THE GREATER ATLANTA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS FINANCED?

The Council is supported by local citizens who believe that to deny equal rights because of race is inhuman and undemocratic. It also believes that educated, well fed and adequately housed citizens, white or Negro, make America stronger.
It is affiliated only with the Georgia Council on Human Relations, and membership includes both Councils. It does however, keep in touch with all groups working in the area of human relations.

.....

FOR 1963 THE COUNCIL NEEDS.....

5	contributions	of	$300
12	"	"	$100
10	"	"	$50
20	"	"	$20
100	"	"	$10
100	"	"	$5
300	"	"	$1
from memberships old & new			$900*
from special gifts			$2,500
Total			$10,000

*Net - $3 of every $5 & $5 of every $9 in dues goes to Georgia Council.

.....

Mrs. John Stanley)
Mr. Q. V. Williamson) Co-Chairmen, 1963 Campaign

HAT IS THE 1963 GOAL OF GACHR..?

.To increase membership to 1,000

.To continue monthly luncheons for members and friends (first Mondays at Central YWCA)

.To continue monthly Newsletter and periodic special reports

.To continue work in special areas such as education and housing.

.To raise a budget of $10,000, which is needed to maintain office and program:

Office Secretary....	$3,300
Office rent.....	1,020
Telephone.....	780
Postage.....	720
Supplies & equipment	960
Special program projects such as student workshops, etc.	2,500
Contingency	720
Total	$10,000

(Salaries of Director and Assistant Director, this year provided by Unitarian Service Committee, Inc., a world-wide, non-sectarian service organization, as part of its human relations program throughout the world, total over $10,000).

THE GACHR....?

HOW CAN YOU HELP.....?

.You can become a member. Annual dues are $5 per person or $9 per couple.

.You can join in soliciting new members and donations...

.You can submit names of people who may be interested in joining or giving...

.You can accept a special job to raise funds.

.You can give volunteer time at office or at home...

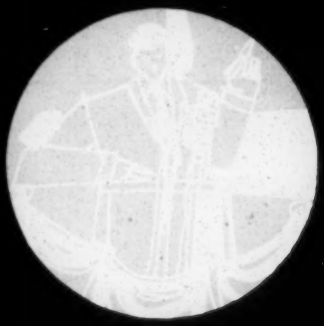
.You can collect $1 from people in your church, club or social group who may say "I wish I could do something"...

.You can act on your own convictions and encourage others to do the same..

Greater Atlanta Council on Human Relations
5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Atlanta 3, Ga.
Phone: 523-1581

I would like to support the GACHR by
( ) becoming a member
( ) volunteering my services
( ) giving a donation
( ) soliciting funds
( ) office work

Name.....
Street.....
City.....Zone.....State..
Telephone number.....
( ) I enclose$_____dues
( ) I enclose$_____donation



what is COPE?

COPE is the name taken from the initial letters of the Committee on Political Education of the AFL-CIO. The Committee was established by the First Constitutional Convention of the AFL-CIO in December, 1955.

COPE is non-partisan and has the responsibility spelled out in the AFL-CIO Constitution of "encouraging workers to register and vote, to exercise their full rights and responsibilities of citizenship, and to perform their rightful part in the political life of the city, state and national communities."

The national Committee on Political Education is made up of the members of the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO. Its chairman is George Meany, and William Schnitzler is secretary-treasurer. National Director is Alexander E. Barkan.

Labor unions have historically participated in the government of their communities, their states and their nation as all good citizens do. Politics is the process by which governments are elected.

Many gains made by organized labor at the bargaining table have been attacked in state legislatures and in Congress by reactionary groups who could not achieve their objectives through negotiation.

It is also true that as our society has become more complex, many of the needs of union members can only be met by legislation in the general welfare.

Finally, many of the aims of the AFL-CIO, designed to advance the general welfare of **all** citizens of the country, can only be achieved in the legislative halls.

In each of these cases, good government comes through the election of good officials—men and women who seek public office to help make their communities, their states and their nation better places for the people who live in them. It is the aim of the AFL-CIO to help the candidacies of such people.

WHAT IS THE COPE PROGRAM ?

The AFL-CIO is committed to programs to maintain a prosperous nation in a peaceful world. It is concerned with improving the security and freedom not only of union members, but of all people. It supports programs to provide better education, to protect the rights of all individuals, to provide full employment at a decent wage, to achieve social and economic justice, to establish sound and fair labor relations, to develop better housing, to expand social insurance programs for the ill, for the elderly, for the unemployed and those injured on the job, to provide fair tax laws, to ease the burden of poverty, to protect consumers, to protect and develop our resources, to help solve the pressing problems of urban life, to support foreign trade and aid.

HOW ARE CANDIDATES ENDORSED ?

Candidates for President and Vice President of the United States are recommended to AFL-CIO members by the General Board of the AFL-CIO which represents all the affiliated unions. The endorsement is based on the records of the candidates and the platforms of their parties. These are the only endorsements made at the national level.

Candidates for local, state and other federal offices are recommended to the membership in the appropriate area by state and local COPE bodies, representing affiliated unions at the local and state level. The basis for the endorsement is the record and the program of the candidates compared to the policies of the AFL-CIO.

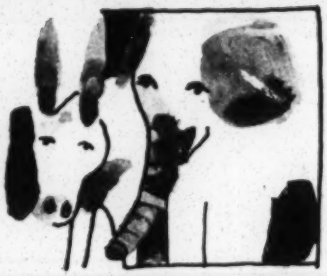
HOW DOES COPE WORK ?

COPE believes that an educated and informed electorate is essential to the democratic process.

COPE reports facts about issues and candidates. It publishes voting records of elected officials to help AFL-CIO members inform themselves in order to vote intelligently.

COPE carries on extensive drives to help people register and vote so that the result will truly reflect the decisions of the majority of the people.

IS COPE A POLITICAL PARTY ?



COPE is not a political party, nor is it committed to the support of any particular party. From the first convention of the AFL-CIO to the most recent, COPE has been instructed to work in support of candidates who support issues of concern to the AFL-CIO regardless of the party affiliation of the candidate.

The policies of COPE are determined by its national committee in line with the policies and programs adopted by the AFL-CIO conventions.

DOES COPE TELL UNION MEMBERS HOW TO VOTE ?

No organization can tell anybody how to vote. The secret ballot is a fundamental protection of a free electorate. COPE can only provide union members with the facts about issues and candidates in the sure knowledge that informed union members, like other good citizens, will make their own choice in the voting booth.

WHERE DOES COPE GET ITS MONEY ?

COPE is instructed by the AFL-CIO convention to conduct a campaign to solicit voluntary contributions from the members of affiliated unions, for use in federal elections.

DOES COPE WORK WITH OTHER GROUPS ?

COPE cooperates with other groups and organizations that have the same aims and ideals as the AFL-CIO. It will work with other citizens who share the concerns union members have for programs to promote the general welfare.

? WHAT CAN YOU DO ?

You can participate in the COPE program in your local union, your community and your state—participate year around.

You can help in registration and get-out-the-vote campaigns.

You can work to help the election of COPE-supported candidates.

Finally, you can give your dollar to COPE, so that liberal candidates will have adequate funds to conduct their campaigns.

HELP COPE BUILD
GOOD GOVERNMENT
A BRIGHTER FUTURE

AFL-CIO COMMITTEE ON POLITICAL EDUCATION
AFL-CIO Bldg., 815 16th St., N.W., Washington, D. C.
GEORGE MEANY, Chairman
WM. F. SCHNITZLER, Secretary-Treasurer

COPE Publication No. 10c

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AFL-CIO Bldg., 815 16th St., N.W., Washington, D. C.
GEORGE MEANY, Chairman
WM. F. SCHNITZLER, Secretary-Treasurer

COPE Publication No. 10c

WBL
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ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

Of B'nai B'rith

515 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, N. Y., PLaza 1-1800

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Attached is a copy of a telegram from the national chairman and national executive committee chairman of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, sent to President Kennedy on Sunday, May 5.

We are strongly urging our constituents and friends to write or wire similar messages to the President.

Agencies
1- Intergroup
Miscellaneous

"...Dedicated to translating democratic ideals into a way of life for all Americans in our time."

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SIMON S. WEIL, Nashville, Tennessee
*LAWRENCE H. WILLIAMS, Cleveland, Ohio
HARRY YUDKOFF, Detroit, Michigan

The President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D. C.

The measures used by local law-enforcement officials of Birmingham, Alabama are a clear invasion of the fundamental and constitutional right of American citizens to petition for redress of grievances. The issue no longer concerns the Negro and his well-being alone. Nor is the issue any longer one of states rights or even the explosive problem of integration. The central problem has become human liberty as guaranteed by our Constitution. When citizens can no longer peacefully assemble or walk on public highways, basic human liberties are at stake. When ferocious dogs and high-pressure hoses are turned loose on citizens, including children, in the peaceful pursuit of their fundamental constitutional rights, law and order have become a mockery.

We commend the Department of Justice for sending a Civil Rights Division mission to initiate efforts to restore justice and constitutional rights in the situation that has developed in Birmingham and other areas of the South in the past few days. We are appalled that such events could come to pass without greater expressions of a sense of outrage of the national conscience. The greatest tragedy implicit in these events is the fact that the incredibly brutal measures taken against citizens in peaceful pursuit of their basic rights have not as yet stirred the profound anger called for by our whole history and moral commitment.

We urge you, Mr. President, to do two things: to act with all strength to protect the Negro citizens of the South, and at the same time to exert your great moral leadership to bring the nation to an understanding of the evil that is abroad in our land.

Dore Schary
National Chairman

Paul H. Sampliner, Chairman
National Executive Committee
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith

NAACP

November 2, 1961

MEMORANDUM

To: Clarence Mitchell, Director NAACP Washington Bureau

Subject: Area Redevelopment Administration: Lack of Participation by Negroes in County Development Programs

Public Law 87-27, known as the Area Redevelopment Act, has now been the law of the land for six months. A far-reaching program was authorized by Congress, including $300,000,000 in revolving loan funds, $40,000,000 for public facility grants, and over $ 3 million for technical assistance grants.

As of October 19, 1961, 199 counties in 25 states had obtained provisional approval of overall economic development plans, through which they will ultimately obtain Federal participation in the financing of local projects to create jobs, improve municipal and rural facilities, and provide for technical assistance in planning, and for new training facilities.

We have reviewed the brochures and other guidance material furnished by the ARA for counties and municipalities which must submit O.E.D.P.'s setting forth their problems and their projected plans for meeting them, partly through local initiative and partly through Federal aid.

Our scrutiny has primarily been directed toward finding what awareness exists in the ARA of the necessity for bringing into any economic recovery program the participation of large minority groups, especially Negroes in the Southern states.

Our interest presupposes that any "broad" economic plan that does not take into account realistically the millstone effect of segregation is not, in fact, a broad plan. If Negroes are not part of the planning and leadership of a program for an area in which they form either a majority or large minority of the population, the program may only further disadvantage them.

Examination of ARA publications[1] reveals none which come to grips with the largest single root problem in the Southern states: segregation and protection for Negro rights in the drawing up of O.E.D.P. 's.

We can find no press release or directive telling the South that the end product achievements of their ARA-aided programs must serve Negro and white components of the population equally and without discrimination.

ARA officials and officials at the USDA concerned with delegated ARA functions expressed dismay and indignation upon being pressed for structural protection in the administrative processes of the program--guarantees in the procedures which would prevent discrimination by default in the final programs. All expressed their distaste for discrimination, but there was little apparent understanding of the realities of administering a Federal money program so that Negroes and whites would benefit equally.

The USDA's Federal Extension Service is charged with aiding in the establishment of local committees. Asked what steps the FES takes to protect the dominated group in the South, an official said "we tell them they must make the committees as representative as possible." In fact, dozens of proposals have been submitted with all-white committees at the helm, and there has been no objection, forceful or otherwise, to force a broadening of the committee to include Negro leaders in Southern counties.

Procedures at ARA in the approval of O.E.D.P.'s appeal to be so slipshod that plans have been approved "in the interest of expediting the early phase of the program" with only a check-off by a junior employee of such questions as "Is the local organization submitting this OEDP representative of the Redevelopment Area?" In the case of one five-county area[2] we found that the check had been done by a summer employee--a student. We were unable to obtain any further definition of the criteria for "representative." In the case of this five-county area, only one of the five-counties had submitted evidence of more than one individual on its committee. It is hard to see how the person checking this O.E.D.P. could have written "yes" as an answer to the above question, but he did.

1/ Handbook of Federal Aid to Communities, 6/1961; Your Community and the Area Redevelopment Act; 6/1961; The Overall Economic Development Program, what it is - how to prepare one..., 8/1961; Occupational Training and Retraining under the Area Redevelopment Act, (U.S. Dept. of Labor), 8/1961.

2/ Autauga, Bibb, Chilton, Coosa, Elmore Counties, Alabama

It is ironic that the dominant group of many Southern counties must use heavy, chronic, Negro unemployment to support its application for ARA assistance under Section 5 (a) (2) without being obliged to later submit plans recognizing the special needs of these citizens in economic extremes. Beyond bending their backs as the traditional unskilled labor force, they will have no part in the new jobs opened up if those jobs are in one of the many facilities and factories which, in the counties in question, hire only whites.

The ARA Act has no protection or guarantees regarding equal employment opportunities, non-discrimination in retaining facilities to be aided, and has no wording forcing any specific observance of equal rights.

The ARA's administrator has ample authority to withhold aid from counties unless they furnish evidence of non-discrimination, and Negro participation in program leadership.

Recommendations

1) ARA free itself of "chamber of commerce" thinking on area recovery planning. Such groups have had a traditional "in" when it comes to breathing new life into a trade area of municipality. Vast changes are taking place in America; planning will require new and unprecedented participation by all segments of the community where an area is "sick to its roots." Often the local "courthouse gang" and "in" group of merchants want no part of real progress.

2) Procedures should be instituted that will inform all county groups and state committees that the ARA requires truly representative committees.

3) ARA should make available to state and local leaders the overwhelming weight of evidence, published, statistical, and otherwise known which indicates that areas which bring Negroes into full citizenship inevitably become economically stronger. ARA field representatives should be increasingly alert to the "multi-county" approach; regional approaches to problems make possible broader programs; racial groups may be encouraged to exercise at least limited mobility within the area, rather than remaining restricted to artificial and un-economic county localities in seeking new opportunities. Multi-county approaches lessen apparent threat between competing groups which may be all too evident in a restricted area.

4) Special steps should be taken to enable all ARA materials to be mailed to minority group leaders, especially in the South, so they will not be "in the dark" when each successive area begins to work up an ARA program. Channels of communication may be so restricted for Negroes in the South that even the Negro County Agent receives only such Federal publications and bulletins as the white County Agent sees fit to give him.

5) As each step forward is made concerning minority groups affected by the ARA, and as each procedure is adopted, the Administrator is urged to specifically direct compliance in agencies outside the Department of Commerce, lest the effect be diluted or lost where authority is delegated.

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MAR 16 1962

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

TWENTY WEST FORTIETH STREET • NEW YORK 18, N. Y. • BRyant 9-1400

March 1, 1962

MEMORANDUM TO: PRESIDENTS OF BRANCHES, STATE CONFERENCES, YOUTH AND COLLEGE CHAPTERS

FROM: THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

You have heard reports of a Southwide voter registration campaign to be carried on by several organizations including the NAACP and to be made possible by a substantial grant from a Foundation.

To date, the prospects are very good, but no agreement on a Southwide campaign plan has yet been reached by the organizations concerned, although a preliminary step has been taken in the setting up of a Director.

No grant has been made by any foundation.

No money has been allocated to any of the organizations.

No central advisory council composed of representatives of each organization has met and agreed upon general procedure, therefore no "state coordinating councils" or other local or regional cooperative bodies have been agreed upon. No organization has the authority to solicit agreements or set up such cooperative or coordinating bodies. The NAACP has not authorized its units or officers to participate in such bodies.

When a meeting of organization representatives has been held and when money is actually allocated and we know where we are going, we will write you in more specific terms.

Meanwhile, please make no agreements with anyone or with any organization since nothing is definite and no organization has these special funds in hand and can promise nothing concrete or binding until all the organizations have met and agreed upon procedures.

The NAACP which has had the only active voter registration campaign under way in the South and elsewhere throughout past years, is depending on all its units to function in a way that will continue the NAACP's effectiveness in this field. Please understand that we are not ruling out possible cooperative efforts, but we emphasize that agreement on the method must be had between the organizations before any efforts along this line are made by any individual organizations.

When the actual plan is made and we know what money is available and thus will be able to plan the scope of our work as far as personnel and territory are concerned we will write you a full outline of procedure and of NAACP relations with other organizations.

We intend to do everything in our power to roll up a heavy registration of voters in the Southern states and will strive for the best plan, utilizing all groups, that will bring this about.

RW:erb

5th Floor
20 W. 40th St.
N.Y. 18

APR 9 1962

STEP 1

HOW NAACP BRANCHES CAN INCREASE VOTER REGISTRATION AND VOTING IN THEIR BRANCH COMMUNITIES

A. APPOINT A CAPABLE VOTER REGISTRATION CHAIRMAN AND COMMITTEE. THIS IS YOUR BASIC KEY TO SUCCESS.

1. THE SUCCESS OF THIS COMMITTEE WILL DEPEND UPON THE SELECTION OF THE CHAIRMAN

   a. Among other things, this Chairman should be a substantial and well liked person in the community.
   b. For obvious reasons, the Chairman should not be the head of any political group, or a person usually identified with a political party. He should be a person who puts people first and parties second on the political totem pole. (DON'T ELECT A PERSON CHAIRMAN SIMPLY BECAUSE HE ATTENDS MEETINGS; SHE HAS BEEN IN THE BRANCH A LONG TIME; HE ISN'T ON ANY COMMITTEE OR SHE HAS PLENTY OF TIME. Seek within and seek outside of the branch's power structure for the most capable person.)

2. MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE

   a. For a voter registration program to be successful, many people must be involved in the program. An ideal committee should have for its members: One capable and influential person from each voting precinct in the community; a representative from each church, social club (small and large), fraternal groups, labor organizations, civic groups and all board members of the NAACP branch.
   b. It is the duty of the selected Voter Registration Chairman and all board members to SEEK OUT persons to serve as members of the Voter Registration Committee. REMEMBER THE TYPE OF PERSONS NEEDED ARE ACTIVE PERSONS. PLAN A GOOD PROGRAM. ACTIVE PEOPLE DO NOT HAVE TIME FOR HALF BAKED IDEAS.

B. HOW TO PLAN THE FIRST VOTER REGISTRATION COMMITTEE MEETING.

1. Set the date, time and place for a meeting to organize your branch's NAACP Voter Registration Committee. Be sure to select a convenient date and time. REMEMBER THIS IS A MEETING TO SELL YOUR IDEAS TO PROSPECTIVE COMMITTEE MEMBERS. So, if possible, pick a place where they can relax, smoke and be informal. Good fellowship is an important ingredient for organizing committees.

   a. The meeting should be called by the NAACP Branch President and the Voter Registration Chairman. It should be well planned and provocative.

2. MEETING AGENDA

   Chairman presiding - NAACP Branch President.
   Prayer by Secretary (2 minutes)
   Purpose of the meeting and presentation of the Voter Registration Chairman by the presiding Chairman (10 minutes)
   Organization of the Voter Registration Drive - Voter Registration Chairman (30 minutes)
   Voter Registration pep talk (5 minutes)

3. MEETING PROCEDURE

   a. Prayer (2 minutes)
   b. CHAIRMAN - BRANCH PRESIDENT (Suggestive outline) (10 minutes)

      (1) PURPOSE: We called you into this meeting to expand our NAACP Voter Registration Committee for the purpose of promoting voter registration in this community.
      (2) OUR POLICY: The NAACP Voter Registration Program is non-partisan. We are not interested

in republican or democratic voters, we are interested in VOTERS, period! We welcome the aid and assistance of any group or organization interested in getting people qualified to vote. The NAACP's constitution also clearly states: The NAACP cannot endorse any political candidate or party. The NAACP can publish and make known the records of political candidates and parties.

(3) OUR PROBLEM: To increase the voting strength of this community, we need a large Voter Registration Committee to promote our program. In order for our program to be successful, we must have the cooperation of groups and individuals. Therefore, we are inviting each of you to serve on our Voter Registration Committee as representatives from predominantly Negro precincts, churches, civic, social and fraternal organizations. (AT THIS POINT, DON'T ASK PERSONS TO SIGN UP FOR THE COMMITTEE. YOU HAVE JUST BEGUN TO SELL YOUR PROGRAM.)

The Chairman closes with remarks and introduces the NAACP Voter Registration Chairman. Remarks can point up the need for the program, based on observations of the community's political picture.

c. VOTER REGISTRATION CHAIRMAN
(Suggestive outline) (30 minutes)

(1) The duty of the NAACP Voter Registration Committee is to carry the message of the importance of the ballot into the homes of the citizens. Experi-

ence has shown that large public meetings help, but they do not produce large numbers of new voters.

(2) Our Committee will go into the precincts and set up precinct teams to carry our message into individual homes.

(3) In order to get action into this paper stage of our program, we are going to ask you to form yourselves into precinct teams. If you don't know the number of your precinct, give your address and we will give you the number of your precinct. After you have formed into teams, we want you to: ELECT A TEMPORARY PRECINCT TEAM CAPTAIN AND A TEMPORARY TEAM SECRETARY; discuss and be prepared to report to the body in ten minutes ways and means your precinct team can bring at least _____ more people to our next organizational meeting. (State date and time). Your temporary Precinct Team Secretary will turn in the name, address and telephone number of everyone in your precinct team, designating the temporary Precinct Team Captain and the temporary Precinct Team Secretary.

(4) Reassemble the group and receive reports. (3 minutes for each report).

d. Final announcements by Branch President (Chairman of the meeting)

(1) Our second organization meeting will be (time and place). We will elect a vice chairman and secretary for our Voter Registration Committee. We will also appoint the various committees

needed to promote a voter registration drive.

(2) Close the meeting by having someone give a rousing pep talk on voting and an urgent plea for all present to work hard toward making the second meeting a great success. (Not more than 5 minutes)

Serve refreshments. Now is the time for the NAACP members to mingle with the group and put enthusiasm into the project by praising individuals for their interest in the project and answering questions. (PRAISE IS ALSO AN INGREDIENT FOR SUCCESS IN ORGANIZING PEOPLE.)

C. HOW TO GET A GOOD CROSS SECTION OF INTERESTED PEOPLE TO YOUR MEETING.

This is not a one man or a two man job, it is the responsibility of every officer and board member of the branch.

1. Send a letter of invitation to the following in your area:

a. At least 20 people in each of the predominantly Negro precincts.

b. The ministers of ALL churches.

(1) Ask each minister to bring to the meeting, at least three representatives from his church.

c. The presidents of ALL organizations (fraternal, social, labor or political)

(1) Ask each president to bring at least three representatives from his organization.

d. ALL business establishments.

IMPORTANT

Letters are not enough to promote a meeting

which will bring the best results. Each person on the mailing list must be contacted in person concerning the meeting and he or she must receive a telephone reminder the day before the meeting. THIS CAN BE DONE BY BRANCH OFFICERS AND BOARD MEMBERS.

PROBLEMS AND ANSWERS

Problem: We don't have money for stamps, stationery, etc.

Answer: Explain your program and your problem to the individual professional and businessmen in your community, they will come to your aid.

Problem: We want to send out letters, but we don't have a mimeograph machine.

Answer: Take your problem to the minister of a church that has a mimeograph machine.

Problem: If we mail an invitation to a person, why do we have to make personal contacts and telephone calls?

Answer: To build up the importance and urgency of your meeting. To let the person invited know he is important and not just a name on a mailing list.

Problem: We tried this before and it did not work.

Answer: How many times did the United States scientists try before they were able to put a satelite in orbit.

Problem: How can we get people to give volunteer service?

Answer: First sell them your program. Then give them a clear definite task to perform (with clear simple instructions), ACCORDING TO THEIR ABILITY. IT IS BETTER TO HAVE TEN PEOPLE DOING ONE TASK THAN IT IS TO HAVE ONE PERSON DOING THE WORK OF TEN PEOPLE.

APR 1962

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT
OF COLORED PEOPLE

20 West 40th Street New York 18, N. Y.

JAN 16 1963

1962 ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

NATIONAL NAACP VOTER REGISTRATION COMMITTEE

KELLY M. ALEXANDER, CHAIRMAN

JOHN M. BROOKS, DIRECTOR W. C. PATTON, FIELD SECRETARY

404½ NORTH SECOND STREET
RICHMOND 19, VIRGINIA

Copies
4 - NAACP

1962 ANNUAL REPORT OF THE NAACP VOTER REGISTRATION COMMITTEE

I. The chief objectives of the NAACP's Voter Registration Program are:

1. To increase the Negro voting strength by teaching the value of the vote.
2. To awaken the political consciousness of Negroes by urging them to enter into America's main stream of politics.

The key to any state-wide or national voter registration program is local contact. We are fortunate in having this key because of our many branches throughout the country.

II. INTANGIBLE RESULTS

To find the intangible results of the NAACP's program one needs only to visit cities and counties where Negroes are beginning to emerge politically. You will find our NAACP leaders playing important roles in the political progress of these communities. Since the NAACP is non-partisan, you will find many of our leaders are using information gathered from national, state and local NAACP voter registration workshops in partisan politics.

III. THE NAACP's VOTER REGISTRATION PROGRAM

In order to give a clear and brief picture of our activities, we present to you pertinent information concerning voter registration drives in different parts of the country. Due to our limited staff and to the hostile attitude of state, city and county officials, we are unable to give the true results of our drives in many areas of the South.

Our staff is more interested in community voter registration workshops and door to door contacts than in large mass meetings and demonstrations. Because of this interest in the less colorful

side of the civil rights fight, we do not make very good newspaper copy. However, newspaper stories, editorials and other articles on the November 6 election reflected the work of the NAACP's Voter Registration Program.

THE NAACP's VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT AND THE VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT - A PROGRAM OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

In 1962, the NAACP cooperated with the Voter Education Project, a program of the Southern Regional Council, as a part of our national voter registration program.

In cooperation with the Voter Education Project, we conducted voter registration drives in the following areas from May 1 - July 31, 1962:

SUMMARY OF RESULTS OF VEP CRASH PROGRAMS, SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

ORGANIZATION	LOCATION	NEWLY REGISTERED VOTERS
NAACP	Clarksville, Tenn.	1,162
NAACP-SCLC	Knoxville, Tenn.	1,123
NAACP-SCLC	Chattanooga, Tenn.	1,800
Durham Comm. on Negro Affairs (Spearheaded by the Durham NAACP Youth Council)	Durham, N. C.	3,700
NAACP	Memphis, Tenn.	4,154
NAACP	Beaufort, S.C.	423
NAACP-SCLC	Charleston, S.C.	1,135
NAACP	Columbia, S.C.	349
NAACP	Greenville, S.C.	150
NAACP	Fayette/Haywood Counties, Tenn.	63
CORE-NAACP	Baton Rouge, La., 1st Ward	104
CORE-NAACP	Jackson, Miss.	61
	TOTALS	14,224

The NAACP promoted the above crash drives along with their overall program.

Florida had an exceptional Voter Registration Program:

COUNTY	COUNTY SEAT	NEW VOTERS
Pinellas	Clearwater, Florida	2,045
Hillsborough	Tampa, Florida	4,898
Duval	Jacksonville, Florida	3,361
Dade	**Miami, Florida	8,163
Orange	Orlando, Florida	1,063
Palm Beach	West Palm Beach, Florida	1,657
Lee	Fort Myers, Florida	674

** This coordinated drive was conducted by Earl Davis of COPE. COPE had the finance and Father T. E. Gibson had the leadership and community contacts.

In many of the major Southern cities we have active year-round voter registration programs, which are very outstanding. These cities include: Baltimore, Maryland; Richmond and Lynchburg, Virginia; Durham, N.C.; Charlston, S.C.; Atlanta and Savannah, Ga.; Miami, Florida; Jackson, Mississippi; Houston, San Antonio and Dallas Texas; and Memphis, Tenn.

IV. THE NAACP's CURRENT PROGRAM

During the months of January and February our target area will be:

MISSISSIPPI

Special interest will be placed on the gulf coast area of this State.

SOUTH CAROLINA

The target areas in this State will be the cities of Columbia, Orangeburg, Spartanburg and Charlston and Clarendon County. In January, the South Carolina State Conference of Branches, NAACP will follow up its Centennial Celebration of the Proclamation of the Emancipation with a State-wide Voter Registration Drive.

TEXAS

In every NAACP Branch community and in many communities where we do not currently have branches, NAACP poll tax drives have been organized for action beginning in January.

IV. TEXAS- CONTINUED

The target areas will be: East Texas with NAACP campaign control centers in Tyler, Longview, Marshall, Texarkana and Orange. Southeast Texas with Galveston as it control center. SOUTH TEXAS - In this area we will concentrate in Corpus Christi, Jackson County, Wharton County, Golliad County, Fort Bend and Victoria County.

VIRGINIA

The November 8 to December 5 State-wide Crash Poll Tax Drive, spearheaded by the Virginia State Conference of Branches, NAACP, will act as a spring board for Virginia's 1963 voter registration drive. The target areas of the crash poll tax drive were:(Cities) Richmond, Lynchburg, Fredericksburg and Roanoke, (Counties) Buckingham, Cumberland, Greensville, Isle of Wight, Surry, Sussex, Nansemond, Prince Edward, Powhatan and Prince George.

Beginning in January we will have voter registration drives in all of the major cities and counties of Virginia. This vast program would not be possible if it were not for the cooperation of the Virginia State Conference of Branches under the leadership of the executive secretary, W. Lester Banks.

LOUISIANA

The NAACP's Northeastern drive in Louisiana will begin in January. Our area office will be located in Monroe, La. The target areas will be Lincoln; Quachita; East Carrol, Madison and Tensas Parrish.

KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI

Mr. W. C. Patton, our field worker at large, jumped the Southern barrier and organized a city-wide drive for this community. This drive will be kicked-off in January.

CONCULSION

We could not carry on such a wide program if it were not for the cooperation of our NAACP staff members and NAACP volunteer leaders, located in communities across the country. We also depend upon the cooperation of churches and other organizations interested in voter registration.

APR 9 1963

WB
JMV
RBV

COAHOMA COUNTY BRANCH NAACP

The intimindation of four students from the University of Iowa by both the lawless element, and the Law on last Saturday March 30, 1963, will be a day long remembered. The lawless element included, Negro thugs. This was most regretable that Negroes would permit themselves to be used by lawless elements within the Local Law enforcement body, to provoke and intimindate white Americans participating with the NAACP and other Civil Rights groups. Some of the Negroes are to be commended for coming forth and exposing this henious plot. A word of caution to both, the Negroes who permit themselves to be used in this capacity and to those of the local Law Enforcement body that engage them. To the Negroes; you will find that some of the white people you see in the company of known NAACP and Civil Rights Leaders in this Community are agents of the Federal Government , Justice Department, and Federal Bureau of Investigation. Your interferring with any of them will get you into trouble so deep that those putting you up to do it will leave you in it to avoid trouble "for themselves". To the white Law enforcement officers engaging Negroes to molest whites seen in company with Civil Rights Leaders of the area; once you provide Negroes with a licence to attack white people it will not be long before these same Negroes will be attacking other white people, including you. Once a Wolf has tasted the blood of a sheep, he continues to crave it.

The Iowa students go on trial at the City Hall Thursday, April 11, 1963 at 5:P.M.. Let us give them our support. The NAACP lawyers will defend them. The crime of these students was "bringing in food and clothing" to the areas "poor Negroes". Tuesday night April 3rd is another day to remember. Between 700 and 1000 persons were attending an NAAcp meeting at the Centennial Baptist church protesting police intimindation and seeking a way to increase our votes to the point that the entire city Adminstration can be put out of office. While the church was surrounded by some members of the Clarksdale police department, someone threw a "Gas Bomb" into the church through the window. This created a stampeed. During the comotion not a single police officer came to find out the trouble. When the matter was called to the attention of a city commissioner, his only coment was, "you know you all threw that thing yourself". Incidentally the commissioner was outside with the police officers. After the meeting , his performance would have shamed any Clarksdalian who had to admit that he was our City Representative. Observing him it is not difficult to understand why the men under him conduct themselves as they do. We understand that there are some city policemen who are not pleased at the duties they are called upon to perform. For them we are sorry, and do hope that they will soon find relief.

So many incidents from the Mississippi Delta of Human and Civil Rights violations have been reported that Congressman Charles C. Diggs of the State of Michigan will make a fact finding tour of his own next week. He will be in the Clarksdale area Wednesday, April 10th and Thursday April 11th. Because of the interest Congressman Diggs takes in the problems of Negroes in the State of Mississippi, he bears the Honorary title of "Mississippi's Seventh Congressman". We invite all Mississippi Negroes who want to file complaints with our Congressman to file them with Congressman Diggs. You know that none of the men from Mississippi in Congress cares anything about our problems. In fact they have to campaign against the Negro to be elected. Congressman Diggs will make a Public appearence with the Rev. M.M. Morris of Bell Grove Baptist Church Wednesday night , April 10th.

Meanwhile the birddogging of Negroes by the Clarksdale police department goes on. Negroes are persued 10 to 12 blocks by some members of the police force trying to catch us turning without giving a signal or running a stop sign. We call upon all Negroes to be doubly careful. We suggest that "Negroes use their cars only 3½ days a week, or use them a half day each day. Give the police less chance to harrass us and in the meantime cut down on the amount of gasoline bought. Maybe the Service Station owner will come to our aid. "Freedom Meeting, Wednesday night, Bell Grove Church.

1- agencies NAACP

All these incidents make it more important that we should all

NAACP FREEDOM BANQUET

FIRST BAPTIST CHURCH
Clarksdale, Mississippi

Thursday Night, May 9, 1963 8:00 P.M.

SPEAKER: Mr. Roy Wilkins,
Executive Secretary NAACP

This Ticket Entitles You To A Free
Copy Of "THE OXFORD DISASTER"

DONATION: $2.50 Advance
$3.00 At Door

To be sure that you have advance tickets for the Banquet, I am sending you ( ). In any event, whether you are able to be here or not, I will appreciate your making a contribution for the FREEDOM CAUSE. Please make your check payable to the Coahoma County Branch of the NAACP or to me if you prefer. No public announcement, of your contribution, will be made unless you specifically request it.

Aaron E. Henry
AARON E. HENRY

Please return by May 6, 1963

Rec'd 5.2.63

COAHOMA COUNTY BRANCH
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

213 Fourth Street
Clarksdale, Mississippi

May 1, 1963

Dear Friend and/or Member of the NAACP:

This is the time of the year to remind you that the Annual Freedom Banquet, of the NAACP, is near at hand. The Banquet this year will be the greatest ever, because, for the first time, the Executive Secretary of the NAACP, Mr. Roy Wilkins, will be our Banquet Speaker. We are sure you agree that people far and near will be honored that Mr. Wilkins could come and be with us at this time.

The Banquet will be held in Clarksdale, Mississippi at the First Baptist Church on Thursday Night, May 9, 1963 - 8:00 P. M. The dining room at the First Baptist Church will hold a large audience, but we are afraid all who might desire to hear Mr. Wilkins might not be able to get in; therefore, this year we are placing Banquet Tickets on Advance Sale NOW.

The Advance Ticket price is $2.50, at the door $3.00. In order to make sure that all of our members and friends have an opportunity to obtain an advance ticket, we are reccommending that you send your check or money order now for as many tickets as you will want, and the tickets will be mailed to you immediately. You may also secure tickets at the Weekly Freedom Meetings, Fourth St. Drug Store, Mrs. Very M. Pigee, and from many members of the NAACP who will be handling them.

In addition to a wonderful meal this ticket will entitle you to a free copy of "THE OXFORD DISASTER, THE PRICE OF DEFIANCE." This book was written by Mr. Karl Wiesengurg, a member of the Mississippi Legislature, and it tells of the terrible activities of the riot at the University of Mississippi the night Mr. James Meredith appeared on the Campus. This writer tells a clear and complete story of the actions of the Governor, Lt. Governor, Highway Patrolmen, and local citizens. This is "MUST" reading for every Freedom Fighter.

We are looking forward to seeing you at the Banquet, and thanking you for your continued support in the Freedom Movement.

Yours for Freedom,

COAHOMA COUNTY BRANCH NAACP

Aaron E. Henry

AARON E. HENRY, President
Mrs. VERA M. PIGEE, Secretary

F L A S H F L A S H F L A S H F L A S H F L A S H F L A S H

Information has just reached us that in addition to Mr. Roy Wilkins, Executive Secretary of the NAACP the following will also be in attendance at the Coahoma County Branch of the NAACP FREEDOM BANQUET on Thursday Night, May 9, 1963:

The National President of the NAACP, Mr. Arthur Spingarn of New York City

The National Treasurer of the NAACP, Mr. Alfred Baker Lewis

The Chairman of the Board of Directors of the NAACP, Bishop S. G. Spottswood

The following Members of the National Board of Directors:

Attorney Margarett Bush Wilson, Saint Louis, Missouri

Dr. Claude Hudson, Los Angeles, California

Dr. Leonard Burnes, New Orleans, Louisiana

Mr. C. R. Darden, Meridian, Mississippi

COAHOMA COUNTY BRANCH NAACP

April 27, 1963

WHERE IS THE BREAKING POINT!!!! THE CONTINUED ABUSES THAT NEGROES OF THIS COMMUNITY ARE SUBJECTED TO, AT THE HANDS OF THE LOCAL WHITES, AND CONTINUE TO ABSORB, MUST SOON REACH THE BREAKING POINT. THE LATEST ATTACK UPON MRS. VERA PIGEE, BY AN ATTENDANT OF MOONEYHAN'S LION SERVICE STATION ON HIGHWAY 61, TUESDAY NIGHT, APRIL 23, 1963 IS THE LATEST CASE IN POINT. THE NON-VIOLENCE RESISTENCE MOVEMENT, BEING EMPLOYED BY NEGROES EVEN WHEN THEY ARE ATTACKED BY WHITES, IS COMING UNDER HEAVY DISAGREEMENT BY MANY NEGROES LOCALLY AND THROUGH OUT THE NATION. THE NAACP HAS ALWAYS ADVOCATED A POLICY OF SELF-DEFENSE. WE WILL NEVER STRIKE THE FIRST VIOLENT BLOW. WE POINT OUT TO OUR WHITE ATTACKERS THAT IN THE FUTURE YOU CAN LOOK TO LOSE NOTHING BUT YOUR SWING; YOU ARE GOING TO GET YOUR LICK RIGHT BACK. THE ROCK THROWING, SHOOTING, BOMBING, AND BEATINGS, BY WHITES AGAINST NEGROES, IN THIS COMMUNITY, WITHOUT RETALIATION, ARE O V E R.

THE FACT THAT MRS. PIGEE IMMEDIATELY REPORTED THE ATTACK UPON HER BY THE ATTENDANT OF THE SERVICE STATION TO THE LOCAL AUTHORITIES AND HER ATTACKER HAS NOT TO THIS DAY BEEN ARRESTED NOR CHARGED WITH ANY CRIME, AND SHE, THE VICTIM OF HIS BEATINGS, HAS BEEN ARRESTED AND CHARGED WITH DISTURBING THE PEACE, IS RIDICULOUS. THE BEST WAY TO CORRECT THE INJUSTICE, SUFFERED AT THE HANDS OF THE LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICERS, IS TO KEEP GOING TO THE CIRCUIT CLERKS OFFICE AND REGISTER, AND THEN GO TO THE CITY HALL AND REGISTER AND WHEN ELECTION TIME COMES, CLEAN OUT THE WHOLE GANG!!!!! AND ELECT MEN AND WOMEN WITH THE ABILITY TO BE TRULY THE REPRESENTATIVE OF AND GUARDIAN OF THE RIGHTS OF ALL THE PEOPLE.

WHEN MRS. PIGEE CALLED MR. MOONEYHAN AND COMPLAINED, EVEN TO HIM, OF THE ABUSIVE TREATMENT SHE RECEIVED AT HIS STATION, SHE WAS INFORMED, THAT "HE DID NOT SOLICIT NOR CARE FOR NIGGER'S BUSINESS." HE OWNS BOTH THE MOONEYHAN'S LION SERVICE STATION AND THE D. X. SERVICE STATION ON 49 HIGHWAY. BOTH OF THESE STATIONS WERE ADDED TO THE BOYCOTT LIST AT THE MASS MEETING, WEDNESDAY NIGHT, APRIL 24, 1963.

IT MIGHT NOT BE A BAD IDEA TO LOOK AROUND FOR ALL NEGROES THAT ARE TRADING AT SERVICE STATIONS OPERATED BY WHITES THAT DO NOT PERMIT NEGRO LADIES TO USE THE LADIES REST ROOM. THIS IN ITSELF IS AN INDICATION THAT THEY DO NOT APPRECIATE OUR BUSINESS AS MUCH AS THEY DO THE OTHER PEOPLE, YET WE PAY THE SAME AMOUNT FOR GAS, OIL, AND ALL OTHER SERVICES. LET US SERIOUSLY CONSIDER TRADING ONLY AT THOSE SERVICE STATIONS THAT PERMIT NEGRO LADIES TO USE THE LADIES REST ROOM. SUCH A STATION THAT COMES TO MIND, IMMEDIATELY, IS JUNIOR'S SHELL STATION AT 1205 FOURTH STREET. SERVICE STATIONS THAT DIRECT NEGRO MEN AND WOMEN TO THE SAME REST ROOM ARE NOT WORTHY OF OUR PATRONAGE EVEN IF SOME OF US STILL GIVE IT TO THEM. ANY TIME WE CAN AVOID THESE STATIONS, LET'S DO IT-WHAT YOU SAY?

THE TIME HAS COME FOR THE ANNUAL FREEDOM BANQUET. THIS YEAR'S PROGRAM WILL BE THE GREATEST WE HAVE EVER HAD AND POSSIBLY WILL HAVE IN MANY A YEAR TO COME. THE SPEAKER THIS YEAR IS NONE OTHER THAN MR. ROY WILKINS, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY OF THE NAACP. ALSO COMING TO IDENTIFY THEMSELVES WITH THE STRUGGLE OF NEGROES IN CLARKSDALE, COAHOMA COUNTY, AND MISSISSIPPI ARE: THE PRESIDENT OF THE NAACP, Mr. Arthur Springarn, THE CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS, Bishop S. G. Spottswood, THE TREASURER, Mr. Alfred Baker Lewis, AND THE FOLLOWING MEMBERS OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS: ATTORNEY MARGARETT BUSH WILSON, St. Louis, Missouri; DR. CLAUDE HUDSON, Los Angeles, California; DR. LEONARD BURNS, New Orleans, Louisiana; AND OUR OWN MR. C.R. DARDEN, Meridian, Mississippi; AND MR. MEDGAR EVERS AND MISS MARY COX, Jackson, Mississippi. THE PRESIDENT OF THE NAACP, THE CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD, AND THE TREASURER, ALONG WITH THE MEMBERS OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS ARE ALL NATIONAL PERSONALITIES. BANQUET TICKETS ARE AVAILABLE NOW. THEY HAVE BEEN PLACED ON ADVANCE SALE FOR $2.50 TO DETERMINE HOW MANY TO PREPARE FOR. THESE TICKETS WILL COST YOU $3.00 AT THE DOOR, SO BE SURE TO GET YOURS NOW. YOU ARE ALSO ENTITLED TO A COPY OF "THE OXFORD DISASTER-THE PRICE OF DEFIANCE" IF YOU ATTEND THE BANQUET, THE RARE RARE OPPORTUNITY OF SHAKING HANDS AND SECURING AUTOGRAPHS OF SOME OF THE GREATEST AMERICANS OF TODAY WILL ALSO BE YOURS TO ENJOY.

WE MUST ALSO:

(a) SECURE, BETWEEN NOW AND MAY 9, 1963, 100 NEW MEMBERSHIPS TO PRESENT AT THE BANQUET.

(b) ATTEND THE TRIAL OF MRS. VERA PIGEE ON MON. AFTERNOON, APR. 29, 1963.

(c) ATTEND THE FREEDOM MEETING WED. NIGHT AT MT. MARIAH METHODIST CHURCH.

(d) CONTINUE TO BOYCOTT THE WHOLE DOWNTOWN AREA PLUS JORDAN FURNITURE COMPANY, MOONEYHAN'S LION AND MOONEYHAN'S D. X. SERVICE STATION ON THIS SIDE OF TOWN.

1-agencies - NAACP

Aaron E Henry
213 Fourth Street
Clrksdale, Miss.

CLARKSDALE
MAY 2
1963
MISS.

Mr. Jack Minnis
VEP
5 Forsyth
Atlanta, Ga.

COAHOMA COUNTY BRANCH NAACP

MAY 11, 1963

WE WANT TO EXPRESS OUR GRATEFUL APPRECIATION T O THE CLARKSDALE COMMUNITY FOR A VERY SUCCESSFUL "FREEDOM BANQUET", WHICH WAS HELD THURSDAY NIGHT IN CLARKSDALE, MISSISSIPPI THE BANQUET WAS ATTENDED BY THE GREATEST NUMBER OF PERSONS SINCE WE HAVE BEEN HAVING IT, WHICH NOW DATES BACK SOME EIGHT YEARS.

WE ARE SINCERELY GRATEFUL TO THE MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE NAACP FOR TAKING TIME OUT TO BE WITH US AND ALSO TO MR. JAMES MEREDITH, THE FREEDOM SYMBOL OF OUR TIMES, FOR COMING OVER AND SHARING THIS EXPERIENCE WITH US.

ALL WHO MISSED THE BANQUENT WE ARE SURE WILL HAVE CONSICIOUS PAINS FOR A LONG TIME BROODING OVER AN OPPORTUNITY THAT WAS PASSED UP. OUR APPRECIATION GOES ALSO TO ALL OF THE LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICIALS WHO PARTICIPATED IN THE ACTIVITY OF KEEPING LAW AND ORDER. NOT ONE DISTURBANCE WAS NOTED DURING THE MEETING.

IN SPITE OF THE "INCIDENT PROVOKING" ADVERTISEMENT THAT APPEARED IN THE CLARKSDALE PRESS REGISTER ON MAY 8th AND 9th, THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR THIS REPREHENSIBLE AD DID NOT SUCCEED IN CAUSING ANY TROUBLE. IT ONLY SERVED TO LOWER OUR REPUTATION IN THE EYES OF SOME OF THE BEST CITIZENS THAT MAKE UP THIS NATION. THE REFERRAL IN THIS ADVERTISEMENT TO OUR VISITING GUEST AS OUTSIDE AGITATORS AND BEING UNWELCOMED WAS A SERIOUS AFFRONT. THE NAACP NOR THE NEGRO CITIZENS OF THIS COMMUNITY HAVE ABDICATED OUR DRIVE FOR FREEDOM TO THIS ANNOMYOUS CITIZENS GROUP , THAT ACT SO COWARDLY THEY ARE ASHAMED TO SIGN THEIR NAMES TO IT. ONE DAY YOUR IDENTITY WILL BE REVEALED AND WE WILL ALL KNOW WHO YOU ARE.

THIS AD WAS A SUTLE, HYPROTICAL APPEAL FOR LAW AND ORDER, WHEN ITS ONLY POSSIBLE EFFECT WAS TO CREATE A CLIMATE IN WHICH VIOLENCE AND INTIMINDATION WOULD BE ACCEPT, able and thrive. But FOR THE GENUINE RESPECT FOR LAW AND ORDER AND HIS DETERMINATION AS FAR AS HE CAN BE SURE THAT LAW AND ORDER WILL PREVAIL, ON THE PART OF SHERIFF L. A. ROSS. THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR THIS AD WOULD ALSO NOW BE RESPONSIBLE FOR A COMMUNITY SO DISTURBED THAT MUCH EFFORT WOULD HAVE HAD TO BE USED TO CONTAIN IT.

THE BLATANT LIES CIRCULATED ABOUT A "MARCH", "KNEEL INS" AND "DEMONSTRATIONS" DID NOT GIVE BIRTH TO THEMSELVES, SOMEONE DELIBERATELY ATTEMPTED TO CAUSE STRIFE AND RACIAL CONFUSION. THIS "AD" BY CALLING ON NEGROES TO STAY HOME ON THE NIGHT OF THE B ANQUET, SERVED ONLY TO BRING MORE NEGROES OUT TO THE BANQUET. "THANK YOU FOR YOUR ADVERTISEMENT". IN THE MEANTIME; BUT, FOR THE LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICIALS IT WOULD HAVE BEEN USED AS AN INVITATION BY THE WHITE HOODLUM ELEMENT SO ENCOURAGED BY SOME OF THE "WHITE LEADERSHIP" OF THIS COMMUNITY, TO FOLLOW ITS PATTERN OF HARRASSMENT, BRICK AND BOTTLE THROWING TOGETHER WITH THEIR LATEST SPORT, "FIRE BOMBING".

IF THE WHITE PEOPLE OF THIS COMMUNITY HAD BEEN FAIR WITH THE NEGROES AS THE "AD" SAID IN THE PAPER, THEN THE WHITE PEOPLE WOULD NOT BE RUNNING FROM EVERY SHADOW, AND EVERY WHIRLWIND. IT COULD BE THAT YOU ARE LIVING WITH A GUILTY CONSCIOUS AND EXPECT NEGROES TO TREAT YOU AS YOU HAVE BEEN TREATING US ALL OF THESE YEARS.

FREEDOM TO US, HOWEVER; IS A COMMODITY THAT YOU HAVE TO GIVE AWAY. IF YOU ARE GOING TO KEEP IT, UNLESS WE ARE ALL FREE. NONE OF US ARE FREE. ONE HAVE NO MORE DESIRE FOR A "BLACK SUPREMACY", THAN WE HAVE FOR THE PRESENT "WHITE SUPREMACY". NEITHER IS ACCEPTABLE TO US. EACH OF US MUST GIVE AND BE WILLING TO ACCEPT "FREEDOM FOR ALL MANKIND."

DON'T FORGET: BE SURE TO VOTE. GO TO THE CIRCUIT CLERKS OFFICE AT THE COURTHOUSE. BETWEEN FIFTY AND ONE HUNDRED PERSONS ARE GOING DOWN WEEKLY. WHEN WILL YOU? THE TRIAL OF PERCY GREEN IS SCHEDULED FOR WEDNESDAY, TIME UNKNOWN AT THE PRESENT TIME. THIS IS THE WHITE MAN THAT ATTACKED MRS. PIGEE.

FREEDOM MEETING, WEDNESDAY NIGHT, JERESULEM BAPTIST CHURCH.

ALL OF THE DOWNTOWN IS OFF LIMITS FOR THOSE OF US SEEKING FREEDOM. ALSO THE MOONEYHAN SERVICE STATIONS, JORDAN FURNITURE COMPANY AND 5TH STREET GROCERY.

OUR WHITE BROTHERS AND SISTERS SHOULD CONCLUDE THAT DISCRIMINATION AGAINST NEGROES IS WRONG. THEY HAVE ALL THE ORDINARY ASSETS, LAW, COURT ROOM, POLICE OFFICERS, JUDGES AND ALSO "MR. GOODWILL", ON THEIR SIDE AND THEY STILL CAN'T WIN.

OUR LORD SAID, "ONE WITH HIM" MAKES A MAJORITY.

Recd 5-17-63 WBV JMV RBV

COAHOMA COUNTY BRANCH NAACP

May 4, 1963

WHILE THE LOCAL OFFICIALS AND ESPECIALLY THE DOWNTOWN MERCHANTS BEMOAN THE FACT OF LOSS OF BUSINESS IN THE CLARKSDALE AREA, WHICH IS REFLECTED IN THE AMOUNT OF SALES TAXES COLLECTED IN THE AREA, (SEE CLARKSDALE PRESS REGISTER, MAY 3, 1963 EDITION) WE SHOULD TAKE A GOOD LOOK AT WHAT IS CAUSING THIS LACK OF BUSINESS. THE SIMPLE FACTS ARE THAT MANY, MANY NEGROES ARE NOT SPENDING THEIR MONEY IN DOWNTOWN CLARKSDALE, BUT ARE TRAVELING TO HELENA, MEMPHIS, CLEVELAND, AND YES, GREENWOOD, MISS. TO SHOP. MANY OF US WILL CONTINUE TO SPEND OUR MONEY AWAY FROM DOWNTOWN CLARKSDALE UNTIL THE MERCHANTS AGREE TO EMPLOY NEGROES ABOVE THE MENIAL LEVEL AND USE COURTESY TITLES WHEN ADDRESSING US, PERSONALLY OR BY MAIL. UNTIL YOU AGREE TO DO THIS YOU CAN CONTINUE TO LOOK FOR SLOW TRADE, BUSINESS, AND INADEQUATE SALES TAX RETURNS WHILE MOST OF OUR NEIGHBORING CITIES SIPHON OFF BUSINESS YOU WOULD NORMALLY GET. THE NEGRO LEADERSHIP, OF THIS COMMUNITY, STANDS READY TO NEGOTIATE THIS PROBLEM WITH YOU AT ANY TIME YOU FIND IT POSSIBLE. THIS KIND OF REACTION GOES BACK TO AN OLD SAYING BY BOOKER T, WASHINGTON, "IN ORDER TO KEEP A MAN IN A DITCH, YOU WILL HAVE TO STAY DOWN IN THE DITCH WITH HIM." THIS SAYING IS EVEN TRUE IN THE DIFFICULTY NEGROES ARE HAVING TRYING TO REGISTER TO VOTE AT THE CIRCUIT CLERK'S OFFICE. WE WOULD LIKE TO REMIND THE WHITE COMMUNITY, THAT THE HISTORY OF THIS NATION, THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, SHOWS THAT THE FIRST TWELVE PRESIDENTS OF THIS OUR COUNTRY, NINE OF THEM WERE SOUTHERNERS. THEN THE SOUTH BEGAN ITS PATH OF RACIAL BIGOTRY, AND SINCE THEN NOT ANOTHER SOUTHERNER HAS BECOME PRESIDENT. "THE MORAL OF THIS STORY IS, AS LONG AS YOU KEEP US, (NEGROES) FROM REGISTERING TO VOTE, WE WILL KEEP YOU (WHITE SOUTHERNERS) FROM BEING PRESIDENT." THIS MEANS ALL WHO THINK LIKE YOU... INCLUDING MR. BARRY GOLDWATER, FROM ARIZONA.

IN CITY COURT LAST MONDAY, MRS. VERA PIGEE WAS FINED $51.00 FOR BEING THE RECEIPIENT OF SEVERAL BLOWS FROM A WHITE MAN ATTENDANT OF THE MOONEYHAN'S LION SERVICE STATION ON HIGHWAY 61. THIS IS QUEER JUSTICE? BUT IT IS AN UNDERSTANDABLE APPLICATION OF THE BREACH OF PEACE STATUE THAT IS USED IN MISSISSIPPI. THE INTERPRETATION OF THE LAW IS THAT FOR WHATEVER REASON A NEGRO IS ABUSED BY A WHITE PERSON, THE NEGRO IS GUILTY OF BREACH OF PEACE FOR CAUSING THE WHITE PERSON TO COMMIT VIOLENCE. IT MIGHT WELL BE THE SHAPE OF YOUR HAT, THE COLOR OF THE CAR YOU DRIVE, THE COLOR OF YOUR SUIT OR DRESS, AND MOST ASSUREDLY, THE COLOR OF YOUR SKIN.
"OH! JUSTICE, W H E R E A R T T H O U ?"

THE WEEK OF MAY 5-12, 1963 WILL BE A WEEK LONG REMEMBERED IN MISSISSIPPI. BEGINNING TOMORROW MAY 5, 1963, THESE EVENTS ARE SCHEDULED:

3:00 p. m.,MOUNT MORIAH METHODIST CHURCH, YOUTH COUNCIL FREEDOM RALLY, C'dale, Miss.

4:00 p. m.,JACKIE ROBINSON WILL APPEAR FOR THE FREEDOM MOVEMENT, G'WOOD, MISS.

THE UNITED ORDER OF FRIENDSHIP OF AMERICA WILL BE IN SESSION ALL DAY IN MOUND BAYOU, MISSISSIPPI ON SUNDAY, MAY 5, 1963 BEGINNING AT 10:00 a. m.
BE SURE TO ATTEND ONE OF THESE PROGRAMS - ALL IF POSSIBLE.

THURSDAY NIGHT, MAY 9, 1963, THE COAHOMA COUNTY BRANCH FREEDOM BANQUET RALLY WILL BE HELD AT THE FIRST BAPTIST CHURCH. OUR GUEST OF HONOR WILL INCLUDE, IN ADDITION TO MR. ROY WILKINS, THE EXECUTIVE SEC'Y. OF NAACP - THE NATIONAL PRES. OF NAACP, MR. ARTHUR SPINGARN, THE NATIONAL TREASURER OF NAACP, MR. ALFRED BAKER LEWIS, THE CHAIRMAN OF THE NATIONAL BOARD OF DIRECTORS, BISHOP S. G. SPOTTSWOOD, AND ATTORNEY MARGARET BUSH WILSON, St. Louis, Mo.; DR. CLAUDE HUDSON, Los Angeles, Calif. DR. LEONARD BURNS, New Orleans, La.; MR. C. R. DARDEN, Meridian, Miss. BE SURE TO GET YOUR TICKETS TODAY!!!!

ALL MEMBERSHIPS THAT HAVE NOT BEEN RENEWED ARE DUE NOW; IN FACT PAST DUE. GET YOUR RENEWAL IN IMMEDIATELY.

REMEMBER WE ARE STILL BOYCOTTING THE COMPLETE DOWNTOWN SECTION OF THE CITY. ALSO: JORDAN FURNITURE COMPANY, FIFTH STREET GROCERY, AND ALL OF MOONEYHAN'S SERVICE STATIONS, AND ANY OTHER BUSINESSES HE MIGHT OWN - REAL OR IMAGINARY.

MASS MEETING THIS WEEK: CHAPEL HILL M. B. CHURCH. REV. L. R. SKIPPER, PASTOR, WILL BE THE SPEAKER.

HERE IS HOPING THAT THE GOOD LORD WILL TAKE A LIKING TO YOU.

MAY 21 1963

COAHOMA COUNTY BRANCH NAACP

WB
JM
RB

May 18, 1963

Everywhere the topic OF DISCUSSION THIS WEEK HAS BEEN THE NEW AND ADDITIONAL HARRASSMENT THE CITY ADMINISTRATION, AND THE CLARKSDALE POLICE DEPARTMENT ARE DIRECTING AGAINST MRS. WILLIE GRIFFIN LEE. FOLLOWING NEARLY FOUR HUNDRED DOLLARS WORTH OF FINES IN THE "NICKLE PICKLE" CASE A FEW MONTHS AGO. ON MONDAY OF THIS WEEK SHE WAS FINED ANOTHER $235.60 INCLUDING COST OF COURT.

THE REASON BEHIND ALL OF THIS HARRASSMENT OF MRS. LEE IS THAT SHE IDENTIFIES HERSELF AS A MEMBER OF THE NAACP AND WORKS WITH THE VOTERS REGISTRATION CAMPAIGN THAT HAS BEEN GOING ON FOR SOME TIME IN CLARKSDALE AND COAHOMA COUNTY. MANY OF US DISAGREE WITH THE PAYING OF THIS LATEST FINE (SHE HAS UNTIL THURSDAY MAY 23rd TO PAY IT) OR GO TO JAIL.

MRS. WILLIE GRIFFIN LEE'S EXPLANATION OF THE LATEST CASE IS THAT ON AUGUST 15, 1962 SHE WAS IN THE DOWNTOWN SECTION OF THE CITY OF CLARKSDALE TRYING TO PERSUADE NEGROES(SEE DOWNTOWN) TO FOLLOW HER TO THE COURTHOUSE TO REGISTER TO VOTE. ALL AT ONCE A BURLY POLICEMAN GRABBED HER FROM BEHIND AND TOLD HER SHE WAS UNDER ARREST. SHE THEN INQUIRED OF THE CHARGES AND TOLD THE POLICEMAN THAT HE DID NOT HAVE TO MAUL HER AND THAT SHE WOULD GO WITH HIM. SHE SAID HE CONTINUED TO HOLD ONTO HER AND THAT SHE JERKED HERSELF ALOOSE FROM HIM AND WALKED TOWARD HIS CAR. SHE ALSO STATED THAT SHE WAS PLACED IN THE CLARKSDALE CITY JAIL IN A CELL WITHOUT A BED OR A CHAIR. SHE SAID SHE REMOVED A PAD FROM THE WALL AND MADE HERSELF A SEAT ON THE FLOOR.

MRS. LEE IS PREGNANT AND IS GOING TO HAVE HER BABY SOON. SHE STILL FEELS THAT SHE NEEDS US ALL TO HELP HER MAKE UP HER MIND, OF WHETHER TO PAY THE FINE OR GO TO JAIL. SHE KNOWS THAT CONTINUING TO PAY FINES ONLY SERVES AS AN INCINTIVE TO LOCAL POLICEMEN TO KEEP ON ARRESTING AND THUS FILL THE LOCAL TREASURY OF THE POLICE DEPARTMENT.

THE ENTIRE FREEDOM MOVEMENT IS INVOLVED IN THIS CASE. THE WRATH OF THE POLICE DEPARTMENT AND CITY ADMINSTRATION IS BEING VENTED UPON HER AS SHE REPRESENTS TO THEM A SYMBOL OF THE MOVEMENT. THE ONLY WITNESSES AGAINST HER WERE THE POLICE COMMISSIONER AND THE CHIEF OF POLICE. THE FELLOW STUDENTS OF MR. AND MRS. LEE AT COAHOMA JUNIOR COLLEGE, AND THE MEMBERS OF THE YOUTH COUNCIL OF BOTH HIGGINS HIGH SCHOOL AND IMMACULATE CONCEPTION SCHOOL, ARE MOST ANXIOUS FOR THE OPPORTUNITY TO MAKE A MAJOR PROTEST, ONE OF SUCH MAGNITUDE THAT THE CITY ADMINSTRATION AND THE CITY POLICE DEPARTMENT WILL NEVER FORGET.

THE ADULT LEADERSHIP OF THE COMMUNITY WILL MEET WITH A REPRESENTATIVE GROUP OF THESE YOUNG PEOPLE ON MONDAY NIGHT, TO TRY TO HELP MAP OUT A COURSE THAT WILL LEAD TO SUCCESS IN OUR ASPIRSTIONS FOR FREEDOM. WE APPRECIATE THE REQUEST FOR A CONFERENCE FROM THESE YOUNG PEOPLE AND WILL DO OUR BEST TO GIVE THE PROPER GUIDANCE.

THE TIME IS HERE AND IN FACT LONG PAST, FOR THE MEMBERS OF THE WHITE COMMUNITY TO HELP EFFECT THE ESTABLISHEMNT OF A BI RACIAL COMMITTEE TO DEAL WITH THE PROBLEMS OF THIS COMMUNITY. OUR PROBLEMS CAN BE RESOLVED IN THE SAME PEACEFUL PATTERN AS ATLANTA OR IN THE RIOT TORN PATTERN OF BIRMINGHAM. IT IS UP TO THE WHITE COMMUNITY.

REMEMBER: WE ARE STILL BOYCOTTING THE ENTIRE DOWNTOWN SEETION OF CLARKSDALE AND ALSO 5th ST. GROCERY, JORDAN'S FURNITURE COMPANY AND THE MOONEYHAN'S SERVICE STATIONS. "DON'T TRADE AT ANY SERVICE STATION WHICH DOES NOT PERMIT NEGRO LADIES TO USE THE LADIES REST ROOM.

FREEDOM MEETING WEDNESDAY NIGHT, HAVEN METHODIST CHURCH.

COAHOMA COUNTY COUNCIL OF FEDERATED
ORGANIZATIONS

May 18, 1963

Dear Fellow Citizen:

Will you please take the time to meet with other interested citizens of our community on Monday night, 8:00 P.M. in the Conference Room of the Royal Funeral System at 507 Ashton Avenue, Clarksdale, Mississippi.

The general question of the Negroe's search for complete Freedom will be the topic of discussion. Specifically the one issue that demands our immediate attention is the present legal situation concerning Mrs. Willie Lee (formerly known as Miss Willie Griffin).

This young lady has been very active in the Freedom struggle. For such she has been the recepient of police harrassment and intimindation. You probably remember the "nickle pickle" case where she was first fined in city court two hundred dollars for defending herself against a male thug that had struck her. She was later hauled into county court in the same charge and given another similar fine.

Prior to this she has been employed in the Clarksdale's Voters Program and had been charged with a breach of peace when she tried to get Negroes seen downtown to go with her to the courthouse to register to vote. She was roughly handled by members of the Clarksdale Police Department. She reports that she was placed in a cell in the City Hall without a bed or chair. She took herself a pad of the wall and made herself a seat on the floor for comfort.

For this she has been fined another $235.60 including court cost. We feel that this young lady has been dealt with most unfairly. The Clarksdale community is going to have to be informed by our words amd action that we are not going to accept without protest this kind of persecution. To treat any Negro in this manner is to treat us all in this manner. This latest fine has not been paid. She has until Thursday, May 23rd to pay it or go to jail. The question we must decide is do we pay or "protest".

Your presence and advice in helping chart the proper course is urgently needed in the meeting at 8:00 P.M Monday night, May 20, 1963 in the Conference Room of the Royal Funeral Home. Our destiny could well depend on the outcome of this meeting.

Yours for Freedom,

COAHOMA COUNTY COUNCIL OF FEDERATED ORGANIZATIONS

R. L. Drew, Chairman Board of Directors

R. L. Drew

WBV

MAY 28 1963

COAHOMA COUNTY BRANCH NAACP 5/25/63

The Coahoma County Branch announces it's unqualified support to the COFO movement laurched on May 24, 1963 to secure a conference with the Mayor and responsible leaders of both the Negro and White community. The Coahoma County Branch of the NAACP calls upon all of it's members and friends to be willing to participate in this movement in whatever way you can. If it can be resolved "around the conference table" that will be fine and the best way; but if it has to be resolved by appealing to public demonstrations and moral persuasion, then we must be willing to bear the burden of responsibility.

The support of the National offices of the NAACP, SCLC, CORE, SNNC, and RNCL have been received. Lawyers, Bond Money, Professional Personnell and all other aids are available to us. We cannot afford to have people of other communities more concerned about us than we are about ourselves. Direct activities here will depend somewhat on the Jackson, Mississippi movement. The nation is committed to the support of both communities in whatever it cost in terms of finance and personnell. Remember, "we are not alone".

The involvement of the President of the United States and the Attorney General of the United States is expected in trying to get conferences started. We feel we can also count on them if things bog down. They know that segregation and discrimination are wrong. It is no surprise to them that Negroes all over this Nation are rebeling against this time honored custom. The only thingthat is strange about it to them is how Negroes have put up with these conditions so long.

Be on the alert for definite and specific instructions and information as to what, when and where.

The endorsement of this program by many of the local ministers have already been assured. We call upon the pastor and the membership of all the churches to keep the membership acquainted with and informed about this project. The qualified endorsement of every minister of Clarksdale and Coahoma County is being sought. Your pastor and your church are being counted upon. Please don't let your church and your pastor be too big and "uncle tommish" to support themovement.

This local condition can be resolved as peacefully as it was resolved in Memphis and Atlanta, or it can take on the likings of B I R M I N G H A M. What shape it will take is really up to the local white community. The Negro leadership is ready now, was ready yesterday to sit down with them and discuss our problems. Yes, yesterday is now tomorrow time has run out.

Our harty congratulations go out to the many youth members that are graduating from High School and College this month. The world is which you are entering is by no means as it should be. The job to help make it so is your responsibility too. We wish you God's speed.

The appearence of Mr. Medgar Evers on television last Monday night in Jackson has been filmed. We are trying to get a copy of it to show at the Mass Meeting for Freedom this week. Be sure to be present.

On Sunday, May 26, 1963 at Greenwood, Mississippi Mrs. Ruby Hurley the Southeastern Regional Secretary will address the Greenwood, Mississippi Branch of the NAACP. The Meeting will be at 5:00 P.M. Be sure to lend to our brothers and sisters in Greenwood, our support by being present. See you in Greenwood Sunday afternoon.

Several reports have been received lately about members of the Clarksdale Police Department stopping Negroes coming home after twelve 0' clock at night and informing them that if they can't get back into Clarksdale before twelve 0' clock to spend the night out of town. When it gets so bad that a man can't come home if it is after twelve 0' clock, we wonder if Clarksdale is really still in Mississippi not alone America. Well Mr. Policeman we are not about to obey any such stupid order as that whether it came from high up or low down. The next report we get of this nature will be so protested that your whole twelve 0' clock curfew will be repealed.

Freedom meeting Wednesday night, Mount Mariah Methodist Church.

The least we all can do is support the boycott against the Downtown Merchants, Fifth St. Grocery, Clarksdale and Denton's milk Daries, Jordan Furniture Company, Mooneyhans Service Stations and all S E R V I C E S T A T I O N S W I T H S E G R E G A T E D R E S T R O O M S.

WB-
JMV
RTB

JUN 4 1963

COAHOMA COUNTY BRANCH NAACP

June 1, 1963

The duly elected officials of our City continue to ignore our request for permission to appear before them to discuss our problems. Today, June 1, 1963 we have again sent to the Mayor and Commissioners the following telegram:

To: Mr. W. S. Kincade, Mayor, Mr. Hudson Bell, Commissioner, Mr. J. W. McKellar, Commissioner we request permission for a committee from the Coahoma County Branch of the NAACP to appear before the Board of Mayor and Commissioners to discuss with you community problems that we consider very important to all citizens of our area. We would like to appear before you on Tuesday afternoon June 4, 1963. If we may have your permission will you please inform us of the most convenient time.

The problems that we need to discuss are numerous. The ones most compelling and those on which we insist on being heard include.

1. The urgent necessity of setting up a Bi-Racial committee composed of responsible members of both Racial groups to deal with the following and other problems:

2. Law Enforcement and the courts:

   A. Negroes generally have no chance of successfully defending themselves when charged by local officers and tried in local courts.

   B. Conduct of local Police Officials in the following cases.

   C. Twelve O' clock curfew

   A. Negro harrassment.

3. Difficulties involving Mrs. Willie Griffin Lee. (This young lady was fined over $400.00 in a case growing out of a "nickle pickle")

   A. Bomb throwing into Centennial Baptist Church during a Dick Gregory appearence.

4. Employment:

   A. Seek employment of Negroes in the City in jobs other than common labor.

   B. Seek employment of Negroes in business above the menial level.

Education:

A. Poor quality of Education afforded Negro children due to continued segregated School system despite legal rulings outlawing segregation in Public Education.

B. Not a single Negro child attends an accredited school in this community while all schools white children attend are accredited. (We agree completely with the request for a walk-way asked for last week by the PTA.) The point is however; If white children had been attending Booker Washington School too, it would not have been necessary to file a petition for a walk-way. The School Board would have seen to it as they have done for the new Clarksdale Coahoma High School.

Coahoma County Branch NAACP continued.

5. Voting Rights.

A. An average of fifty Negroes per week appear before the County Registrar to request right to register to vote, fewer than five are permitted to register.

B. Devious techniques employed by registrar to discourage Negroes from trying to register to vote.

6. Human Dignity:

A. Right to use any public facility without discrimination.
SCHOOLS HOSPITALS LIBRARIES PLAYGROUNDS SWIMMING POOLS
PUBLIC BUILDINGS CITY HALL COURTROOM.

B. Courtesy to b extended to Negroes in the same manner as to other Racial groups by:

1. The Press (We are deliberately ignoring the editorial of Wednesday, May 29th for the time being.)
2. Business Establishments.

In addition to informing the City Fathers and the Fathers of our community of our grievances, we also intend to air these grievances in the area of Public opinion wherever an opportunity can be found or made.

We are offering the names of the following persons who have been selected by us to negotiate with responsible leaders of the White community. If the Mayor and the commissioners will appoint such a committee, so well and good, If they will not, we call upon the ministers of the White community and other responsible leaders to take the initiative in this regard.

Mr. R. L. Drew	Mrs. Vera M. Pigee	Mr. H. Y. Hackett
Mrs. Lilliam Rogers Johnson	Mr. M. D. Upchurch	Rev. J. D. Rayford
Mr. J. J. Mason	Rev. L. I. Young	Mr. Hughey McDaniel
Mr. J. W. Wright	Mr. James C. Gilliam	Mrs. Typhonia Pettis
Mr. Aaron E. Henry	Mr. Cleo Jackson	Mrs. A. B. Wilson

(Additional names will be added later)

The requests that we are making we know are rightfully ours, So attested to by the President of the United States, the Vice President of the United States, the Attorney General of the United States, the Supreme Court of the United States, the Constitution of the United States, the Word of Jesus Christ, and found in the Hearts of Negroes desiring Freedom everywhere.

THE COMMUNITY IS BEING CALLED UPON TO PARTICIPATE IN A DIRECT ACTION CAMPAIGN TO CORRECT THESE CONDITIONS. The committee visiting Jackson last week brought back much vital information. Be sure to attend the Freedom Meeting this week at Silent Grove Baptist Church and receive your assign ment. Rev. Maurice McCracken from operation Freedom will be Guest Speaker.

In the meantime be sure to support the boycott against downtown merchants. All persons seen shopping downtown will have their names called in weekly Freedom meetings from now on. Also at 5th St. Grocery, Monneyhans Service Stations, Jordan's Furniture , Dentons and Clarksdale Dairy. Don't be classified as an "Uncle Tom" or "Nerveous Nellie".

WB
JM
RTB

COAHOMA COUNTY BRANCH NAACP
213 FOURTH STREET
CLARKSDALE, MISSISSIPPI

JUN 6 1963

June 4, 1963

TO: BOARD OF MAYOR AND COMMISSIONERS
CITY OF CLARKSDALE

RE: PERMISSION TO DISCUSS AND RESOLVE GRIEVANCES PERTINENT TO INTERACIAL GOOD WILL AND UNDERSTANDING.

Now come the members, friends and supporters of the Coahoma County Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to request permission to present and discuss with you some problems that we feel must be resolved in our community. We regret the necessity of having to come before you after having asked and not received permission; but we feel that it is important enough to risk this possible affront to you, if the rights we seek and a peaceful community can be had at the same time.

The solutions to the problems we wish to discuss we feel can very well be handled by the endorsement and appointment of a Bi-Racial Committee, composed of the interested leadership of both racial groups. Such a Committee if supported by the Mayor and Commissioners could go a long way toward resolving these problems and correcting the unfavorable conditions under which we live and of which we are all aware.

The problems that we would want such a group or committee to look into and solve would be numerous. Besides those already present there will be others. Those that we would want looked into immediately by this proposed committee would include:

I. LAW ENFORCEMENT AND THE COURTS:

A. Negroes generally feel that we do not have any chance of successfully defending ourselves when we are charged by the local officials and we are tried in the local courts.

B. Investigation into the activity of Clarksdale Police Department and the Police Commissioner in the following cases.

1. The Case of Mrs. Willie Griffin Lee. This young ladies' difficulty began with the Clarksdale Police Department, August of 1962. She is publicity identified as a member of the NAACP. She was a worker with the Coahoma County Voter Education Program, and was arrested while trying to persuade Negroes to go over to the Court House to register

She was later arrested in a case growing out of her attempt to retain a "nickle pickle" which she had purchased. A Negro boy under spurious circumstances tried to take this pickle away from her and they allegedly exchanged blows for which was

hauled into city court and fined $200.00. Upon being released from the city she was promptly hauled into county court and fined again for the same charge. Gentlemen this is persecution.

2. The case of Mr. Dale Hurliman and three other students from the University of Iowa, as they visited here with friends who happened to be Negroes. They were harassed and abused in a manner that many citizens both Negro and white are ashamed.

3. A bomb thrown into the Centennial Baptist Church at the time that Mr. Dick Gregory visited in the community and was appearing for the NAACP. The church on this particular night was surrounded by members of the Clarksdale Police Department including the Police Commissioner. When the bomb entered the Church, many of the persons inside ran out in panic and fear. The fact that a bomb had been thrown into the church was reported to police outside. No assistance nor investigation was made or given. Negroes upon returning to the meeting after all was quiet reported policemen parked across the streets laughing as Negroes ran from the church.

WE REQUEST AN INVESTIGATION OF THE CONDUCT AND ACTIONS OF THE POLICE COMMISSIONER AT THE CLOSE OF THIS MEETING.

4. The Twelve O'Clock Curfew is a ready made "Harassment Gadget" in the hands of the city police to be used to intimindate Negroes. It was recently reported to us that Negroes have been so instructed by some members of the Police Department that if they are out of town and cannot get back into Clarksdale before twelve O' clock, to spend the night out of town or they will be arrested if they come into Clarksdale after 12 O' clock midnight. We have no intentions of obeying such a command.

II. EMPLOYMENT.

A. The general absence of Negro Employees above the area of common labor in municipal government and in the business community, needs correcting.

B. Negroes added to the Clarksdale Police Department would improve it's effectiveness and its public image tremendously. Negro and White persons working together in the Clarksdale Police Department would be a big factor in helping reduce and eliminate complaints of intimindation and harassment of Negroes.

III. EDUCATION

A. Poor quality of Education afforded Negro children due to continued segregated School System, despite Legal Rulings outlawing segregation in Public Education. A way must be found to begin desegregating the public school system without the difficulty and bitterness that has accompanied this activity in many other communities. Many more communities have acomplished

this fete without difficulty than those that have had difficulty. It can be done here without difficulty if we try.

B. Not a single Negro child attends an accredited school in this community, while all schools White children attend are accredited. We agree completely with the request of the PTA last week for a walk-way for Negro children attending Booker T. Washington School. The point is however; if white children had been attending Booker T. Washington School also, it would not have been necessary to petition for a walk-way. The school and city boards would have seen to it as they have done for the new Clarksdale Coahoma High School, which for the time being has all white students in attendance.

IV. VOTING RIGHTS:

A. The number of Negroes who are denied the right to Register to vote is alarming. An average week will find atleast fifty Negroes presenting themselves to Register to vote and most times fewer than five are permitted to register. Several of the ones denied the right to register are high school graduates.

1. The Circuit Clerk must somehow be persuaded to stop denying Negroes the right to register to vote.

2. Once the Negro secures the ballot without so much difficulty, Racial Prejudice will cease to be a major factor in politics and even you the members of the Board of Mayor and Commissioners can freely proclaim the rights and privileges due every American Citizen without facing sure defeat in the next election for having done so.

V. HUMAN DIGNITY:

A. The right to use any public facility without discrimination or segregation must be established. We insist that the stigma of racial inferiority be removed and the following facilities be opened to us as they are to all other citizens without segregation or discrimination. 1. Schools 2. Hospitals 3. Libraries 4. Playgrounds 5. Swimming Pools 6. Public buildings, including City Hall and Courthouse.

B. Local Press, Clarksdale Press Register, should be encouraged to exhibit human decency when referring to Negroes in its news column. It might be that such a step by the press will be followed by the business men of our community. This has been the experience of other communities that have had a Local Paper with the courage to speak up for Human Decency.

C. All Establishments opened to the general public should be persuaded and permitted to serve the general public without interference from the local law officials.

In addition to you we plan to inform the entire community of our grievances. We intend to saturate the area of Public Opinion wherever an opportunity can be found or made.

WE ARE OFFERING THE NAMES OF THE FOLLOWING PERSONS WHO HAVE BEEN SELECTED BY US TO REPRESENT US AND NEGOTIATE WITH RESPONSIBLE LEADERS OF THE WHITE COMMUNITY. IF THE MAYOR AND THE COMMISSIONERS WILL APPOINT SUCH A COMMITTEE, SO WELL AND GOOD IF THEY WILL NOT, WE CALL UPON THE MINISTERS OF THE WHITE COMMUNITY AND OTHER RESPONSIBLE LEADERS TO TAKE THE INITIATIVE IN THIS REGARD.

Mr. R. L. Drew	Mrs. Vera M. Pigee	Mr. H. Y. Hackett
Mrs. Lillian Rogers Johnson	Mr. M. D. Upchurch	Rev. J. D. Rayford
Mr. J. J. Mason	Rev. L. I. Young	Mr. Hughey McDaniel
Mr. J. W. Wright	Mr. James C. Gilliam	Mr. Typhonia Pettis
Mr. Aaron E. Henry	Mr. Cleo Jackson	Mrs. A. B. Wilson

The requests that we are making, we know are rightfully ours. So attested to by the President of the United States, the Vice President of the United States, the Attorney General of the United States, the Supreme Court of the United States, The Constitution of the United States, the Word of Jesus Christ and found in the hearts of both Negroes and Whites desiring Freedom everywhere.

Respectfully submitted,

COAHOMA COUNTY BRANCH NAACP

Aaron E. Henry

Aaron E. Henry, President

COAHOMA COUNTY BRANCH NAACP

June 8, 1963

JUN 11 1963

WBC
JMC
RTB

EIGHT MEMBERS OF OUR EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE"SAT IN" AT THE BOARD OF MAYOR AND COMMISSIONERS MEETING ON TUESDAY JUNE 4, 1963, AND WERE GRANTED A HEARING..OUR PROPOSAL TO THEM BEGINS WITH THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A BI-RACIAL COMMITTEE TO DISCUSS AND RESOLVE OUR PROBLEMS AS WELL AS THEIR OWN. WE ARE ANXIOUSLY WAITING FOR THEIR ANSWER AT THE MEETING OF MAYOR AND COMMISSIONERS ON TUESDAY JUNE 11 th.

EARLY THIS MORNING JUNE 8, 1963 THE HOMES OF OUR BRANCH PRESIDENT AND OF OUR SECRETARY WERE FIRED UPON. OUR BRANCH PRESIDENT CARRIED OUR ARGUMENT FOR FREEDOM, BEFORE THE MAYOR AND COMMISSIONERS MEETING. OUR SECRETARY WAS A MEMBER OF THE COMMITTEE. WHATEVER THE REASON FOR SHOOTING INTO THEIR HOMES, IT WILL NOT ALTER OUR COURSE FOR COMPLETE FREEDOM N O W!

WE ARE HOPING THAT THE CITY ADMINISTRATION WILL EFFECT THE CREATION OF A BI-RACIAL COMMITTEE TO RELIEVE THE COMMUNITY OF SUCH ACTS AS THIS AND THOSE OF THE PAST. WE HAVE THE OBLIGATION OF PREVENTING THEIR HAPPENING IN THE FUTURE. IF THE CITY WILL NOT, OUR NEXT HOPE IS WITH THE WHITE BUSINESS MEN OF OUR CITY AND THE WHITE MINISTERS. IF EITHER HAS ANY INTENTIONS OF ACTION IN THIS REGARD WE URGE YOU TO ACT THE BRANCH LEADERSHIP MUST BE ABLE TO POINT TO SOME POSITIVE HOPEFUL SIGN, IF THE CUP OF IMPATIENCE AMONG NEGROES, TOWARD THE ABUSES WE ARE HAVING TO SUFFER, IS NOT TO RUN OVER.

WITH REGARDS TO THE TWELVE O' CLOCK CURFEW. ALL PERSONS WHO ARE ARRESTED ON THIS CHARGE ARE REQUESTED TO REPORT IT IMMEDIATELY. THIS "HARRASSMENT GIMMICK" CAN BE BROKEN IN THE COURTS, IF YOU ARE WILLING TO STAND UP. IF YOU ARE STOPPED AND ABUSED, VERBALLY OR PHYSICALLY THIS SHOULD BE REPORTED ALSO. REMEMBER, "YOU DO NOT HAVE TO STAY AWAY FROM HOME ALL NIGHT IF YOU CAN'T GET HOME BEFORE TWELVE O' CLOCK MIDNIGHT.

IF DIRECT ACTIONS DEMONSTRATIONS BECOME THE ONLY AVENUE OPENED TO US TO TRY TO GAIN OUR FREEDOM, WE ARE PREPARED TO DO IT. WE PLAN TO CHALLENGE EVERY SITUATION ONE WAY OR THE OTHER.

THOSE PERSONS PARTICIPATE IN THE DEMONSTRATIONS MUST UNDERSTAND THAT ARREST IS QUITE LIKELY. THOSE WHO WANT TO GET OUT OF JAIL CAN DO SO IMMEDIATELY,THOSE WHO WANT TO REMAIN IN JAIL WILL ALSO HAVE THIS OPPORTUNITY.

THIS WILL BE AN EXPENSIVE ADVENTURE. MANY WHO ARE TO BE INVOLVED IN THE DEMONSTRATIONS WILL HELP SHOULDER THE FINANCIAL COST OF THE MOVEMENT. THOSE NOT PARTICIPATE CAN ATLEAST HELP WITH YOUR DOLLARS. EVERY CHURCH IN THE COMMUNITY IS BEING CALLED UPON TO MAKE A CONTRIBUTION OF ATLEAST $100.00 TO HELP DEFRAY THE COST AND EXPENSE OF THIS DRIVE FOR FREEDOM.

ANY PERSON WHO PARTICIPATES IN THE DIRECT ACTION MOVEMENT AND IS FIRED FROM THEIR JOB BECAUSE OF IT WILL HAVE THEIR NEEDS OF FOOD, CLOTHING AND SHELTER PROVIDED.

THE BOYCOTT AGAINST DOWNTOWN MERCHANTS CAN HELP BRING THE FREEDOM TO ALL MANKIND THAT WE ARE SEEKING. THE NAMES OF EIGHT PERSONS SEEN SHOPPING DOWNTOWN LAST WEEK WERE CALLED IN THE FREEDOM MEETING ON WEDNESDAY NIGHT. THESE PERSONS HAVE RECEIVED A TELEPHONE CALL AND A LETTER ASKING THEM TO PLEASE COOPERATE WITH TH E MOVEMENT. THE NEXT TIME THEY ARE SEEN SHOPPING DOWNTOWN THEIR NAMES WILL APPEAR IN THE WEEKLY NEWSLETTER. PLEASE DO NOT SHOP DOWNTOWN NOR AT JORDAN'S FURNITURE COMPANY, FIFTH STREET GROCERY, MONNEYHANS' SERVICE STATIONS AND NO SERVICE STATION THAT HAS A SEGREGATED REST ROOM (BY RACE), NOR DENTONS AND CLARKSDALE'S DAIRIES.

FREEDOM MEETING THIS WEEK, JERUSALEM BAPTIST CHURCH, GUEST SPEAKER MRS. RUBY HURLEY, REGIONAL SECRETARY OF THE NAACP. THERE WILL BE SEVERAL OTHER OUTSTANDING CIVIL RIGHTS LEADERS PRESENT. BE SURE TO BE PRESENT. BE SURE TO BE PRESENT.

TELEPHONE COMMITTEE	CANVASSING COMMITTEE	SPEAKERS BUREAU
PICK UP YOUR ASSIGNMENT	PICK UP YOUR ASSIGNMENT	PICK UP YOUR ASSIGNMENT

THE MISSISSIPPI SUPREME COURT THIS WEEK REVERSED THE TRIAL OF AARON HENRY. THE COURT PUT THE BLAME FOR THE REVERSE ON THE ACTIONS OF OUR CHIEF OF POLICE MR. BEN COLLINS. WE WONDER NOW IF HE WILL FILE A SUIT AGAINST THE MISSISSIPPI SUPREME COURT OR SECOND THOUGHT, SHOULD MR. AARON E. HENRY FILE SUIT AGAINST HIM.

(TURN OVER AND READ AND SIGN OTHER SIDE, TURN IT IN AT FREEDOM MEETING, WEDNESDAY NIGHT)

COAHOMA COUNTY BRANCH NAACP

Solicits your participation in the

N O N-V I O L E N T A R M Y F O R F R E E D O M

THIS ARMY WILL FREE THE NEGROES IN OUR COMMUNITY FROM OPPRESSION AND STEER US INTO THE LAND OF F R E E D O M F R E E D O M FROM SEGREGATION DISCRIMINATION AND INJUSTICE.

YOU CAN PARTICIPATE BY:

DIRECT PARTICIPATION IN THE PUBLIC DEMONSTRATIONS, SERVING ON WORK & ACTION COMMITTEES, AND BY CANVASSING AND TELEPHONING.

WE CAN ALL CERTAINLY PARTICIPATE BY NOT BUYING ANY ITEM IN THE DOWNTOWN SECTION OF CLARKSDALE, NOR FROM THE JORDAN FURNITURE COMPANY, MONNEYHAN'S SERVICE STATIONS, FIFTH STREET GROCERY, NOR CLARKSDALE AND DENTON'S MILK COMPANY OR DAIRY.

IN THE FUTURE ANY NEGRO SEEN SHOPPING IN THE DOWNTOWN SECTION OF THE CITY WILL HAVE THEIR NAMES CALLED AND PUBLISHED AT THE WEEKLY FREEDOM MEETINGS. PLEASE DO NOT LET YOUR NAME APPEAR ON THIS LIST.

OUR CITY FATHERS WILL CONFER WITH US IN SMALL GROUPS AROUND THE CONFERENCE TABLE, OR THEY MOST ASSUREDLY WILL CONFER WITH US BY THE HUNDREDS IN THE STREET: THE CHOICE IS UP TO THEM.

We do not have to be treated in any kind of inferior manner. The President of the United States says we should be treated the same as any other American Citizen. We must however; be prepared to make our feelings known without any possibility of doubt.

If you want to be free and will join this non-violent Army for Freedom you will have to observe the commandments for the volunteers.

I hereby pledge myself, my person and body to the non-violent Army for Freedom, therefore; I will keep the following ten commandments;

1. Meditate daily on the teachings and life of Jesus
2. Remember always that the non-violent movement in Clarksdale and Coahoma County seeks justice and conciliation...not victory.
3. Walk and talk in the manner of love for God is love.
4. Pray daily to be used by God in order that all men might be free.
5. Sacrifice personal wishes in order that all men might be free.
6. Observe with both friend and foe the ordinary rules of courtesy.
7. Seek to perform regular service for others and for the world.
8. Refrain from the violence of fist, tongue or heart.
9. Strive to be in good spiritual and bodily health.
10. Follow the directions of the movement and of the captain on a demonstration.

I sign this pledge, having deliriously considered what I do and with the determination and will to perserve.

Name _____ Address _____

Telephone _____

Nearest Relative _____ Address _____

Besides demonstrations, I could also help the Freedom Movement by: (circle the proper items) Running errands, driving car, fixing food for volunteers, clerical work, type, print, signs, distribute leaflets, other _____

WBL
JMW
RTB

COAHOMA COUNTY BRANCH NAACP

JUNE 15, 1963

JUN 18 1963

TO: MR. MEDGAR EVERS
C/O GOD OUR HEAVENLY FATHER
GATES OF HEAVEN
UNIVERSE, WORLD

DEAR MEDGAR:

WHEN YOU GAVE YOUR LIFE FOR THE CAUSE OF FREEDOM FOR ALL MANKIND HERE IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, IN THE STATE OF MISSISSIPPI, IN THE CITY OF JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI, YOU COMPELLED ALL OF US TO BE SURE THAT YOUR LIFE WILL NOT BE GIVEN IN VAIN.

WE, OF THE COAHOMA COUNTY BRANCH OF THE NAACP, PLEDGE TO YOU THAT WE WILL NEVER CEASE UNTIL THE FREEDOM THAT YOU GAVE YOUR LIFE FOR IS A REALITY FOR ALL MANKIND. WE KNOW THAT YOU ARE UP IN HEAVEN WATCHING OVER US AND WE PRAY THAT OUR ACTIONS WILL BE PLEASING TO YOU. WE BESEECH GOD, OUR HEAVENLY FATHER, TO PERMIT YOU TO OBSERVE OUR ACTIONS AND THROUGH HIM PROD US ALONG WHERE WE ARE WEAK AND BUILD US UP WHERE WE ARE TORN DOWN.

THE SURGE FOR FREEDOM IN CLARKSDALE, COAHOMA COUNTY, WILL TAKE ON A NEW LIFE ANYDAY NOW. WE PLEDGE YOU THAT THIS DRIVE FOR FREEDOM WILL CONTINUE UNTIL THE FREEDOM THAT YOU GAVE YOUR LIFE FOR IS AS AVAILABLE TO ALL AS IT IS TO SOME.

WE WILL MISS YOU MEDGAR, WE KNOW THAT GOD WILL BE MERCIFUL UNTO YOU AND ALL OF US, HERE ON EARTH, ARE BETTER PEOPLE FOR JUST HAVING HAD THE OPPORTUNITY TO KNOW AND ASSOCIATE WITH YOU.

GOD, PLEASE GIVE MEDGAR A PEACEFUL PLACE IN YOUR KINGDOM WHERE PRAISE WILL BE FOREVER THINE.

GRATEFULLY YOURS,

A L L M A N K I N D D E S I R I N G F R E E D O M

FREEDOM MEETING EVERY NIGHT NEXT WEEK

Monday Night.....First Baptist Church

Tuesday Night.....Rayford Chapel Church

Wednesday Night.....Chapel Hill Church

Thursday Night.....Friendship A.M.E. Church

Friday Night.....Centennial Church

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COAHOMA COUNTY BRANCH NAACP

SOLICITS YOUR PARTICIPATION IN THE

N O N - V I O L E N T A R M Y F O R F R E E D O M

This Army will free the Negroes in our community from oppression and steer us into the land of freedom, freedom from segregation, discrimination and injustice.

YOU CAN PARTICIPATE BY:
DIRECT PARTICIPATION IN THE PUBLIC DEMONSTRATION, SERVING ON WORK / ACTION COMMITTEES, AND BY CANVASSING AND TELEPHONING.

WE CAN ALL CERTAINLY PARTICIPATE BY NOT BUYING ANY ITEM IN THE DOWNTOWN SECTION OF CLARKSDALE, NOR FROM THE JORDAN FURNITURE COMPANY, MONNEYHAN'S SERVICE STATIONS, FIFTH STREET GROCERY, NOR CLARKSDALE AND DENTON'S MILK COMPANY OR DAIRY.

IN THE FUTURE ANY NEGRO SEEN SHOPPING IN THE DOWNTOWN SECTION OF THE CITY WILL HAVE THEIR NAMES CALLED AND PUBLISHED AT THE WEEKLY FREEDOM MEETINGS. PLEASE DO NOT LET YOUR NAME APPEAR ON THIS LIST.

OUR CITY FATHERS WILL CONFER WITH US IN SMALL GROUPS AROUND THE CONFERENCE TABLE, OR THEY MOST ASSUREDLY WILL CONFER WITH US BY THE HUNDREDS IN THE STREET. THE CHOICE IS UP TO THEM.

WE DO NOT HAVE TO BE TREATED IN ANY KIND OF INFERIOR MANNER. THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES SAYS WE SHOULD BE TREATED THE SAME AS ANY OTHER AMERICAN CITIZEN. WE MUST BE PREPARED TO MAKE OUR FEELINGS KNOWN WITHOUT ANY POSSIBILITY OF DOUBT.

IF YOU WANT TO BE FREE AND WILL JOIN THIS NON-VIOLENT ARMY FOR FREEDOM YOU WILL HAVE TO OBSERVE THE COMMANDMENTS FOR THE VOLUNTEERS.

I hereby pledge myself, my person and body to the non-violent Army for Freedom, therefore; I will keep the following ten commandments;

1. Meditate daily on the teachings and life of Jesus.
2. Remember always that the non-violent movement in Clarksdale and Coahoma County seeks justice and conciliation...not victory.
3. Walk and talk in the manner of love for God is love.
4. Pray daily to be used by God in order that all men might be free.
5. Sacrifice personal wishes in order that all men might be free.
6. Observe with both friend and foe the ordinary rules of courtesy.
7. Seek to perform regular service for others and for the world.
8. Refrain from the violence of fist, tongue or heart.
9. Strive to be in good spiritual and bodily health.
10. Follow the directions of the movement and of the captain on a demonstration.

I SIGN THIS PLEDGE, HAVING DELIRIOUSLY CONSIDERED WHAT I DO AND WITH THE DETERMINATION AND WILL TO PERSERVE.

NAME _____ ADDRESS _____

TELEPHONE NO. _____

NEAREST RELATIVE _____ ADDRESS _____

BESIDES DEMONSTRATIONS, I COULD ALSO HELP THE FREEDOM MOVEMENT BY: (CIRCLE THE PROPER ITEMS), RUNNING ERRANDS, DRIVING CAR, FIXING FOOD FOR VOLUNTEERS, CLERICAL WORK, TYPE, PRINT, SIGNS, DISTRIBUTE LEAFLETS, OTHERS, _____

_____.

N.A.A.C.P. CALLS OFF PHILADELPHIA TALKS

PHILADELPHIA, June 17 (AP)—Representatives of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People walked out of a meeting with craft unions and contractors today.

Curtis Carson, chairman of the N.A.A.C.P.'s legal redress committee, charged the unions and employers with bad faith and having "no intentions of hiring Negroes."

Mr. Carson said he would recommend to the N.A.A.C.P.'s executive board that "the N.A.A.C.P. reactivate mass picketing on all public school projects throughout Philadelphia."

He said the picketing would probably start tomorrow or the next day.

Today's conference was set up under an agreement on May 31 that ended a week's picketing at a West Philadelpha school construction site. The demonstrations erupted into violence on three separate days. Forty persons, including more than 20 policemen, were injured.

Under the agreement Negroes were to be employed on the school project.

The Building and Construction Trades Council and the contractors' association, in a joint statement, said the N.A.A.C.P. was not giving them enough time to work out a solution.

NY Times
6-18-63

Naacp
Bernard

WBJ
JM
RTB

JUN 26 1963

COAHOMA COUNTY BRANCH NAACP

June 22, 1963

ON SUNDAY, JUNE 16TH, FATHERS' DAY, 1963, WILL BE A DAY LONG REMEMBERED IN CLARKSDALE AND COAHOMA COUNTY. THAT WAS THE DAY THE DIRECT ACTION MOVEMENT FOR FREEDOM BEGUN. IT WILL NOT CEASE UNTIL ALL NEGROES THROUGH OUT THE CITY AND COUNTY ARE FREE. IF THE WELL DISCIPLINED SMALL GROUPS ENGAGING IN INSTITUTIONAL PROTEST WILL NOT CAUSE THE CREATION OF A BI-RACIAL COMMITTEE TO RESOLVE OUR PROBLEMS, THEN A MOVEMENT SECOND TO NONE IN INTENSITY AND ACTION WILL TAKE SHAPE. IT IS UP TO THE WHITE COMMUNITY, CITY GOVERNMENT, CLERGY, BUSINESS MEN WHAT OUR FUTURE ACTIONS WILL BE.

NO NEGRO SHOULD BE SEEN SHOPPING DOWNTOWN. BOTH WHITE AND NEGRO PEOPLE BECOME DISGUSTED AND LOSE RESPECT FOR YOU WHEN YOU GO DOWNTOWN TO SHOP. MANY OF THE NEGROES REPORTED SHOPPING DOWNTOWN HAVE BEEN REPORTED BY WHITE PEOPLE WHO UNDERSTAND THE STRUGGLE NEGROES ARE MAKING FOR FREEDOM. DON'T THINK THAT ALL THE WHITE PEOPLE IN THE COMMUNITY ARE AGAINST US.

NAMES WILL CONTINUE TO BE CALLED AT EVERY WEDNESDAY NIGHT FREEDOM MEETING OF ALL PERSONS SEEN SHOPPING DOWNTOWN. D ON'T YOU BE IDENTIFIED AS A TRAITOR UNLESS YOU ANSWER TO THE NAME OF "GOODWILL". IF YOU ANSWER TO THE NAME OF GOODWILL WE UNDERSTAND YOUR RACKET AND SAY GO AHEAD AND MILK ALL OF THE STUPID WHITE RACIST YOU CAN, AND THEN MAKE A GREAT BIG FINANCIAL CONTRIBUTION TO THE NAACP. WHEN WILL THE WHITE MAN EVER LEARN THAT ALL NEGROES WANT TO BE FREE, INCLUDING GOODWILL REGARDLESS TO HIS CON GAME THAT YOU ARE PLAYING SUCKER TO.

WE ALSO SUGGEST THAT ALL PARENTS TELL THEIR CHILDREN TO STAY OUT OF UNCLE TOM'S CABIN ON ISSAQUENA. ALTHOUGH UNCLE TOM IS A FAKE. HE STILL MIGHT BE ABLE TO POISON THE MINDS OF YOUR CHILDREN AND KEEP THEM IN SEMI-SLAVERY, AS HE PROFESSES TO ENJOY.

FREEDOM MEETING THIS WEEK CENTENNIAL BAPTIST CHURCH, WEDNESDAY JUNE 26TH. LET US ALL JOIN THE FREEDOM ARMY.

LET US VISIT THE FREEDOM HOUSE AT 439 YAZOO DAILY FOR INFORMATION AND INSPIRATION.

SALESMAN FOR GORDON POTATO CHIPS JOINS THE CLARKSDALE POLICE. HIS HELMENT AND NIGHTSTICK SYMBOLIC OF BEATING AND PUSHING NEGROES AROUND SHOULD CAUSE US ALL TO TAKE A GOOD LOOK AT THE POTATO CHIPS, NABS, AND SKINS WE BUY AND MAKE SURE THEY ARE NOT G O R D O N S'.

HARTS BREAD WAS ADDED TO THE LIST LAST WEEK. YOU REMEMBER HARTS BREAD SET UP A FREE CANTEEN IN JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI FOR THE JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI POLICE DEPARTMENT AS THE JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI POLICE DEPARTMENT WENT ABOUT BEATING AND ABUSING NEGROES, O. K. NO MORE HARTS BREAD.

AREAS OF PROTEST OF THE FREEDOM MOVEMENT INCLUDED:

SUNDAY, JUNE 16TH, "FATHER'S DAY", THE HOUSE OF GOD, THE CHURCHES OF THE COMMUNITY.

MONDAY, JUNE 17th, THE PRESS, CLARKSDALE, PRESS REGISTER

TUESDAY, JUNE 18TH, GOVERNMENT, CITY MAYOR AND COMMISSIONERS MEETING

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 19TH, VOTER REGISTRATION, CIRCUIT CLERK.

THURSDAY, JUNE 20TH, PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS, CLARKSDALE PUBLIC LIBRARY.

FRIDAY, JUNE 21ST, EMPLOYMENT, PRIVATE AND GOVERNMENT, BELL TELEPHONE COMPANY AND UNITED STATES POST OFFICE, FEDERAL BUILDING.

SATURDAY, JUNE 22ND, HUMAN DIGNITY, STORES THAT DISCRIMMINATE AND ARE DISCOURTEOUS TOWARD NEGROES, GRABERS, PENNY'S, WOOLWORTH ., JO ANN SHOP

HAVE YOU HEARD THE ONE ABOUT THE CHIEF OF POLICE, TRYING TO TAKE OUT LIFE INSURANCE ON THE LIFE OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE NAACP, WITH THE CHIEF OF POLICE BEING THE BENEFICIARY?????????? ??????????? ???????????

ALL PROTESTORS ARRESTED, WED., THUR., FRI,, AND SATURDAY, ARE TO APPEAR IN CITY COURT MONDAY MORNING JUNE 24TH, BE SURE TO BE PRESENT, VERY IMPORTANT.

COAHOMA COUNTY BRANCH NAACP

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WE DO NOT HAVE TO BE TREATED IN ANY KIND OF INFERIOR MANNER. THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES SAYS WE SHOULD BE TREATED THE SAME AS ANY OTHER AMERICAN CITIZEN. WE MUST BE PREPARED TO MAKE OUR FEELINGS KNOWN WITHOUT ANY POSSIBILITY OF DOUBT.

IF YOU WANT TO BE FREE AND WILL JOIN THIS NON-VIOLENT ARMY FOR FREEDOM YOU WILL HAVE TO OBSERVE THE COMMANDMENTS FOR THE VOLUNTEERS.

I hereby pledge myself, my person and body to the non-violent Army for Freedom, therefore; I will keep the following ten commandments;

1. Meditate daily on the teachings and life of Jesus.
2. Remember always that the non-violent movement in Clarksdale and Coahoma County seeks justice and conciliation...not victory.
3. Walk and talk in the manner of love for God is love.
4. Pray daily to be used by God in order that all men might be free.
5. Sacrifice personal wishes in order that all men might be free.
6. Observe with both friend and foe the ordinary rules of courtesy.
7. Seek to perform regular service for others and for the world.
8. Refrain from the violence of fist, tongue or heart.
9. Strive to be in good spiritual and bodily health.
10. Follow the directions of the movement and of the captain on a demonstration.

I SIGN THIS PLEDGE, HAVING DELIRIOUSLY CONSIDERED WHAT I DO AND WITH THE DETERMINATION AND WILL TO PERSERVE.

NAME _____ ADDRESS _____

TELEPHONE NO. _____

NEAREST RELATIVE _____ ADDRESS _____

BESIDES DEMONSTRATIONS, I COULD ALSO HELP THE FREEDOM MOVEMENT BY: (CIRCLE THE PROPER ITEMS), RUNNING ERRANDS, DRIVING CAR, FIXING FOOD FOR VOLUNTEERS, CLERICAL WORK, TYPE, PRINT, SIGNS, DISTRIBUTE LEAFLETS, OTHERS, _____

_____.

Birmingham World 6-29-63

THE TIP-OFF

By EMORY O. JACKSON

DETROIT, Mich. — (SNS) —The National Newspaper Association, which is meeting here June 27-29, announced in advance, that a fitting tribute would be suggested to the memory of Medgar Evers, the 37-year old Emancipation Centennial Year martyr of freedom.

Mr. Evers, a Mississippi - born NAACP worker, was a fighter for his nation's freedom, for world freedom, and for universal peace based upon justice on the battlefields as a soldier in the U. S. A. armed forces. He battled on the home front against the internal enemies of freedom.

His widow, Mrs. Myrlie Evers, wrote in part in the June 28 issue of Life magazine: "All over the state he (Medgar Evers) worked furiously on the two approaches he believed are keys to the Negro's future. The first is the ballot box, the second is the economic boycott."

These are two of the three pillars of first - class citizenship. The other being education, of which the State of Mississippi is at the bottom of the educational ladder among the 50 states. Shabby education, disfranchisement, and employment restriction, together with the physical intimidation a part of the Mississippi system, the Southern practcie, and the national neglect.

The ambushed Mr. Evers as NAACP worker, as a dedicated man of freedom, as a spokesman for dignity, as the symbol of the dream, the hopes and the credo of basic Americanism, was a threat to the contrary, evil and unlovely way that is in Mississippi. He was a part of the rich American tradition of "give me liberty or give me death." No mad man's bullet, no lyncher's rope, no filibuster's tongue, can smother the fires of freedom which are always brightened and fueled by the tears and blood of Martyrs.

Some years ago, I was feature speaker at a National Achievement Week program of the Omega Psi Phi Fraternity in Jackson, Miss., where Medgar Evers was recognized for his work for human freedom. I do not know whether Mr. Evers was a member of a social fraternity, but he was a member of the simple inspiring, and glowing order of first-class citizenship. Later I saw Mr. Evers and James Meredith, the first known Negro student at a state - supported university in Mississippi, at the most recent general convention of NAACP held in Atlanta, Ga.

Back in the 1940s, the Southern Regional of the NNPA met at Jackson College where we drafted what I called the "Pearl River Charter" which placed chief emphasis upon the ballot. The emphasis was later to become part of the basic NNPA and NAACP program. In a way, Medgar Evers died carrying forward the NNPA program which was formulated at the college which the new martyr of freedom selected for enrollment.

So many have died in the South fighting for the ballot that the NAACP and NNPA might look into the possibiilty of getting out a pictorial booklet on the Martyrs for the Ballot. And still there are counties in the Deep South where the whole Negro group is still barred from voting. There are other counties where there is merely token voting by Negro citizens. Should the rifle-slaying of Medgar Evers shine the light of public opinion on such

Agency NAACP

armed forces. He battled on the home front against the internal enemies of freedom.

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So many have died in the South fighting for the ballot that the NAACP and NNPA might look into the possibiilty of getting out a pictorial booklet on the Martyrs for the Ballot. And still there are counties in the Deep South where the whole Negro group is still barred from voting. There are other counties where there is merely token voting by Negro citizens. Should the rifle-slaying of Medgar Evers shine the light of public opinion on such cruel, wholesale, and total racial disfranchisement, help might be soon on the way.

To me the most lasting tribute we who live and remain in the South could pay Mr. Evers is to use our efforts to make the 15th Amendment function. Each Negro non - voter should strive to become a voter in 1963 as his tribute to the one man Mississippi bigots feared most. Medgar Evers was the symbol of the ballot. None can give more to the cause of the ballot than his life. The Negro non -voter could at least give his name to the voter - registration screening official for placing it in the Freedom Book which is the voters' roster.

The march to the voter - registration office is the real freedom march. The freedom road built by the ballot is solid and substantial. A big voter - registration showing would be the kind of demonstration which could weaken the filibuster bloc. Freedom's best demonstration is always the ballot box, it seems to me.

Those of us who have worked voter - registration should feel a part of the martyrdom of Medgar Evers. We cannot bring him back but we can help to bring the Negro side of the voters' list up to its potential. We who live have one life, one ballot, or potential ballot, and one first - class citizenship. At least we who live might give ourselves up to the ballot box.

Medgar Evers believed in the ballot as a tool of freedom and as a means to first - class citizenship. His best memorial could be a new bulk of Negro voters all over the South. The march to the ballot box is the real freedom march, it seems to me.

Agency NAACP

WBV
JM
RTB

JUL 2 1963

COAHOMA COUNTY BRANCH NAACP

June 29, 1963

IT HAS BEEN CALLED TO OUR ATTENTION THAT IN LAST WEEK'S NEWSLETTER A REPORT THAT "HEARTS BREAD" HAS SET UP A CANTEEN IN JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI, FOR THE JACKSON MISSISSIPPI POLICE DEPARTMENT WAS INCORRECT. THE FACTS IN THE CASE ARE , ONE HEARTS TRUCK DRIVER WAS OBSERVED HANDING OUT FREE HEARTS BREAD AND CAKES TO MEMBERS OF THE JACKSON POLICE DEPARTMENT THE SAME DAY THAT THE JACKSON POLICE HAD ARRESTED SOME 400 NEGRO STUDENTS, WHO WERE MARCHING FOR FREEDOM. IT HAS COME TO OUR ATTENTION THAT THE DRIVER RESPONSIBLE FOR THIS ACT WAS NOT ACTING IN LINE WITH THE COMPANY'S POLICY AND THE SITUATION HAS BEEN SO ADJUSTED THAT THE LEADERSHIP OF THE JACKSON FREEDOM MOVEMENT NO LONGER HOLD ANY ILL-WILL TOWARD HEARTS BREAD COMPANY. SO WITH OUR FELLOW FREEDOM FIGHTERS OF JACKSON NO LONGER BOYCOTTING HEARTS BREAD, THE BOYCOTT IS ALSO LIFTED HERE. WE REGRET THE ERROR AND THE INCIDENT.

LIKEWISE;THE SALESMAN IDENTIFIED BY SEVERAL CLARKSDALE MERCHANTS AS BEING A GORDON POTATO CHIP DRIVER, HAS ALSO BEEN IDENTIFIED AS A STEWART POTATO CHIP DRIVER. A CAREFUL CHECK HAS ESTABLISHED IN FACT THAT HE IS A STEWART POTATO CHIP TRUCK DRIVER. THERE IS NO EVIDENCE YET THAT HE HAS ENGAGED IN POLICE BRUTALITY NOR WHETHER HE IS IN KEEPING WITH COMPANY POLICY. A CLOSE WATCH WILL BE DIRECTED TOWARD HIS ACTIVITIES AS THE FREEDOM MOVEMENT PICKS UP STEAM.

FOR THE PAST TWO WEEKS WE HAVE BEEN TRYING TO RESOLVE THE PROBLEMS OF THIS COMMUNITY RELYING COMPLETELY ON "INSIDE FORCES". WE HAVE APPEALED TO THE CITY FATHER, THE CLERGY, AND THE BUSINESS COMMUNITY AND HAVE RECEIVED ABSOLUTELY NO RELIEF. WE HAVE MERELY ASKED THAT A BI-RACIAL COMMITTEE OF RESPONSIBLE CITIZENS OF BOTH RACIAL GROUPS BE SET UP TO HEAR, STUDY, AND BEGIN A RESOLUTION TO OUR PROBLEMS.

THIS BEING THE CASE WE HAVE NOW ISSUED A CALL AND AN INVITATION TO THE TOP PERSONELL OF THE MAJOR CIVIL RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS TO COME IN WORK AND STAND WITH US AS WE LAUNCH A CAMPAIGN WITH SUFFICENT INTENSITY, TO MAKE US FREE AMERICANS WITH ALL THE RIGHTS AND PRIVILEGES OF ANY OTHER AMERICAN CITIZEN.

WE REPEAT, WE HAVE TRIED WITHOUT ANY SUCCESS THE NON PROVOCATIVE SMALL GROUP INSTITUTIONAL TYPE PROTEST. THESE HAVE BROUGHT ONLY ARREST AND NO RELIEF FROM THE INJUSTICES FOUND IN A SEGREGATED COMMUNITY THAT HAS AS IT'S BY-LINE, RACIAL DISCRIMINATION.

WHEN THE CHARGE OF "OUTSIDE AGITATORS" IS LODGED AS IT WILL BE, WE THE NEGRO COMMUNITY MUST RESPOND THAT WE ARE ALL OUTSIDE THE PAIL OF FREEDOM AND WE ARE DEFINITELY TRYING AS HARD AS WE KNOW HOW TO GET INSIDE OF IT.

WEDNESDAY NIGHT, JULY 3rd, A WORKSHOP WILL BE CONDUCTED AT THE MOUNT MARIAH METHODIST CHURCH. THE THEME OF THE WORKSHOP WILL BE HOW TO PROCEED IN A MOVEMENT THAT WILL GUARANTEE FREEDOM. YOUR PRESENCE IS URGENTLY NEEDED AT THIS MEETING. THE COMBINED FORCES OF THE NAACP, SCLC, CORE, AND SNCC WILL BE UTALIZED IN THIS EFFORT. THE CONTRIBUTION TO THE FREEDOM STRUGGLE FOR THE NEGRO CITIZENS HAS ALREADY BEEN GREATLY ASSISTED BY THE NAACP NATIONAL OFFICE. WE URGENTLY CALL UPON THE SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE, THE CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY AND THE STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE TO COME ON IN AND HELP US.

BE SURE TO CHECK BY FREEDOM HOUSE 439 YAZOO DAILY FOR PROGRESSIVE REPORTS ON THE FREEDOM MOVEMENT. YOUR DIRECT PARTICIPATION WILL BE NEEDED AND WELCOMED.

AMONG THE NATIONAL FIGURES THAT WILL SHARE AND PARTICIPATE WITH US IN THE STRIDE TOWARD FREEDOM INCLUDE, MR. ROY WILKINS, REV. MARTIN LUTHER KING JR, MR. CHARLES EVERS, NEW SERRETARY OF MISSISSIPPI STATE CONFERENCE AND THE EVER PRESENT DICK GREGORY.

FREEDOM MEETING WEDNESDAY NIGHT MOUNT MARIAH METHODIST CHURCH.

PLEASE SIGN AND RETURN THIS PLEDGE, " I AM WILLING TO SPEND MY TIME IN JAIL FOR FREEDOM. Y

NAME ADDRESS TELEPHONE

JW
RTB

LWP
PA
VJ
SB
ML

54th annual convention

Chicago, Illinois
July 1 to July 6, 1963

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
20 West 40th Street, New York 18, N. Y.

LIFT EV'RY VOICE AND SING

Lift ev'ry voice and sing
Till earth and heaven ring
Ring with the harmonies of Liberty;
Let our rejoicing rise
High as the list'ning skies,
Let it resound loud as the rolling sea.
Sing a song full of the faith that the dark past has taught us,
Sing a song full of the hope that the present has brought us.
Facing the rising sun of our new day begun,
Let us march on till victory is won.

Stony the road we trod,
Bitter the chast'ning rod,
Felt in the days when hope unborn had died;
Yet with a steady beat,
Have not our weary feet
Come to the place for which our fathers sighed?
We have come over a way that with tears has been watered,
We have come, treading our path thru the blood of the slaughtered,
Out from the gloomy past,
Till now we stand at last
Where the white gleam of our bright star is cast.

God of our weary years,
God of our silent tears,
Thou who has brought us thus far on the way;
Thou who has by Thy might
Led us into the light.
Keep us forever in the path, we pray.
Lest our feet stray from the places, our God, where we met Thee,
Lest, our hearts drunk with the wine of the world, we forget Thee,
Shadowed beneath Thy hand,
May we forever stand.
True to our God
True to our native land.

Words by JAMES WELDON JOHNSON
Music by ROSAMOND JOHNSON

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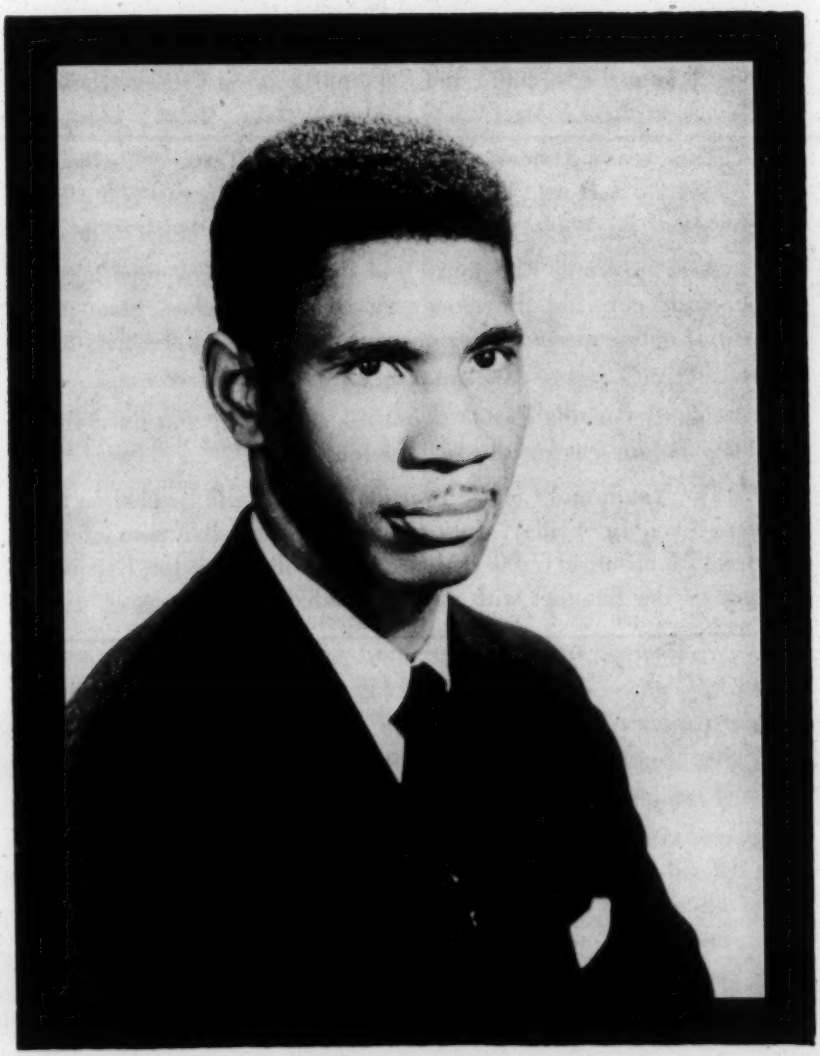
R. C. A. Building, Radio City
New York, N. Y.



MEDGAR WYLIE EVERS

1925 - 1963

GENERAL INFORMATION

FREEDOM FUND REPORT DINNER

All delegates and alternates are expected to attend the Tenth Annual Freedom Fund Report Dinner on Friday evening, July 5, at 7:00 P.M.

This year's Dinner will be held in the Terrace Casino of the Morrison Hotel. The cost to registered delegates and alternates will be $7.00, payable in full at time of registration.

As at previous Freedom Fund Report Dinners, reports will be made covering the money raised by Branches, State and Area Conferences and Regions during 1962 and the first half of 1963.

Capacity of the Casino is limited, so be sure you have your ticket before leaving the registration table.

The Youth and College Division Banquet will be held on the same evening, Friday, July 5, in the Grand Ballroom of the Hotel Morrison at 7:00 P.M. Dancing will follow the Banquet. Cost of the Banquet with dance included is $6.00.

THE CONVENTION HEADQUARTERS AND REGISTRATION BUREAU will be in the Morrison Hotel, at Clark and Madison Streets. There are entrances on both Clark and Madison.

REGISTRATION. The registration fee is $5.00 per delegate; $1.00 per youth delegate. Registration entitles you to an official badge and admission to all sessions of the convention. Letter and wire delivery service will be maintained at the registration office.

MEETINGS. All business sessions, workshops and committee meetings will be held in the Morrison Hotel. The evening mass meetings will be held at the Progressive Baptist Church, located at 37th Street and Wentworth Avenue, on the South Side. All youth sessions will be held at the Morrison Hotel.

HOURS OF MEETINGS. Evening mass meetings will be held on Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday. They will begin with a thirty-minute musical program at 8:00 o'clock. Daytime sessions are as noted in the program.

There will be no Sunday afternoon mass meeting and the convention will conclude with the Saturday morning business session.

LENGTH OF SPEECHES Speakers at business sessions are expected to observe strictly the time limits set by the chairmen.

ACCOMMODATIONS AND RATES. The Morrison Hotel has provided special convention rates of $7.50 per night for single rooms, $10.50 for doubles with double bed, and $12.50 for doubles with twin beds. These are rates *per room*.

For those desiring accommodations in private homes, provision will be made at rates not to exceed $3.50 per person per night. This does not include breakfast, which may be arranged individually at additional cost.

TRANSPORTATION. The Morrison Hotel is centrally located, in the Chicago Loop district. Regular city buses stop across Clark Street from the Hotel and go direct to 37th and Wentworth, where the Progressive Baptist Church is located. If arrangements can be made for special buses to take delegates to the evening mass meetings, full details will be announced.

SPECIAL EVENTS:

Monday, July 1, 9:00 A.M. — Conference of Civil Rights Lawyers and Lay Leaders, sponsored by NAACP and NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc.

Monday, July 1, 12:00 Noon — Lawyers' Conference Luncheon, sponsored by Cook County Bar Association. Address by Robert L. Carter, NAACP General Counsel.

Monday, July 1, 2:00 P.M. — Lawyers Conference concluded.

Monday, July 1, 10:30 P.M. to midnight — Reception for delegates, Constitution Room, Morrison Hotel.

Wednesday, July 3, 8:00 A.M. — Breakfast for minister-delegates. Terrace Casino, Morrison Hotel.

Wednesday, July 3, 12:30 P.M. — Life Membership Luncheon. Terrace Casino, Morrison Hotel.

Wednesday, July 3, 4:30 P.M. — Dinner meeting of the National Board of Directors. Parlor F, Morrison Hotel.

Thursday, July 4, 12:00 Noon — Fourth of July Rally in Grant Park, just east of Michigan Boulevard at Van Buren Street. The

Rally will be preceded by a **Parade and Protest March** starting at Illinois Street and proceeding down State Street to Van Buren. Parade starts at 10:00 A.M.

Thursday, July 4, 4:30 P.M. — Conference of State Conference Presidents with NAACP General Counsel. Parlor F, Morrison Hotel.

Thursday, July 4, 5:30 P.M. — Reception for delegates by United Packinghouse Workers of America. Morrison Hotel.

Thursday, July 4, 9:00 P.M. — Gala Dance for delegates by the Chicago Branch. Constitution Room, Morrison Hotel.

SPECIAL EXHIBIT

The special exhibit for this convention will be a huge portable mural painting covering the Negro's history and struggles from slavery onward, executed by the well-known Negro painter, James DeLoache, on commission by the Association. This mural consists of 12 large panels and is regarded as a major work of art in its own right. It will be on display in the Constitution Room during the convention.

APPRECIATION

On behalf of the National Office, the host branch and all the delegates and visitors, it is a pleasure to express gratitude to the choruses and individual artists whose musical talents have contributed so much to the success of the Fifty-fourth Annual Convention.

Monday, July 1

8:00 A.M. and all day—REGISTRATION OF DELEGATES

9:00 A.M.—MEETING OF NATIONAL YOUTH WORK COMMITTEE (Parlor F, Morrison Hotel)

11:00 A.M.—MEETING OF CONVENTION PROCEDURE COMMITTEE (Room 424, Morrison Hotel)

12 Noon to 12:55 P.M. — Briefing Session for Youth Delegates (Grand Ballroom, Morrison Hotel)

1:30 P.M.—CONVENTION ORGANIZATION MEETING

WILLIAM BOOTH, ESQ., President, Jamaica, N. Y. Branch, *Presiding;* WILLIAM C. THOMPSON, ESQ., New York, N. Y., *Parliamentarian*

INVOCATION.....THE REV. L. FRANCIS GRIFFIN
President, Virginia State Conference of Branches

MEMORIAL FOR NAACP LEADERS DECEASED SINCE THE PREVIOUS CONVENTION.....THE REV. S. S. MORRIS
Chicago, Illinois

REPORTS:

1. CONVENTION PROCEDURE COMMITTEE
2. NATIONAL YOUTH WORK COMMITTEE

3:00 P.M.—REGIONAL MEETINGS FOR ORGANIZATION AND ELECTION OF:

1. Regional Chairmen and Secretaries
2. Regional Representatives on the following Committees:
   a. Rules
   b. Credentials
   c. Constitution Revision
   d. Time and Place
   e. Resolutions

Monday, July 1

REGION MEETING ROOMS:

I — EMBASSY ROOM (Mezzanine Floor)

II — COTILLION ROOM (Mezzanine Floor)

III — CONSTITUTION ROOM (First Floor)

IV — VENETIAN ROOM (Second Floor)

V — NORTH EXHIBIT HALL (Third Floor)

VI — HOLLYWOOD ROOM (Mezzanine Floor)

VII — MADISON ROOM (Third Floor)

4:30 P.M.—RE-ASSEMBLY FOR REPORTS ON REGIONAL MEETINGS

5:30 P.M.—Dinner Meeting of State Youth Presidents and Advisors with National Youth Work Secretary (Place to be announced)

Monday, July 1

8:00 P.M.—MASS MEETING

THE REV. W. N. DANIEL, President, Chicago Branch NAACP, *Presiding*

MUSICAL PROGRAM (until 8:30)

Under the direction of HENRY FITZPATRICK, Minister of Music, Antioch Baptist Church

NATIONAL ANTHEM ..... AUDIENCE

INVOCATION ..... THE REV. T. EMERSON BROWN
Pastor, Progressive Baptist Church

REMARKS OF WELCOME:

For the State of Illinois:
GOVERNOR OTTO KERNER

For the City of Chicago:
MAYOR RICHARD DALEY

For the Illinois State Conference of Branches:
DR. L. L. HOLMAN, President

For the Chicago Branch:
MRS. W. SYLVESTER WHITE, Co-Chairman, Convention Committee

"Lift Ev'ry Voice and Sing" ..... AUDIENCE

KEYNOTE ADDRESS ..... ROY WILKINS
Executive Secretary, NAACP

BENEDICTION ..... THE REV. WILLIAM A. JOHNSON
Greater St. John Baptist Church

10:30 P.M.—RECEPTION FOR DELEGATES
Constitution Room, Morrison Hotel

Tuesday, July 2

8:30 A.M.—REGIONAL MEETINGS: Election of Regional Representatives to National Youth Work Committee for 1963-64

9:30 A.M.—CONVENTION PLENARY SESSION

DR. EUGENE T. REED, President, New York State Conference of Branches; Member, National Board of Directors, *Presiding*

INVOCATION.....THE REV. K. C. STEELE
Tallahassee, Fla.

REPORT OF CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE

REPORT OF RULES COMMITTEE

REPORT OF REGIONAL ELECTIONS TO NATIONAL YOUTH WORK COMMITTEE FOR 1963-64

10:00 A.M. - 12 Noon—YOUTH AND COLLEGE SESSION OPENING MEETING. (Grand Ballroom. Details in Youth Section of Program)

10:00 A.M. - 6:00 P.M.—NAACP NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON NEGRO UNEMPLOYMENT

CHESTER I. LEWIS, ESQ., Member, National Board of Directors, *Presiding*

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.....HERBERT HILL
NAACP Labor Secretary

THE UNTAPPED NEGRO POTENTIAL.....DR. ELI GINZBERG
Conservation of Human Resources
Project, Columbia University

FEDERAL POLICIES AND PROGRAMS....HON. WILLARD WIRTZ
United States Secretary of Labor

CIVIL RIGHTS AND ORGANIZED LABOR.....RALPH HELSTEIN
President, United Packinghouse
Workers of America, AFL-CIO

Tuesday, July 2

LUNCH: 12:30 - 2:00 P.M.

TOWARD FULL EMPLOYMENT.....LEON KEYSERLING
Chairman, Conference on Economic Progress and formerly Chairman, President's Council of Economic Advisors

FUNCTIONS OF THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY.....HOBART TAYLOR, ESQ.
Executive Vice-Chairman of the Committee

THE PROBLEM OF UNEMPLOYED YOUTH.....EDWARD HODGES, III
Executive Director, Michigan FEP Commission

DISCUSSION

CONCLUDING REMARKS.....ROY WILKINS

4:30 P.M.—COMMITTEE MEETINGS

Rules — Parlor D (First Floor)

Credentials — Burgundy Room (Mezzanine Floor)

Time and Place — Parlor B (First Floor)

Constitution Revision — Parlor C (First Floor)

Resolutions — Parlor G (Second Floor)

5:00 P.M. - 6:00 P.M.—Youth Advisors Workshop (Grand Ballroom. Details in Youth Section of Program)

Tuesday, July 2

8:00 P.M.—MASS MEETING

MRS. DAISY LAMPKIN, Member, National Board of Directors, *Presiding*

MUSICAL PROGRAM (Until 8:30)

THE CHORAL SILHOUETTES

NATIONAL ANTHEM ..... AUDIENCE

INVOCATION ..... THE REV. ROBERT L. BOND
President, Church Federation
of Greater Chicago

COURT OF INQUIRY: THE UGLY FACE OF DISCRIMINATION
A panel of distinguished civil rights lawyers will interrogate witnesses who will testify from their own personal experiences with bigotry and injustice.

The Panel — ROBERT L. CARTER, New York, N. Y.; NATHANIEL COLLEY, Sacramento, Calif.; JACK GREENBERG, New York, N. Y.; MATTHEW PERRY, Spartanburg, S. C.

The Witnesses — AMOS BROWN, Atlanta, Ga.; LAWRENCE CURRY, Chattanooga, Tenn.; REV. L. F. GRIFFIN, Farmville, Va.; AARON HENRY, Clarksdale, Miss.; MEMPHIS NORMAN, Jackson, Miss.; REV. D. L. TUCKER, Greenwood, Miss.; CHARLES WELLS, Detroit, Mich.

"Lift Ev'ry Voice and Sing" ..... AUDIENCE

BENEDICTION ..... THE REV. HARRY B. GIBSON
Pastor, Gorham Methodist Church

Wednesday, July 3

9:00 A.M.—CONVENTION PLENARY SESSION

JESSE TURNER, President, Memphis, Tennessee, Branch, *Presiding*

INVOCATION.....THE REV. H. W. STEPHENS
Robbins, Illinois

REPORT OF CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE

REPORT OF RULES COMMITTEE

9:30 A.M. - 12 Noon—POLITICAL ACTION

THE YEAR AHEAD IN
POLITICAL ACTION.....HON. CECIL F. POOLE
U.S. Attorney for
Northern California

DISCUSSION GROUPS ON POLITICAL ACTION

Group A—Branches with 1,000 or more members (Constitution Room, First Floor)
Discussion Leader: MARGARET BUSH WILSON, ESQ.
St. Louis, Mo.

Group B—Regions I and IV (Venetian Room, Second Floor)
Discussion Leader: JACK TANNER, ESQ.
Tacoma, Washington

Group C—Region II, plus Maryland and the District of Columbia (North Exhibit Hall, Third Floor)
Discussion Leader: THE REV. S. HOWARD WOODSON
Trenton, N. J.

Group D—Region III (Cotillion Room, Mezzanine Floor)
Discussion Leader: EDWARD TURNER, ESQ.
Detroit, Mich.

Group E—Regions V and VI, plus Virginia (Madison Room, Third Floor)
Discussion Leader: RUTLEDGE PEARSON, Jacksonville, Fla.

2:00 - 4:00 P.M.—REGIONAL MEETINGS for Selection of:

1. Regional Nominees to National Board of Directors
2. Regional Nominees to the National Nominating Committee
3. Regional Nominees to the Convention Procedure Committee for 1964

4:30 P.M.—COMMITTEE MEETINGS

5:00 - 6:30 P.M.—Youth and College Chapter Advisors Workshop (Grand Ballroom, Morrison Hotel. Details in Youth Section of Program)

Wednesday, July 3

8:30 P.M.—MASS MEETING (YOUTH NIGHT)

JAMES BLAKE, Chairman, National Youth Work Committee, *Presiding*

MUSIC (Until 8:30)

Under the direction of DAVID O'BANION, Minister of Music, Grace Presbyterian Church

INVOCATION.....THE VERY REV. MSGR. DANIEL M. CANTWELL, Chaplain Catholic Interracial Council

ADDRESS.....DR. CHARLES WESLEY President, Central State College, Wilberforce, Ohio

"THE SPIRITUAL'S MANY FACES" — A musical-narrative on the use of the spiritual throughout history by the Negro American and the role of the spiritual in the Fight for Freedom.....VOICES, INC., New York City

PRESENTATION OF EMILY R. AND KIVIE KAPLAN PRIZES IN NAACP EMANCIPATION CENTENNIAL ESSAY CONTEST.....HARVEY GANTT Charleston, S. C.

"Lift Ev'ry Voice and Sing".....AUDIENCE

BENEDICTION.....THE REV. ROBERT THOMAS, JR. Pastor, Arnett Chapel A.M.E. Church

Thursday, July 4

NO CONVENTION SESSIONS SCHEDULED

9:30 A.M.—National Youth Work Committee Meeting
(Place to be announced)

EMANCIPATION CENTENNIAL PARADE

AND

INDEPENDENCE DAY RALLY

AT GRANT PARK BANDSHELL

Parade starts at 10:00 A.M. at Illinois Avenue and State Street. Assembly area in Illinois west of State. Marchers will proceed south on State Street to Van Buren Street, where the parade will terminate.

Grant Park is due east along Van Buren Street, across Michigan Boulevard. Assembly will be in front of the Band Shell.

(IN CASE OF RAIN, PROGRAM WILL BE HELD AT PROGRESSIVE BAPTIST CHURCH, 37th AND WENTWORTH, AT 1:00 P.M.)

Thursday, July 4

12 Noon—INDEPENDENCE DAY RALLY. Grant Park Bandshell East of Michigan Boulevard, at Van Buren

MUSIC (Until 12:30)

Under the direction of MRS. BETTY JACKSON KING, Music Director, The Congregational Church of Park Manor; ARTHUR LOGAN, Music Director, Monumental Baptist Church; and EUGENE SCOTT, Music Director, Metropolitan Community Church.

Band courtesy Chicago Musicians Union, directed by CAPT. WALTER DYETT

BISHOP STEPHEN GILL SPOTTSWOOD, A.M.E.Z., Chairman, National Board of Directors, *Presiding*

NATIONAL ANTHEM ..... AUDIENCE

INVOCATION ..... THE REV. HARVEY E. WALDEN
Grant Memorial A.M.E. Church

GREETING ..... DR. J. H. JACKSON
President, National Baptist Convention

GREETING ..... U.S. SENATOR PAUL DOUGLAS

GREETING ..... BISHOP JOSEPH GOMEZ
Fourth Episcopal District, A.M.E. Church

PRESENTATION OF 48TH
SPINGARN MEDAL, *Posthumous* .....

ACCEPTANCE ..... MRS. MYRLIE EVERS

BAND SELECTION

ADDRESS ..... THE REV. FRED L. SHUTTLESWORTH
President, Alabama Christian
Movement for Human Rights

"Lift Ev'ry Voice and Sing" ..... AUDIENCE

BENEDICTION ..... THE REV. EDGAR J. THORNTON
Original Providence Baptist Church

4:30 P.M.—MEETING OF STATE CONFERENCE PRESIDENTS WITH NAACP GENERAL COUNSEL (Parlor F, Morrison Hotel, Second Floor)

4:30 P.M.—WORKSHOP FOR BRANCH EXECUTIVE SECRETARIES AND NATIONAL OFFICE STAFF. (Place to be announced)
HAROLD WILLIAMS, Executive Secretary, Cleveland Branch, *Presiding*

5:30 P.M.—RECEPTION FOR DELEGATES sponsored by the United Packinghouse Workers of America, AFL-CIO, Morrison Hotel

Friday, July 5

8:30 A.M.—REGIONAL MEETINGS

9:30 A.M.—CONVENTION PLENARY SESSION (Legislative)

SAMUEL JACKSON, ESQ., President, Topeka, Kansas, Branch, *Presiding*

GLENDORA MCILWAIN, Methuen, Mass., *Parliamentarian*

INVOCATION.....THE REV. W. J. HODGE
Louisville, Ky.

REPORT OF CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE

REPORT OF REGIONAL NOMINATIONS TO:

1. National Nominating Committee
2. Convention Procedure Committee for 1964

REPORT OF CONSTITUTION REVISION COMMITTEE

REPORT OF RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE (Internal Affairs)

12:15 P.M.—OFFICIAL CONVENTION PHOTOGRAPH

(Will be taken on convention floor. Please be on hand and seated)

2:00 - 3:00 P.M.—Youth Business Session to Select Youth Nominees (Grand Ballroom)

3:15 - 4:15 P.M.—Youth Session: "Direct Action and Your Legal Rights" (Grand Ballroom. Details in Youth Section of Program)

2:00 - 4:00 P.M.—CONCURRENT WORKSHOPS

A. ACCELERATING SCHOOL DESEGREGATION IN THE SOUTH (Madison Room, Third Floor)

MRS. MAXINE SMITH, Secretary, Memphis, Tenn., Branch, *Presiding*

Discussants: FRANK REEVES, ESQ., Washington, D.C.
VERNON JORDAN, Atlanta, Ga.
W. LESTER BANKS, Richmond, Va.
MRS. MERCEDES WRIGHT, Savannah, Ga.

B. *DE FACTO* NORTHERN SEGREGATION AND TEXTBOOK DISTORTIONS (Cotillion Room, Mezzanine Floor)

THE REV. CARL A. FUQUA, Executive Secretary, Chicago Branch, *Presiding*

Friday, July 5

Discussants: JUNE SHAGALOFF, New York, N.Y.
ROBERT L. CARTER, ESQ., New York, N.Y.
DR. MARIE E. CARPENTER, Jersey City, N.J.
NATHANIEL COLLEY, ESQ., Sacramento, Cal.

C. PROMOTING OPEN OCCUPANCY BY DIRECT ACTION (Constitution Room, Mezzanine Floor)

BARBEE W. DURHAM, Executive Secretary, Columbus, Ohio, Branch, *Presiding*

Discussants: MADISON JONES, New York, N.Y.
EDWARD RUTLEDGE, New York, N.Y.
JAMES DEL RIO, Detroit, Mich.
HAROLD WILLIAMS, Cleveland, Ohio
JACK E. WOOD, JR., White Plains, N.Y.

Resource Consultants:

DR. BOOKER T. MCGRAW, Washington, D.C.
PHILIP SADLER, Washington, D.C.
OLIVER W. HILL, ESQ., Washington, D.C.
LAWRENCE DUNCAN, Washington, D.C.
JAMES BANKS, Washington, D.C.
WILLIAM VALENTINE, New York, N.Y.

D. FUND-RAISING, LIFE AND REGULAR MEMBERSHIP PROMOTION

MRS. MILEY O. WILLIAMSON, Executive Secretary, Dayton, Ohio, Branch, *Presiding*

1. Life Memberships

Discussants:

CLARENCE HOLMES, ESQ., Cleveland, Ohio
KIVIE KAPLAN, National Life Membership Chairman
DR. MARGARET REID, Suffolk-Nansemond, Va.

Staff Consultant:

MORRIS M. DELISSER, Life Membership Secretary

2. Membership and Renewal Campaigns

Friday, July 5

Discussants:

MRS. BENONA BRADFORD, New York, N.Y.
MR. ROLAND ALEXANDER, Youngstown, Ohio
DR. P. CUSTIS HOWARD, Coatesville, Pa.

Staff Consultant:

LUCILLE BLACK, Membership Secretary

3. Fund-Raising

Discussants:

MRS. DORIS WATERS, Mt. Vernon, N.Y.
MRS. EURILLA WILLS, South Bend, Ind.

Staff Consultant:

MRS. TAREA H. PITTMAN, West Coast Regional Secretary

4:15 - 5:30 P.M.—Youth Session: "Our Personal Commitment to Freedom" (Grand Ballroom. Details in Youth Section of Program)

4.30 P.M.—COMMITTEE MEETINGS

7:00 P.M.—Youth Freedom Fund Banquet
(Grand Ballroom, Morrison Hotel. Details in Youth Section of Program) Dancing following Youth Banquet

7:00 P.M.—FREEDOM FUND REPORT DINNER. Terrace Casino, Morrison Hotel

HON. HUBERT T. DELANY, Member, National Board of Directors and Chairman, National Branch Work Committee, *Presiding*

Saturday, July 6

8:30 A.M.—REGIONAL MEETINGS

9:30 A.M.—CONVENTION PLENARY SESSION (Legislative)

JOSEPH G. KENNEDY, ESQ., San Francisco, California, Member National Board of Directors, *Presiding*

IRVING ANDREWS, ESQ., President, Colorado - Wyoming State Conference of Branches, *Parliamentarian*

INVOCATION.....THE REV. BEN C. HILL
Tulsa, Okla.

ELECTION OF NATIONAL NOMINATING COMMITTEE

ELECTION OF CONVENTION PROCEDURE COMMITTEE FOR 1964

REPORT OF REGIONAL NOMINATIONS TO THE NATIONAL BOARD OF DIRECTORS

REPORT OF RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON TIME AND PLACE

BENEDICTION.....THE REV. E. H. COLEMAN
Stamford, Conn.

ADJOURNMENT

NOTE: There will be no Sunday Mass Meeting

54th ANNUAL NAACP CONVENTION
YOUTH AND COLLEGE DIVISION

July 1-6, 1963 **Chicago, Illinois**

Theme: "Emancipation's Unfinished Business"

PROGRAM

Monday, July 1

9:00 A.M.—MEETING OF NATIONAL YOUTH WORK COMMITTEE

Presiding: JAMES BLAKE, Chairman, National Youth Work Committee

12:00 Noon - 12:55 A.M.—BRIEFING SESSION FOR YOUTH DELEGATES

Presiding: CALVIN LUPER, Vice Chairman, National Youth Work Committee, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Remarks: "THE CONVENTION AND ITS WORK"—an explanation of the convention and how it operates

GLOSTER B. CURRENT, NAACP Director of Branches

LAPLOIS ASHFORD, National Youth Secretary

INTRODUCTION OF NATIONAL YOUTH WORK COMMITTEE MEMBERS

1:30 P.M.—CONVENTION ORGANIZATION MEETING
(See adult program)

REGIONAL ORGANIZATION MEETINGS
(See adult program)

6:00 P.M.—DINNER MEETING OF STATE YOUTH PRESIDENTS, ADVISORS AND KEY YOUTH LEADERS

Presiding: LAPLOIS ASHFORD, National Youth Secretary

8:00 P.M.—MASS MEETING
(See adult program)

10:30 P.M.—YOUTH RECEPTION

Tuesday, July 2

8:00 A.M.—REGIONAL MEETINGS

9:00 A.M.—CONVENTION PLENARY SESSION
(See adult program)

10:00 - 12:00—OPENING SESSION

Theme: "FREED, BUT NOT YET FREE"

Presiding: ALFRED WILLIAMS, III, Muskegon, Michigan, Member National Youth Work Committee; Chairman of Region III Youth Conference

NATIONAL ANTHEM

INVOCATION

WELCOME (Regional, State and local hosts)

EDWARD POTTS, President, Chicago Youth Council

RUSSELL MOORE, President, Illinois State Youth Con-Conference

GLORIA RAY, 1st Vice President, Region III Youth Conference

WARM UP RALLY — BANNER PARADE

GREETINGS.....THE RT. REV. STEPHEN G. SPOTTSWOOD
Bishop A.M.E.Z. Church; Chairman, National Board of Directors

ROY WILKINS
Executive Secretary, NAACP

"Lift Ev'ry Voice and Sing".....AUDIENCE

REMARKS .....JAMES BLAKE
Chairman, National Youth Work Committee

REPORTS FROM EMANCIPATION BATTLE FRONTS:

a. North Carolina — JOCELYN MCKISSICK, Durham, North Carolina

b. New Orleans, Louisiana — RAPHAEL CASSIMERE, JR.

c. Jackson, Mississippi — PEARLENA LEWIS, WILLIE LUDDEN

d. Georgia — BOBBIE HILL

12:00 - 2:00 P.M.—LUNCH

2:00 P.M.—EMPLOYMENT CONFERENCE
(See adult program)

5:00 - 6:30 P.M.—WORKSHOP — YOUTH COUNCIL AND COLLEGE CHAPTER ADVISORS

DANIEL NEUSOM, Advisor, Michigan State Youth Conference

ISABEL STRICKLAND, Advisor, Pennsylvania State Youth Conference

Consultant: REV. BLAINE RAMSEY, JR., 1st Vice President, Illinois State Conference

8:00 P.M.—MASS MEETING
(See adult program)

10:30 P.M.—GET-ACQUAINTED SOCIAL

Wednesday, July 3

9:00 A.M.—YOUTH MEETING

SONG SESSION

"TECHNIQUES FOR DIRECT ACTION PROJECTS"

Presiding: PEARLENA LEWIS, President, North Jackson Youth Council

Consultants: GLOSTER B. CURRENT, Director of Branches, NAACP

CALVIN LUPER, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

LAFAYETTE MCDONALD, Durham, N.C.

OLIVER HENRY, Evanson, Illinois

10:30 A.M.—"HITTING WHERE IT HURTS MOST — SELECTIVE BUYING"

Presiding: MARY MOSS, President, Savannah State College Chapter

Consultants: MRS. MERCEDES WRIGHT, Advisor, Georgia State Youth Conference

W. W. LAW, President, Georgia State Conference of Branches

WILLIE B. LUDDEN, JR., Southeast Regional Youth Field Secretary, NAACP

12:00 Noon—LUNCH

2:00 P.M.—REGIONAL MEETINGS for Selection of Regional Nominees to National Board of Directors, National Nominating Committee, and Convention Procedure Committee for 1964

5:30 - 6:30 P.M.—WORKSHOP FOR YOUTH COUNCIL AND COLLEGE CHAPTER ADVISORS

8:00 P.M.—MASS MEETING: "YOUTH NIGHT"
(See adult program)

Thursday, July 4

9:30 A.M.—MEETING OF NATIONAL YOUTH WORK COMMITTEE (Place to be announced)

12:00 Noon—OUTDOOR INDEPENDENCE DAY RALLY
(See adult program)

8:00 P.M.—CONVENTION DANCE and Other Youth Entertainment

Friday, July 5

8:30 A.M.—REGIONAL MEETINGS

9:30 A.M.—CONVENTION PLENARY SESSION
(See adult program)

12:00 - 2:00 P.M.—LUNCH

2:00 - 3:00 P.M.—YOUTH PLENARY SESSION (to select Youth Nominees for National Board of Directors)

Presiding: JAMES BLAKE, Chairman, National Youth Work Committee

3:15 - 4:15 P.M.—"DIRECT ACTION AND YOUR LEGAL RIGHTS"

Presiding: JOHN FRAZIER, President, Mississippi State Youth Conference, Greenville, Mississippi

Consultants: FLOYD B. MCKISSICK, ESQ., Durham, N. C.
WILLIAM R. MING, ESQ., Chicago, Ill.

4:15 - 5:30 P.M.—WORKSHOP: "OUR PERSONAL COMMITMENT TO FREEDOM"

Presiding: MICHAEL MITCHELL, Baltimore, Md., National Youth Work Committee

Consultants: MRS. VERA PIGEE, Advisor, Coahoma County, Mississippi, Youth Council, Clarksdale, Miss.

DR. AARON HENRY, President, Mississippi State Conference, Clarksdale, Mississippi

7:00 P.M.—YOUTH FREEDOM FUND BANQUET

Presiding: JOHN F. DAVIS, Member National Board of Directors, East Orange, N. J.

INVOCATION.....THE REV. THEODORE RICHARDSON
Metropolitan Community Church

"Lift Ev'ry Voice and Sing".....AUDIENCE

DINNER

MUSIC

GUEST SPEAKER.....JAMES H. MEREDITH
President, Meredith Educational Fund

IKE SMALLS AWARDS.....MRS. KATE MOORE
Advisor, Illinois State
Youth Conference

PRESENTATION OF SPECIAL AWARDS.....LAPLOIS ASHFORD
Youth Secretary

SELECTION

ANNOUNCEMENTS

BENEDICTION.....FATHER WILLIAM HOGAN
St. Raphael's Parish

10:30 P.M.—YOUTH DANCE

Saturday, July 6

(See adult program)

THE CHICAGO BRANCH NAACP OFFICERS

Rev. W. N. Daniel, *President;* Albert Brooks, *1st Vice President;* Rev. A. P. Jackson, *2nd Vice President;* Robert Hymer, *3rd Vice President;* E. Winston Williams, *4th Vice President;* Charles A. Davis, *Secretary;* Brenetta Howell, *Assistant Secretary;* Marshall Bynum, *Treasurer;* A. Miles Cartman, Rev. Clarence H. Cobbs, Lester Davis, Miss Ethel C. Dostal, Harold Feldstein, Leslie Grannum, Charles Hayes, Dr. David Johnson, George Jones, Theodore A. Jones, James Kemp, Dr. Robert Kimbrough, Lucius Love, Mrs. Mattie Kelly Moore. Rev. S. S. Morris, Claude Robinson, Eldridge Sharp, Mrs. Josephine Walker, Mrs. Bernadine C. Washington, Attorney Willie M. Whiting, Arthur Wilson, *Executive Committee.*

CONVENTION COMMITTEES

General Planning: Mrs. William Sylvester White, *Chairman;* Oscar C. Brown, Sr. and Earl B. Dickerson, *Co-Chairmen;* Charles A. Davis, *Secretary;* Marshall F. Bynum, Reverend W. N. Daniel, Harry Gibson, Mrs. Quentin Goodwin, George S. Harris, Theodore A. Jones, James Kemp, Jr., Melvin McNairy, W. Robert Ming, Mrs. Mae Hodge. Woodrow W. Hodge, Miss Josephine Fulton, Mrs. Ruby Holloway, Mrs. Mattie Kelly Moore, Mrs. Beatrice Steele. Mrs. Maxine McCurine, Walter Dyett, Miss Betty Murphy, Mrs. Arnetta Cogswell.

Chicago Hosts: George S. Harris, *Chairman;* James Kemp, *Co-Chairman;* Dr. Samuel L. Andelman, Claude A. Barnett, Alderman Leon M. Despres, Hon. Corneal A. Davis, Mrs. Irene McCoy Gaines, Reverend Samuel Lucius Gandy, Edward Wimp, William E. Hill, Woodrow W. Hodge, Alderman Claude W. B. Holman, Dr. and Mrs. T. R. M. Howard, Dr. J. H. Jackson, Alderman Otto F. Janousek, Dr. Nelson C. Jefferson, Dr. Yolande M. Johnson, Hon. Sidney A. Jones, Dr. Marjorie S. Joyner. Dr. and Mrs. Percy L. Julian, Dr. George Thomas Kersey, Baxter W. Collier, Philip M. Klutznick, Dr. Thedore K. Lawless, Robert H. MacRae, Arnold H. Maremont, Alderman Ralph H. Metcalfe, John F. Morning, Sr., Mrs. Arnita J. Parker, A. A. Rayner, Bishop B. Julian Smith, His Excellency Archbishop Bernard J. Sheil, Dr. T. Manuel Smith, Mrs. Madeline Stratton, Mrs. Robert Rochon Taylor, Bishop William Jacob Walls, Mrs. Mildred L. Lawson, C. Roger Wilson, H. B. Law, Dr. Taft Raines, Reverend John H. Scambler, William Abernathy, Warren H. Bacon, Dr. George Beadle, Edwin C. Berry, Dr. Leonidas H. Berry, Dr. Preston Bradley, Mrs. Gwendolyn Brooks, Mrs. Callie Broxton, Clifford Campbell, Reverend Archibald J. Carey, Dr. Edward Sparling, Hon. Cyrus J. Colter, Fairfax Cone, Hon. James Crosson, Dr. Allison Davis, S. B. Fuller, Truman K. Gibson, Sr., Edward S. Gillespie, Joel Goldblatt, George W. Dunne, Richard Harewood, Raymond Hillard, Hon. Mark Jones, John H. Johnson, Marshall Korshak, Ferd Kramer, Dick Gregory, Raymond W. Pasnick, Alderman William H. Harvey, Alderman Robert Miller, Albert Cardinal Meyer, Alderman Abner Mikva, Henry McGee, Clyde Reynolds, William H. Robinson. Mrs. Elena Goulf Schorr, John Sengstacke, Hon. Fred D. Slater, Senator Fred Smith, James M. Lynch, Gardner Stern, Dr. Jeanne Spurlock, A. W. Williams. William Sylvester White, William Wood Prince, A. Abbot Rosen, Rabbi Jacob Weinstein, Nicholas J. Melas.

Entertainment: Miss Roselilyan Harris, *Chairman;* Eugene Scott, Bernadine C. Washington, Ruth Toler and Mamyme Gordon.

Finance: Mr. Marshall F. Bynum, Chairman; Theodore A. Jones, Earl B. Dickerson, Oscar C. Brown, Sr., Woodrow W. Hodge, Charles A. Davis, Melvin McNairy, Miss Josephine Fulton, Rev. W. N. Daniel, James Kemp, George S. Harris, Mrs. George W. White.

Housing: Mrs. Anna Bowman, Miss Vivian Moore, *Co-Chairmen;* Dr. Warren St. James, Mrs. Mattie K. Moore, Mrs. Ethel B. Robertson, Mrs. Mary Ann Parker, Mrs. Josie Wells, Mrs. Jewel Mullen and Mrs.s Beatrice Steele.

Music: Walter Dyett, *Chairman;* Mrs. Betty Lou King, Miss Patricia Pates,

David O'Banion, Henry Fitzpatrick, Arthur Logan, A. Bankston Owens, Mrs. Edna Perry, Bernard Adams and Eugene Scott.

Publicity: Lee Blackwell, *Chairman;* Robert E. Johnson, Larry Still, Lerone Bennett, Ruby Holloway, Theresa Fambro, Mrs. Hennie Mae Cisco, Wesley South, Mrs. Ruth McCoy, Mrs. Etta Moten Barnett, Holmes Daylie and Sidney McCoy.

Registration: Mrs. Robert E. Johnson, *Chairman;* Mrs. Benjamine Coble, Mrs. Iris Thomas, Mrs. Sarah Thomas, Mrs. Billie Jean Dixon, Mrs. Joan Cervantes, Mrs. Mattie K. Moore, Mrs. Kathryn Le Sure, Miss Eva Stewart, Mrs. Evelyn Butler, Mrs. Geraldine Ware, Mrs. Alice Woods, Mrs. Barbara French, Mrs. Betty Gloster, Mrs. Patricia Daniels, Mrs. Dorothy Callowoy, Mrs. Lena Le Cesne, Miss Carolyn Anderson, iss Mary Coles, Mrs. Genevieve Mack, Mrs. Dorothy Byrd, Mrs. Dorothy Bennett, Mrs. Hampton McKinney, Mrs. E. J. Shirley, Mrs. Maxine McCurine, Mrs. Agnes Jones, Mrs. Carolyn O'Neal, Mrs. Judy Albritton, Mrs. Nedra Jackson, Miss Nadine Ware, Mrs. Sandra Powell, Miss Ethel Dostal, Mrs. Charmaine Young, Dr. Walter F. Young, Mrs. Delores B. Wood, and Mrs. Willis J. Wood.

Transportation and Welcome: Rev. James Mack, *Chairman;* Miss Amelia King, Mrs. Irma King, Granville Reed, Herbie Ellman, Walter Young, Rev. James Mack, George Shropshear, Charmaine La Cesne, Lene Le Cesne, Mr. James Gleason (4 drivers), Columbus Ewing, Walter Worrill, Mrs. Donnese Shaw, Mrs. Jessie Larkin.

Ushers: Mr. Edward Mosley, *Chairman;* Chicago Unit Ushers League in charge, Mrs. James Matthews, *President.*

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

20 WEST 40th STREET NEW YORK 18, N. Y.
BRyant 9-1400

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JUL 10 1963

WBO
JMV
RTB

COAHOMA COUNTY BRANCH NAACP

JULY 6, 1963

A C T I O N! A C T I O N! A C T I O N!

Yes, nonviolent action against evil. Those of us who call ourselves Christians and lovers of our country, must move in the calm spirit of Christian nonviolence in order to free ourselves and our brothers from slavery. We have appealed to the officials of this town and other responsible leaders in an effort to solve the existing problems faced by this community. These officials have not granted consideration to any of our requests. We now have no choice but to peacefully and nonviolently lift the pressures of our human worth until we bring into this city a Freedom never before enjoyed by the Negroes of the community. We must "STRIDE TOWARD FREEDOM"!

PREVIEW OF COMING ATTRACTIONS

FREEDOM MEETINGS:

Sunday night July 7, 1963, 7:30 pm. the speaker will hopefully be Mr. Charles Evers, the brother of the slain NAACP leader Medgar Evers, and the new Executive Secretary of the Mississippi State Conference of Branches of the NAACP. The meeting will be held at the First Baptist Church.

Monday night July 8, 1963 at 7:30 pm also at the First Baptist Church, the Freedom Meeting will feature as the main speaker Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., the author of "Stride Toward Freedom" and president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. At 9:00 am Tuesday July 9, 1963, Dr. King will meet with local ministers in a breakfast at the Haven Methodist Church. Please be present at the Freedom Meetings and urge your minister to support and attend the breakfast and the Freedom Meetings.

We are very pleaded that our request for help in our local struggle has been met by all of the major civil rights organizations. The SNCC has stationed here-Layfayette Surney, a native Mississippian and CORE, another Southern native son Thomas Gaither, formerly of Jackson. Rev. James Bevel has also been of assistance locally representing the SCLS.

Apparently the Clarksdale Police Department has not learned that threatning and intimidating Negro citizens is a great help to the Freedom struggle. The recent exploits of the police include the forcing of a white restaurant owner to fire a Negro lady who was recently arrested in a protest demonstration. Our cause is so right until any action designed to hinder the progress of the movement winds up helping the movement.

Don't forget "Stride Toward Freedom" will not be a success without you. All of us can participate by pledging to stay away from downtown Clarksdale-until we can enjoy the bounty of God's goodness-everywhere we spend our money. Sign up to futher aid "Stride Toward Freedom" by:
Pledging yourself, person and body to the non-violent Army for Freedom, thereby agreeing to the following ten commandments;

1. Meditate daily on the teachings and life of Jesus.
2. Remember always that the non-vionent movement in Clarksdale and Coahoma County. sseeks justice and conciliation...not victory.
3. Walk and talk in the manner of love for God is love.
4. Pray daily to be used by God in order that all men might be free.
5. Sacrifice personal wishes in order that all men might be free.
6. Observe with both friend and foe the ordinary rules of courtesy.
7. Seek to perform regular service for others and for the world.
8. Refrain from the violence of fist, tongue or heart.
9. Strive to be in good spiritual and bodily health.
10. Follow the directions of the movement and of the captain on a demonstration.

I sign this pledge, having faith that my actions and examples will in some small way help to bring God's Kingdom to this earth.

Name_____ Address_____

Telephone No._____

Nearest Relative_____ Address_____

OVER

BESIDES DEMONSTRATIONS, I COULD ALSO HELP THE FREEDOM MOVEMENT BY: (CIRCLE THE PROPER ITEMS), RUNNING ERRANDS, DRIVING CAR, FIXING FOOD FOR VOLUNTEERS, CLERICAL WORK, TUP TYPE, PRINT, SIGNS, DISTRIBUTE LEAFLETS, OTHER, _____

_____

_____.

THERE IS NO FREEDOM WITHOUT STTRUGGLE AND SACRAFICE

wb

COAHOMA COUNTY BRANCH NAACP

July 13, 1963

IT APPEARS THIS COMMUNITY IS GOING TO HAVE TO LEARN THE MEANING OF A NEW WORD. THIS WORD IS I N J U N C T I O N . BECAUSE OF THE TEMPORARY EFFECT AN INJUNCTION HAS ON OUR EFFORTS IN THE FREEDOM MOVEMENT, WE PREDICT IT WILL BE USED BY THE ENEMIES OF NEGROE ADVANCEMENT TIME AND TIME AGAIN.

BY THE ISSUANCE OF AN INJUNCTION THE WHITE COMMUNITY SAYS TO THE NEGRO COMMUNITY"WHAT EVER YOUR PROBLEMS ARE, WE ARE NOT CONCERNED ABOUT THEM AND WE WILL ISSUE AN INJUNCTION AGAINST YOU TO PREVENT YOU FROM TELLING ANYBODY ELSE HOW WE ARE TREATING YOU." AND THEN THEY PROCEED TO INTIMINDATE THE VISITING PRESS PERSONNEL FROM THE NATIONAL NEWS MEDIA, THEY CASTIGATE AND VILIFY VISITING MINISTERS FROM THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES WHO HAD THE INTEREST TO COME AND SEE FOR THEMSELVES.

WE OFFER A SPECIAL THANKS TO REV. A. DUDLEY WARD, REV. GROVER BAGBY, REV. EUGENE SMITH, REV. ARTHUR WALMSLEY AND REV. DALE A. FRIERS, FROM THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES WHO CAME AND MADE THEIR WITNESS ON THE SIDE OF FREEDOM. WE ARE LIKEWISE DEEPLY APPRECIATIVE FOR THE PRESENCE OF BISHOP CHARLES F. GOLDEN OF THE METHODIST CHURCH ALONG WITH REV. EDWARD ODOM CHAIRMAN OF THE NATIONAL CHURCH WORK COMMITTEE OF THE NAACP AND REV. MARTIN LUTHER KING, REV. WYATT T. WALKER AND REV. RALPH ABERNATHY OF THE BAPTIST CHURCH AND THE SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE. WE OFFER OUR SINCERE APOLOGY AND REGRET FOR THE MANNER OUR CITY GOVERNMENT, THE LOCAL WHITE CLERGY AND THE EDITORIAL PRESS TREATED YOU WHILE HERE. BUT IF JESUS CHRIST, THE PRINCE OF PEACE HAD BEEN WITH YOU, ADVOCATING FREEDOM, EQUALITY AND JUSTICE FOR THE NEGRO CITIZENS OF OUR COMMUNITY HE TOO, WOULD HAVE BEEN VILIFYED AND TREATED IN THE SAME OBNOXIOUS MANNER YOU WERE, THAT IS IF HE HADN'T BEEN SHOT IN THE BACK, BOMBED OR EVEN LYNCHED.

NOT A SINGLE VOICE IN THE ENTIRE WHITE COMMUNITY COULD BE HEARD ON THE SIDE OF FAIRNESS AND DECENCY DURING THE VISIT OF THESE MINISTERS OF JESUS CHRIST. SOME OF THE LOUDEST VOICES AGAINST US DURING THEIR VISIT WERE SOME OF THE ONES WHO EARLIER SEEMED MOST RESPONSIVE TO THE CHRISTIAN WITNESS FOR FREEDOM. WE ASK THEM, AND YOU KNOW WHO YOU ARE, DOES THIS CHANGE OF LANGUAGE OR POSITION REFLECT INSINCERITY , OR PRESSURE TO DO EVIL, BEYOND YOUR ABILITY TO WITHSTAND, OR WHAT?

DID THE COMING OF THE VISITING MINISTERS POINT UP THE NEGLECT OF THE LOCAL MINISTERS IN THE AREA OF CHRISTIAN SOCIAL JUSTICE TO THE EXTENT THAT THE ONLY WAY YOU COULD SAVE FACE, WAS BY ATTACKING THEM.

ALL OF US SCHEDULED TO PARTICIPATE IN "MAKING OUR WITNESS FOR FREEDOM", ON TUESDAY JULY 9, ARE TO BE COMMENDED FOR THE RESTRAINT DISPLAYED AS IT BECAME APPARENT THAT THE WITNESS WOULD NOT BE MADE AT THAT TIME. WE MUST CONTINUE TO KEEP THIS UNIT TOGETHER AND ENLARGE IT SO THAT WHEN THE WORD BECOMES "GO", ON THE INJUNCTION WE WILL BE INVOLVED IN MUCH GREATER NUMBERS THAN ORIGINALLY PLANNED. WE HAVE ASSURANCE WE CAN COUNT ON THE ASSISTANCE OF ALL OF OUR FRIENDS WHO WERE HERE THIS WEEK TO COME BACK WHEN EVER THE NEED DEVELOPS.

WE WOULD LIKE TO KNOW THE FACTS BEHIND THE FIRING OF MRS. HATTIE GILMORE FROM THE BELMOUNT CAFE. THE RUMOR IS THAT SHE WAS FIRED ON INSTRUCTIONS OF SOME OF THE MEMBERS OF THE CLARKSDALE POLICE DEPARTMENT, BECAUSE MRS. GILMORE HAD PARTICIPATED IN A DEMONSTRATION AGAINST SEGREGATION AND THE EVILS OF OUR COMMUNITY. IF IT IS TRUE THAT MRS. GILMORE WAS FIRED ON ORDERS FROM SOME OF THE MEMBERS OF THE CLARKSDALE POLICE DEPARTMENT, THEN ALL NEGROES SHOULD L E T T H E M E M B E R S O F T H E P O L I C E D E P A R T M E N T B U Y T H E I R C O F F E E, H O T C A K E S A N D O T H E R F O O D I T E M S T H A T W E U S E D T O B U Y, F R O M T H E B E L M O U N T C A F E.

OUR DIFFERENCE WITH REGARD TO THE POTATO CHIP SALESMAN IS DIRECTED AT ONLY ONE FIRM, THAT IS THE WONDER POTATO CHIP MAN. HE USED TO BE THE STEWART POTATO CHIP MAN. HE IS NOW THE WONDER POTATO CHIP MAN. WHEN HE BECAME A MEMBER OF THE POLICE DEPARTMENT TO PREVENT NEGROES FROM EXERCISING THEIR RIGHTS AS AMERICAN CITIZENS, NO WONDER, WE NEGROES DON'T WONT NO WONDER POTATO CHIPS, NOR ANYTHING ELSE HE SELLS.

BE SURE TO STAY AWAY FROM THE ENTIRE DOWNTOWN AREAS PICKET SIGNS MIGHT GO UP ANYDAY DOWNTOWN, ARRESTS YOU KNOW WILL BE MADE. UNLESS YOU ARE A PART OF THE GROUP PREPARED TO BE ARRESTED AND GO TO JAIL, WE SUGGEST YOU ABIDE BY THE BOYCOTT THAT IS NOW BEING TIGHTLY ENFORCED IN THE ENTIRE DOWNTOWN AREA. ALSO, MOONEYHANS LION SERVICE STATION AND ANY OTHER STATIONS HE MIGHT OWN AND CLARKSDALE AND DENTON'S DAIRY.

FREEDOM MEETING WEDNESDAY NIGHT, JULY 17TH, CENTENNIAL BAPTIST CHURCH.

MEMO TO LOCAL LAW ENFORCEMENT PERSONNEL "IF THE MURDERER OF MR. MANUEL MICENHAMMER HAD HAD ON A STRING AND A SIGN ASKING FOR FREEDOM , HE WOULD HAVE IMMEDIATELY BEEN ARRESTED, HE HAD ONLY A SUB-NOSE 38. A FREEDOM SIGN IS A BIGGER VIOLATION.

JUL 16 1963

JMV RTB WB

Remember MEDGAR EVERS

DID HE DIE IN VAIN?

Our Struggle Will Continue For.....

- Equal Jobs
- Complete Desegregation of All Store Facilities
- Service on A First Come First Serve Basis
- Courtesy Titles *(Mr. Mrs. Miss)*

FREEDOM MUST COME NOW!

Register to Vote ◈ *Stop Police Brutality*

Medgar Evers Gave His Life to Make

YOU *Free*
Must Not Let Him Down

■■ *Don't Buy Segregation* ■■

SUPPORT THE freedom MOVEMENT

JUL 30 1963

WBV
JMV
RTB

COAHOMA COUNTY BRANCH NAACP
July 27, 1963

The reputation of and the prestige of the courts of this area plunged to an all time low last week when it refused to convict Teddy Carr and Aubrey Cauthern for the bombing of the home of Aarom E. Henry. Although at the time of the crime both Carr and Cauthern are reported to have confessed the crime, claiming they were just having fun, and did not know the Henry's lived in the house that they bombed. During the trial Joe Porter testified that he had sold the gas to the two men and that they had also informed him that they were planning to bomb the Henry's Home. He testified that after the bombing, these two men came back to the station where he worked and told him that they had bombed the house and that Aaron Henry was a lucky___Niggar that he was not burned up. There was also a report that Joe Porter had been pressured not to testify in this trial by a High Legal mind on the County level. If this be true, and we have no reason to doubt it, we are forced to repeat our observation that in the Local Courts Negroes generally feel that we have no chance of sucessfully defending ourselves when we are charged by the local officials and are tried in the local courts.

All law abiding citizens, both Negroes and Whites who have sat silently by and watched Justice so preverted, thru the yoars, we now must hang O U R heads in shame. A complete Federal investigation of the local judicial system is evidently needed and is called for to be done by the Department of Justice of the U.S. Government.

Immediately following the above three Ring Circus, on Saturday July 20th six local citizens were arrested on the anti-littering law. These persons were handing out hand bills in support of the Downtown Boycott. They were handing the bills to persons who were either placing them in their pockets or purses after reading them. There is no law against handing out a hand bill, if so all the persons running for Public Office should be in jail, because they and their supporters are handing out advertisements daily. Since it looked so ridiculus to convict people for a violation of law that even the city ordinance says is not illegal, the charge against those arrested was changed from Anti-Littering to "Restraint of Trade". This is the same charge that several citizens were arrested on Dec. 7, 1961, and still are awaiting a final Judgement in the case.

With such flagrant actions by the courts that are directed against Negroes involved in the Freedom Movement, how can we have much respect for the COURTS.

It is because such acts as this that will cause the Negroes of this community to ignore the injunction that was leveled against the Freedom Movement on July 8, 1963. Those violating this injunction will in all probability be cited for contempt of Court, but who has any moral or mental reservation about being in contempt of courts that conduct themselves in the manner prescribed by the previously stated experiences.

We must say to all of our oppressors: Including the INJUCTION of July 8, 1963.

WE ARE NOT AFRAID OF YOU. YOU HAVEN'T COME TO HURT US, YOU HAVE JUST COME TO TEST OUR COURAGE, AND WE ARE GOING TO PASS THE TEST.

Our hats are off to the young people who went to jail last week and refused bail, but choose to stay in until their trials were heard. Many more of us are going to have to take this step before a break come thru in the solid wall of segregation and discrimmination.

Hear Ye Hear Ye Hear Ye Hear Ye Hear Ye Hear Ye Hear Ye

THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA HAS ORGANIZED A FOOD FOR FREEDOM COMMITTEE. THIS COMMITTEE WITH HEADQUARTERS IN LOS, ANGELES IS GOING TO BE A BIG HELP TO THE FREEDOM MOVEMENT IN MISSISSIPPI. THIS MOVEMENT WILL PROVIDE FOOD, CLOTHING, SHELTER, AND FINANCE TO NEGROES IN MISSISSIPPI WHO ARE VICTIMIZED BECAUSE OF THEIR PARTICIPATION IN THE FREEDOM MOVEMENT. SO HAVE NO FEAR.

EVENTS LEADING TO BREAKS IN THE WALL OF SEGREGATION ARE:

Freedom Meeting, Sunday night July 28th 7:30 pm. at Centennial Baptist Church. The Speaker will be Attorney Floyd McKissick, National Chairman of the Congress of Racial Equality. This is one of the Young Turks, truly a great new leader's star has come into the horizon. COME EARLY FOR SEATS.
Freedom Meeting, Monday Night, July 29th, 7:30 pm. Bell Grove Baptist Church. The Speaker for this meeting will be Rev. C.T. Vivian. Rev. Vivian is classified by many as the greatest speaker in the Civil Rights Movement today. Don't miss this meeting.

Freedom Meeting, Tuesday Night, July 30th, First Baptist Church. The speaker for this meeting is the great Speaker Rev. B. L. Hooks of Memphis Tenn. Enough said. Be there.
Freedom Meeting Wednesday night, New Jersalem Baptist Chruch. Guest Speaker—"Some One not in J A I L ."
Something is surely up. Attend each meeting nightly for further INSTRUCTIONS.

AUG 20 1963

WBV
JM
RTB

COAHOMA COUNTY BRANCH NAACP

AUGUST 17, 1963

THE JAIL CELLS OF THE CLARKSDALE CITY AND THE COAHOMA COUNTY JAIL ARE EMPTY FOR A FEW DAYS AS FAR AS THE FREEDOM MOVEMENT IS CONCERNED. WE ARE SURE THE JAILORS MISS US TERRIBLY AND WE MISS THEM. WE MISS THEM TO THE EXTENT THAT WITH PERSONS OF SEVERAL RACIAL GROUPS, BUT ALL CONCERNED WITH FREEDOM FOR ALL MANKIND. WE WILL EVEN BE THEIR GUEST FOR A LONGER PERIOD OF TIME. SO GET READY MR. CHIEF OF POLICE AND MR. SHERIFF, COMPANY'S COMING! ! ! !

MANY OF THE FREEDOM WALKERS WHO SPENT TIME ON THE CHAIN GANG DURING THE PAST MONTH WILL BE OUR OFFICIAL REPRESENTATIVES IN THE FREEDOM MARCH IN WASHINGTON. SURELY IF THESE FREEDOM WALKERS CAN WALK THE STREETS IN CLARKSDALE IN THE NAME OF FREEDOM, THEY ARE WELL PREPARED TO WALK THE STREETS OF WASHINGTON. IN WASHINGTON THE CITY POLICE ASSIST THE MARCHERS AND BE SURE NO HARM COMES TO THEM. IN CLARKSDALE THE POLICE ARREST YOU AND CAUSE THE HARM THAT COMES TO YOU. THERE HAVE BEEN SEVERAL CASES REPORTED OF CRUEL AND INHUMAN TREATMENT OF THE FREEDOM PRISONERS BY THE CITY POLICEMEN WHILE THEY WERE HELD IN THE CLARKSDALE CITY JAIL. THESE CASES HAVE BEEN REPORTED TO THE U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE AND WE HAVE BEEN ASSURED THAT CORRECTIVE MEASURES WILL BE TAKEN TO PREVENT THESE HAPPENINGS IN THE FUTURE.

THE FREEDOM BANQUET FOR THE FREEDOM WALKERS WILL BE HELD FRIDAY NIGHT AT THE HAVEN METHODIST CHURCH AT 8 PM. THE COMMUNITY IS INVITED. WE ARE EXTENDING A SPECIAL INVITATION TO THE MEMBERS OF THE CLARKSDALE POLICE DEPARTMENT WHO SERVED AS OUR JAILORS, AND TO THE DRIVERS ON THE CHAIN GANG DETAILS. WE WANT TO MAKE THIS AFFAIR AS REALISTIC AS POSSIBLE. WE ARE GRATEFUL THAT ALL OF THE POLICE NOR THE DRIVERS WERE CRUES AND UNHUMAN, IN FACT ONLY A FEW WERE. MANY PRISONERS FROM THE FREEDOM MOVEMENT REPORTED COURTEOUS AND KIND TREATMENT IN THE COUNTY JAIL FOR WHICH WE ARE GRATEFUL AND RECOGNIZE.

WE TAKE A DIM VIEW, HOWEVER, OF THE MEMBERS OF THE CLARKSDALE POLICE DEPARTMENT WHO HAVE, AND ARE STILL GOING FROM PLACE TO PLACE WHERE THE FREEDOM WALKERS WERE EMPLOYED AND TALKING THESE EMPLOYERS INTO FIRING THE PERSONS WHO PARTICIPATED IN THE FREEDOM MOVEMENT. SOME EMPLOYERS ARE REPORTEDLY THREATNED WITH INTIMINDATION IF THEY DO GO ALONG FIRING LONG AND VALUABLE EMPLOYEES. SO YOU SEE MR. WHITEMAN YOU ARE NOT REALLY FREE UNTIL WE ALL ARE FREE, OTHERWISE YOU WOULD NOT HAVE TO PUT UP WITH THIS KIND OF GASTAPO POLICE TACTICS.

THE PEOPLE WHO WENT ON THE GARGAGE TRUCKS, ON THE TRASH TRUCKS AND CUT THAT THAT JOHNSON GRASS, HAVE A FEW REQUEST TO MAKE OF NEGROES OF THIS COMMUNITY. YOU HAVE MADE SEVERAL EXPRESSIONS OF SYMPATHY AFTER SEEING THEM ON THE TRUCKS. YOU WHO EXPRESSED HOW MAD YOU WERE WITH THE THE WHITE PEOPLE FOR PUTTING THEM ON THESE "CHAIN GANG DETAILS."

THE REQUEST THAT ARE BEING MADE OF YOU NOW INCLUDE.

1. SUPPORT THE FREEDOM MOVEMENT IN EVERY WAY.
2. DO NOT SHOP DOWNTOWN FOR ANY ITEM. TRANSPORTATION IS STILL BEING PROVIDED TO NEARBY TOWNS FOR ITEMS YOU FEEL YOU "JUST GOT TO HAVE."
3. MAKE EVERY EFFORT TO BECOME A REGISTERED VOTER.

BY PERFORMING THESE THREE ACTS YOU WILL HASTEN THE DAY WHEN FREEDOM BECOMES A REALITY ALL OVER MISSISSIPPI. IF WE WILL NOT SUPPORT EVIL SYSTEMS AND EVIL MEN WITH OUR DOLLARS NOR OUR VOTES, WE WILL SOON BE RID OF EVIL SYSTEMS OF SEGREGATION BASED ON RACE, AND EVIL MEN WHO LIVE BY A CREED OF WHITE SUPREMACY. YES, THE EVIL WILL CEASE FROM TROUBLING AND THE FREED WILL BE AT REST.

BE SURE TO SUPPORT THE FREEDOM VOTE CAMPAIGN THAT IS NOW BEING WAGED IN THE STATE. OUR CANDIDATE IS OUR OWN AARON E. HENRY IN THE GOVERNOR'S RACE. BE SURE TO VOTE IN YOUR CHURCH WHEN THE BALLOT BOX IS BROUGHT THERE BY THE FREEDOM WORKERS. WE ARE TRYING TO SHOW TO THE WORLD HOW MANY NEGROES WOULD VOTE IF THEY HAD THE OPPORTUNITY. YOU ARE ELIGIBLE TO VOTE IN THIS CAMPAIGN WHETHER YOU ARE REGISTERED OR NOT. YOU NEED ONLY BE 21 YEARS OF AGE. BE SURE TO VOTE. IF THE BALLOT BOX IS NOT AT YOUR CHURCH, ASK ABOUT IT. WORKERS WILL BE IMMEDIATELY SENT TO YOUR CHURCH WITH A BALLOT BOX AND BALLOTS.

FREEDOM MEETING WEDNESDAY NIGHT, FRIENDSHIP AME CHURCH.

FREEDOM BANQUET FRIDAY NIGHT, HAVEN METHODIST CHURCH.

AUG 29 1963

JMi
WAB
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COAHOMA COUNTY BRANCH NAACP

AUGUST 24, 1963

CLARKSDALE NEGROES WILL MARCH IN WASHINGTON, AND THEY WILL NOT BE ARRESTED BY POLICEMEN WHO VIOLATE THE LAW.

WEDNESDAY AUGUST 28TH IS FREEDOM DAY. ON THAT DAY SOME 38 CLARKSDALE FREEDOM FIGHTERS WILL BE MARCHING IN WASHINGTON FOR FREEDOM AND EMPLOYMENT. CERTAINLY IF WE WILL MARCH THE STREETS IN CLARKSDALE, WE CAN MARCH THE STREETS IN WASHINGTON, WHERE THE POLICEMEN OF THE CITY OF WASHINGTON AID AND ASSIST YOU AND SEE THAT NO HARM COMES TO YOU, WHILE THE POLICE OF CLARKSDALE CAUSE THE HARM THAT COMES TO THEMSELVES AND THAT WHICH COMES TO YOU.

A BIG THANKS TO YOU FOR YOUR WONDERFUL COOPERATION IN THE FREEDOM BANQUET, THAT HELPED TREMENDEOUSLY IN PAYING FOR THE CHARTERED GREYHOUND BUS THAT CARRIED OUR FREEDOM FIGHTERS TO WASHINGTON. WE KNEW WE COULD COUNT ON YOU.

A MEMO TO THE DOWNTOWN MERCHANTS:

DID YOU NOTICE THE RESULT OF THE LAST MEETING OF THE MAYOR AND COMMISSIONERS WHEREIN A REQUEST WAS MADE TO BUILD A SHOPPING CENTER IN WEST CLARKSDALE,(THE WHITE RESIDENTIAL PART OF TOWN) IF SUCH A CENTER IS BUILT AND THE WHITE PEOPLE SHOP OVER THERE, AND YOU CONTINUE YOUR DISCOURTEOUS TREATMENT OF NEGROES AND WE DO NOT SHOP DOWN TOWN, LOOK WHAT A FIX YOU ARE GOING TO BE IN. THE PEOPLE WHO WILL PUT UP THE MONEY FOR THE NEW SHOPPING CENTER ARE THE SAME ONES THAT ARE NOW TELLING YOU WHAT WILL HAPPEN TO YOU IF YOU GIVE INTO THE REQUEST OF NEGROES FOR EMPLOYMENT AND COURTEOUSY. IT LOOKS AS IF THIS BIG MONEY GROUP IS GOING TO MAKE A FOOL OUT OF YOU. GET WISE.

TO ALL NEGRO BACK TO SCHOOL SHOPPERS:

THE ONE REQUEST THAT THE NEGROES WHO WENT TO JAIL AND ONTO THE GARBAGE TRUCKS AND JOHNSON GRASS DETAILS IS MAKING OF ALL OF THE NEGROES IN THIS COMMUNITY, IS PLEASE DO NOT SHOP DOWNTOWN. WE WILL GO TO JAIL FOR THE MOVEMENT, ALL WE WANT YOU TO DO IS DO NOT SHOP DOWNTOWN. IF YOU WILL NOT SHOP DOWNTOWN, WE GUARANTEE YOU THE DOWNTOWN MERCHANTS WILL BY THEIR POWER PUT A STOP TO ALL OF THE DIFFICULTIES UNDER WHICH WE LIVE. LET US ALL STAY AWAY FROM DOWNTOWN UNTIL AFTER CHRISTMAS, AND SEE FREEDOM COME.

NEGROES VOTE FOR FREEDOM-PROTEST DENIAL OF THE RIGHT TO VOTE-AUGUST 26, 1963

BECAUSE THE MISSISSIPPI GOVERNMENT REFUSES TO ALLOW NEGROES TO REGISTER AND VOTE UNDER THE LAWS AS APPLIED TO WHITE CITIZENS, THE NEGROES ARE GOING TO VOTE IN THEIR OWN ELECTION ON AUGUST 26, 1963. IN THIS ELECTION OUR VOTE WILL NOT COUNT, BUT ALL AMERICANS WILL KNOW THAT IF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES WAS RESPECTED IN OUR STATE, OUR VOTES WOULD COUNT. BE SURE TO CAST YOUR BALLOT FOR FREEDOM IN YOUR CHURCH, AT NEGRO BUSINESSES, AND HOMES IN YOUR NEIGHBORHOOD. "A VOTELESS PEOPLE IS A HOPELESS PEOPLE"

UNCLE TOMS AND NERVOUS NELLIES ENJOY POPCORN!

SOME NEGROES ARE INDEED STRANGE CREATURES. IF YOU DON'T BELIEVE IT RIDE DOWNTOWN ONE DAY AND SEE THE NUMEROUS COUNTRY AND CITY NEGROES DRESSED IN THEIR SLAVE UNIFORMS EATING POPCORN. NO SELF RESPECTING PERSON WOULD SELL HIS OR HER SOUL FOR A BAG OF POPCORN, WOULD HE OR SHE? WELL SOME OF THE NEGROES HAVE TOLD US THAT THE WHITE FOLKS ARE PUTTING SOME SPECIAL INGREDIENTS IN THE POPCORN THAT THEY JUST CAN'T DO WITHOUT. ... OUR GUESS IS THAT THESE NEGROES ARE BEING FEED SOME SLEEPING PILLS THAT WILL MAKE THEM CONTINUE TO BE GOOD 'BOYS' AND GOOD 'GIRLS' SUPPORTING THE SYSTEM THAT HAS KEPT THEM IN SLAVERY FOR THREE HUNDRED YEARS. LOOK OUT UNCLE TOMS AND NERVOUS NELLIES AND YOUR WHITE FOLKS TOO CAUSE WE ARE COMING AND WE AIN'T POPPING NO POPCORN EITHER. MASS MARCHES ARE DUE ANYDAY NOW! ! ! !

B I G F R E E D O M R A L L Y

WHEN . . . . . .MONDAY NIGHT AUGUST 26, AT 8:00 P.M.

WHERE:. . . . . FIRST CHRISTIAN CHURCH

YAZOO AT SIXTH STREET

TOP:. . . . . TO SEE OUR FREEDOM MARCHERS OFF TO WASHINGTON

R E G I S T E R A N D V O T E ! ! !

M A S S M E E T I N G

WEDNESDAY NIGHT AUGUST 28,AT CENTENNIAL CHURCH

7:30 P. M.

SEP 3 1963

WB
JMV
RTB

COAHOMA COUNTY BRANCH NAACP

August 31, 1963

FREEDOM WEEK, August 25-31, 1963, brought with it many incidents. Thirty-eight persons of this community boarded a Chartered Greyhound Bus and went into Washington for the mammoth March on Washington. They were the first group to arrive in Washington and this incident brought, to them and us, much praise. The hard work that went into getting the bus and financing the trip was no light responsibility. We wish to express to all, who aided us in any way, our sincere appreciation.

THE FREEDOM VOTE project that was conducted cuncurrently with the democratic primary found 5,121 Negroes in Coahoma County going to the polls. A tally of the votes showed 41 for Coleman, 5,047 for our Freedom Candidate-Aaron Henry, and 33 for Paul Johnson. Thus our freedom candidate masses as many votes as all candidates combined in the Democratic primary. When Negroes, in reality, begin to go to the polls in this manner the day will come when Justice and fair play will be the by word of this community.

On the night of August 27, 1963 our Freedom Candidate, Aaron Henry, received the Human Relations award of the Methodist Church. He along with Bishop A. Raymond Grant, Bishop Charles F. Golden, Dr. Julius M. Mark and Albert Cardinal Meyer were the recepients of these awards. In honoring Aaron Henry in this fashion the Methodist Church honored every one in this community that have participated in the Freedom Movement of which Henry is the symbol. The whole community is grateful and appreciative.

change del. Court house hotel

"NIGGERS ARE UP HERE VOTING AND ON WELFARE" These were the words of a local Clarksdale policeman when Mr. R. L. Drew and several other local citizens went up to vote on August 27, 1963. Obviously these words were spoken in the language of a mentally sick mind-characteristic of the mentality of the local police. These words were at best an attempt to say to the Negroes-I am better than you are-while at the same time feeling a basic insecurity.

The policeman, whom we will not identify, is now being warned that he was in violation of Federal Law when he interfered with the right of these citizens to peacefully cast their ballots. We feel that this ignorant soul did not realize the implications of his actions especially when we view that he did not know when a citizen passes the age of sixty he does not have to pay poll tax, and Mr. Drew was driving a Buick and not a Pantiac.

NEGRO ARRESTED FOR WEARING A T-SHIRT The arrest of Percy Atkins, upon his return from the March in Washington as he was still wearing his FREEDOM T-SHIRT, is ridiculous. This is a throw back to the days when Negro Soldiers were lynched because they refused to pull off their uniforms when they came home from the war. Percy is charged with parading without a permit as he was on his way home. The police have now announced that Percy resisted arrest. While none of us have had the opportunity to see him, this resisting arrest charge says to us that the police department is hatching an excuse for having beaten him up. Anytime the police charge you in Clarksdale with resisting arrest, history tells us the police have taken turns making a punching bag out of you, and we know in the case of Percy Atkins this pattern has not changed.

"GET OUT OF TOWN OR I WILL PUT YOU IN JAIL" Dickie Flowers, a field secretary, for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee was warned by Clarksdale's Chief of Police Ben C. Collins to get out of town or he would be arrested..To Chief Collins we are saying, for Mr. Dickey, we ain't going no where!!!! When you go back to where ever you came from then we will go back to where we came from.

ANNOUNCING!. A N N O U N C I N G ANNOUNCING!

The opening of Wilson's and Moore's Cotton Company at 136 4th Street on Sept. 3, 1963.

DON'T FORGET - Those who love God and their worth as human beings are still: NOT SHOPPING IN DOWNTOWN CLARKSDALE. Don't be a sinful, pop corn eating person who bows humbly before the white man to call you "nigger","boy", or"girl", when you are spending your hard earned money.

FREEDOM MEETING, Wednesday Night, Sept. 4, 1963 at the Mt. Moriah C. M. E. Church.

R E G I S T E R & V O T E

WBC
JM
RTBC

COAHOMA COUNTY BRANCH NAACP

September 7, 1963

SEP 11 1963

ARTICLE I

NEGRO BRUTALLY BEATEN BY THE CLARKSDALE POLICE In this so called Land of the Free and Home of the Brave more than 5,000 Negroes have been lynched by angry hate reeking Whites and so-called Law enforcement officials.

We would say that thousands upon thousands have been brutally beaten and will carry, throughout their life, the scars, cuts, and bruises forced upon them by white cowards dressed in police uniforms. Such was the case again, on Sunday Night, September 1, 1963, when Clarksdale police officers Moore and Levy arrested James Atkins. These officers may have been maddened by the fact that James Atkins went to the Police Station and asked that his brother, Percy Lee Atkins, not be beaten by the police as he had been when he was arrested before.

James Atkins was arrested for disturbing the peace and assault and battery. He was convicted on both of these charges on Monday, September 2, 1963; strangely to us the person with whom Atkins allegedly had the fight was a Negro employee of the city of Clarksdale, and so was Sammy Binion who beat Percy Lee Atkins in the presence of the Chief of Police a few months ago. In a sworn affadavit James Atkins stated that he was beaten by the police first in the area of the head with a night stick and then in the stomach as he was attempting to protect his face. When he was released Atkins showed a badly swollen right side of the face and a bloody shirt which apparently resulted from being hit in the nose.

The FBI has investigated the case but investigations will not stop beatings. We must prepare NOW! to take to the streets by the thousands, go to the polls and register by the thousands, and tell Kennedy that something must be done about our conditions here! We as Leaders may not be able to keep the Negroes nonviolent amidst these kinds of occurrences by the thousands. WE WANT OUR FREEDOM NOW!

ARTICLE II

CHIEF FIRES NEGRO THEN ARRESTS HIM FOR NOT HAVING A JOB In early June of this year Ben C. Collins, Chief of Clarksdale Police, observed Percy L. Atkins, helping other Negroes to unload a truck full of clothing and food sent here to aid underpriviledged Negroes who were kicked off of welfare because they wanted to vote. After the truck was unloaded, Mr. Collins allegedly went to the Coca Cola Bottling Company and succeeded in getting Percy Atkins, a part-time worker, fired and also got his brother, James Atkins, fired-because Percy has expressed, with his action, a desire to be free. James Atkins was re-hired upon the insistance of a Bottling Co. official, from Memphis. Percy was not and thereby joined the large number of Clarksdale Negroes who are unemployed.

On August 30, 1963 Percy was arrested and charged with vagrancy, resisting arrest, and parading without a permit. The last two charges were placed in the files with Percy Atkins being required to pay a fine of $16.00 for not having a job. Look out Negroes--if you don't have a job; you may be next!!! to go to jail and be fined for vagrancy.

Vital Statistics continue to show a Business Volume Decline in Clarksdale. The reason is simple. Many citizens, both Negro and white are shopping in other cities. Mr. Downtown Merchant, if you don't correct your acts of racial bigotry against Negroes, before the Shopping Center is West Clarksdale is built, you are going to find yourself without any customers at all. Business goes where it is invited, and remains where it is well treated.
Negroes are urged not to shop downtown until freedom comes. This means——

I. Treating Negroes with Courtesy
II. Employing Negroes above the status of Maids and Janitors
III. Negroes permitted to register to vote without Discrimination
IV. Calling a halt to Police Brutality and Harassment
V. Right to use Public Facilities without Discrimination
VI. Right to Demonstrate against these Evils without Interference or Arrest by Clarksdale Police Department
VII. Useless and Excessive Fines for minor Traffic Violations

If we stay out of the downtown area the merchants down there will use their influence to correct all of these Evils. Be sure to attend the Freedom Meeting weekly and be informed of all Negroes seen shopping downtown.

GO BACK TO SCHOOL

All Negro Students are urged to return to school now, such as some schools may be. We are working on a project now to make it possible for Negro students to attend all of the schools in the City, including those now only attended by Whites. We know that the facilities and teaching aids in these schools are better than those offered in schools now only attended by Negroes. In the meantime let's be sure to attend some school to further our education. This World has no place for the uneducated black man Now!

Negroes have no FREEDOM OF SPEECH IN CLARKSDALE. All day long we have watched the array of persons walking up and down the street with political buttons on, and with lettering attached to their clothing stating such things as BUY FALSTAFF BEER, etc. We have seen no one of these persons, white or Negro, arrested or bothered by the police; however, we have noted a campaign by the police officers to take away all of the FREEDOM BUTTONS worn by those in sympathy with the cause of Justice and Equality for all. It becomes apparent to us that it's not the matter of saying, but the matter of what you say when it comes to Freedom of Speech in Clarksdale. Well, officers, we have many more freedom buttons, and we are not going to stop wearing them. We have a legal surprise for you if you continue be so sill as to go around looking for Negroes with Freedom buttons on.

SPECIAL: Federal agents, from the Justice Department, are now in the City. They are interested in Negroes becoming registered Voters. Let us all go down this week and Register. Any difficulty we have should be reported to Freedom House immediately! Let us make this the last year that a candidate can ride into office by "cussing" the Negro. The Character of Politics in Mississippi can be changed, and we can and must do it!

In advocating that Negroes not patronize the Circus, we are most concerned with an animal on continous display named "Jim Crow." This same animal is continously on display at the Paramount theater downtown and we urge all Negroes not to patronize any establishment including the Paramount Theater that has a policy of Segregation and Discrimination against Negroes. THIS IS JIM CROW.
Freedom Meeting, Wednesday Night, Haven Methodist Church.

REGISTER AND VOTE!

COAHOMA COUNTY BRANCH NAACP

SEP 18 1963

WSV
JMV
RTB

September 14, 1963

ON THIS SIDE OF THE TRACK:

The resistance to the efforts of the American Negro to establish his status along side other Americans is slowly, but surely running out of steam on the other side of the railroad track, and those on this side of the track must take care in their treatment of the Negro. Several establishments on this side of the railroad track are also on the boycott list. They include Fifth Street Grocery, All Lyon Service Stations, Jordan's Furniture Company, and Myrt's Cafe. The salesman from the Clarksdale and Denton Dairy that so inhumanly mistreated James Wright last summer, has been relieved of employment by the Clarksdale Denton Dairy. A discussion of our future attitude toward this dairy will be discussed at the Freedom Meeting Wednesday, at the Christian Church.

The Negro Community is to be congratulated for avoiding the animal "Jim Crow" on display at the Circus last Saturday night. Our reports shows fewer than twenty Negroes actually purchasing tickets for the Circus. More and more of us are chanting the lines to the Freedom Song, "There'll be no more Jim Crow over me". This time we really mean it.

In the next few days another step to get rid of Jim Crow, and Segregation as a way of life in this community will be taken. We appreciate and continue to solicit the solid support of the Negro Community in all of the efforts we must present in trying to secure our Freedom. We would rather take these steps in consultation and in discussion with our White brothers and sisters. Our efforts to secure a Bi-Racial Committee, a discussion group, or by whatever name you want to call it has failed. Efforts have been directed toward the City Administration, the Christian Leadership, local White Clergy, and the business Community of Downtown Clarksdale. There has been no relief from any of them. Again we publicly invite any and all of you to the decision table where steps to be taken by Negroes, are discussed. Your guidance and advice will be appreciated. Until you do this, your criticism of the steps we take will have little or no effect upon us, because you have neglected your responsibility in helping to formulate steps, and plans that will be for the benefit of the whole Community.

The charges of Police brutality and intimindation continue to come in almost daily. We invite and hope for a full investigation into these charges. We must submit, however; that a mere question by the Mayor, to the Chief of Police asking the Chief of Police are these charges true? does not constitute an "investigation". The Mayor along with some twenty or more other citizens of this community have been supplied with sworn affadavits of Negroes complaining of being beaten inside the Clarksdale City Jail. They have also been supplied Medical reports of Doctors and examined some of these victims. They have also been supplied photographs of Negroes who were victims of beatings after they were released from jail some two to three days later. These photographs even then showed swollen jaws and heads and body bruises inflicted upon Negroes held in the Clarksdale City Jail. Anyone that know the Chief of Police well at all, know that he is not MAN enough to admit that he and other members of the Police force inflicted brutal punishment upon these Negroes. They will all take the witness stand and deny it everytime. If they were men enough to admit their Low-Down actions on the witness stand, we could all have more respect for them.

Any Negro needing to make any purchase at any nearby city will be furnished free transportation to get there and back. Make your desires known at the Freedom meeting Wednesday night, at the Christian Church, Yazoo and 6th St.

SEP 24 1963

WBU
JMP
RTB

COAHOMA COUNTY BRANCH NAACP

WHITE MERCHANT AND LOCAL POLICE, TEAM UP AND KILL NEGRO:

Just why was, and who killed Earnest Jells. Our sources of information contends that Earnest and a storekeeper of the Fair Deal Grocery had an argument over the theft of some bannanas. Earnest them allegedly left the store,,and the clerk fired several shots at him as he ran away. The City police then took up the chase, ending with Earnest Jells being shot to death in Commerce Alley, and on top of a building in the alley. It is our information that the police report charges that Jells had a rifle and fired at them. Many persons who saw Earnest when he ran into the alley, sware that Earnest Jells had no rifle and no other weapon that was visible. Our source of information also contends that Earnest Jells had been shot before he climbed upon the top of the building where he died and that he had pleaded with the policemen not to shoot Jells anymore.

A resident of 313 Commerce complains of shots being fired through and into her home and nearly hit her while the police were shooting at Earnest Jells. Witnesses who saw Earnest Jells being taken down off the building where he died, contend that there was no rifle upon the building and that Jells could not have fired,nor aimed, nor pointed a rifle at the policemen as he had none. One witnesses reports that the only rifle she saw was in the hands of a policeman. It is our contention that this murder cannot possibly be classified as self defense. Self defense is the excuse given by policemen when they kill a Negro and in the past it has worked, but not this time. Whoever is responsible for this senseless murder will be brought to justice. The NAACP nor the Department of the Justice Department will ever rest until Justice is done.

We can Understand the feeling of anger in the Negro Community, over this senseless killing of a popular young man. We prevail upon all to permit the courts of the land to meet out whatever punishment the crime merits to those guilty, of committing it. Attempt at revenge by Negroes against the killers is not the way. Remember the eye for an eye, and tooth for a tooth philosophy leaves "everybody blind". We do not want Clarksdale, Mississippi to turn into a Birmingham, Alabama ! ! ! ! !

DID AUXILIARY POLICEMEN REALLY COST THAT MUCH?

A good long look should be taken at the expense account appearing in the Clarksdale Press Register regarding the pay of extra policemen to help keep Negroes in line. To say the money was spent against Negroes might make it, however; much it was O.K. in the mine of some people. Knowing how the scarecrow about Negroes is used causes us to suggest a second look.

COAHOMA COUNTY BRANCH NAACP, FILES, TO DESEGREGATE PUBLIC SCHOOLS:
The filing of the petition to desegregate the public schools of Clarksdale on Monday September 16, 1963 by twenty-one (21) parents for twenty-nine (29) children, is another step in our long fight to rid our home community of racial prejudice, and bigotry. We regret that these steps, and the methods used have to be done without the consultation, and discussion, with our White brothers and sisters. We have tried all the methods that we know of to try to bring into being atleast a discussion group, composed of both White and Negro citizens, to study and resolve out problems and the problems of the community. This request and invitation have gone to the Religious, Business, and Civic Leaders of Clarksdale and Coahoma County.

We have been left by all three to "do it alone". There is no "inside" help available to us, and because of this absence of inside assistance, we have had to go for aid to the Federal Government and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

There remains much progress to be made. We invite again the Religious, Business, and Civic Leaders of this community to join with us now in helping to arrive at the methods, to be used in seeking this progress. If we do it together there is less bitterness and hatred generated. If our White brothers and sisters will not join with the Negro Citizens of this community, then we feel we must still "go it alone" and depend upon the Federal Government,NAACP, and the Almighty God, that made us all, to deliver us from bondage.

X L SERVICE STATION ADDEDED TO BOYCOTT LIST:
Because of the intimindation Negro School children received last week while walking across the lot at the X L Service Station. The Freedom meeting on last Wednesday night voted unanimously by a standing vote to add XL Service Station to the list. X L Service Station joins, Jordan Furniture Company, Lion Service (over)

Stations and 5th Street Grocery on this side of the Railroad track. We don't have to worry about Myrt's cafe anymore, It is now closed. Thanks to you.

Remember all of downtown is still being boycotted. Let us answer the Murder of Earnest Jells by the Clarksdale police Department by making the Downtown boycott 100% effective. Any persons desiring to shop out of town should call Freedom house, Main 4-9167, Mrs. Vera Mae Pigee, Main 4-9179 or make your desires known at the Freedom meeting on Wednesday nights.

Remember the following announcements: Freedom meeting Wednesday night, Mt. Mariah, Council of Federated Organizations (COFO) meeting Sunday, October 6, Jackson, Mississippi, NAACP Board Meeting, Sunday, October 13, Biloxi, Miss, Coahoma County Branch NAACP final meeting of the year, Sunday, October 27,, Guest Speaker, Mr. James Farmer of CORE,. Every member and friend asked to contribute $5.00 to Freedom on this date.

COAHOMA COUNTY BRANCH NAACP

WBW
JMP
RTB

OCT 8 1963

October 5, 1963

PLEASE DO NOT SHOP IN DOWNTOWN CLARKSDALE:
FREE TRANSPORTATION PROVIDED TO ANY NEARBY CITY FOR SHOPPERS.

The brutal lynching of Earnest Jells in Clarksdale, Mississippi Friday night, September 20, 1963, will never be forgotten. We are sure that the investigation of this murder will so classify it as a lynching participated by members of the Clarksdale Police Department and a merchant from the Fair Deal Grocery. This takes care of the "WHO" killed Earnest Jells.

There also is a more important responsibility in this brutal murder and that is WHAT killed Earnest Jells. We conclude that it is the system of Segregation that breeds hate in the hearts of White Policemen and White merchants toward Negroes is really what killed Earnest Jells. This system of Segregation has also built a servility in most of the Negroes that has caused most Negroes to accept a system of Segregation for some three hundred and fifty years. Some of us are stupid enough to attempt to justify the White mans action regardless how long the act is against "another Negro". Negroes who are still foolish enough to believe that Mr. Charlie is their friend, is in for the same lesson that the bear learned when he picked up the rattlesnake on that cold day. When the snake got warm(during pretty good on Negro patronage as the merchant of Fair Deal Grocery was) the snake then began to bite the bear (in this case the merchant shot the Negro). When the bear began to try to console the snake, with words of how kind the bear had been to the snake when the snake was cold and nearly dead, the answer that the snake gave was the answer Negroes can expect from the White Man, Mr. Bear you knew I was a snake when you picked me up. The moral of this story is clear and true.

Another important "WHAT" in the murder of Earnest Jells was the silence through the years of the Christian Church with regards to the abuse that Negroes of our Community suffer daily. This "what" finds both Negro and White members of the Church of God at fault. We declare unto the Christian members of the population of Clarksdale and Coahoma County. "If the Church continues to remain quiet at a time like this, God will find another way to deliver his people".

At a recent Convention of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference held in Richmond, Virginia, Clarksdale ranked fourth with regard to communities where Civil Rights of Negroes are denied. Clarksdale ranks only behind Birmingham, Alabama, Danville, Virginia, and Sherveport, Louisiana. The Civil Rights forces of the Nation will be called to bear upon these four troubled spots in that order. After Birmingham, Danville, After Danville, Shererport, After Sherevport, Clarksdale. Let us all get prepared for this onslaught on Segregation, Discrimination, and depriviation of Human Rights in our home community.

The death of William McClain las week, a prisoner in the Coahoma County Jail as far as we can determine shows no evidence of foul play. The people we have talked with who witnessed the death are also of the opinion that William McClain's death was not due to police brutality, but just a case of a man dying while in jail. We can understand the mistrust by Negroes everywhere when this type of thing occurs, because of the number of complaints we get almost daily of Negroes being abused. We have not forgotten the brutal beating that resulted in the death of Lover Stapleton, while he was a prisoner in the Coahoma County Jail. We feel and hope we are right, however; when we say that the death of William McClain does not appear to be connected with police brutality.

Because of the obvious changed policy of drivers for the Clarksdale Denton Dairies, the boycott on this firm was lifted at the Freedom Meeting last Wednesday night. We appreciate this forward step by the dairy.

Freedom Meeting Wednesday night at Jerusalem Baptist Church.

We are trying to secure the services of Senator Leroy Johnson from the State of Georgia to speak to us the latter of October. We will arrange our final meeting of the year according to his schedule. The meeting is tentatively set for Wednesday night, October 30th, at First Baptist Church. Remember every member and friend of the NAACP is being called upon to make a contribution of $5.00 at this meeting, so please begin now getting your $5.00 ready.

In additon to staying away from downtown , remember also the following firms are on the boycott list. Please do not make any purchases from them:

All Lion Service Stations
Jordan Furniture Company (We saw a real prominent citizen unloading furniture from a Jordan Furniture Company truck last week. Shame on You)
Fair Deal Grocery
X L Service Station
All Service Stations that will not permit Negro ladies to use the ladies restroom.

(Over)

If four little girls and two little boys can give their lives in Birmingham for the cause of Freedom, and if Earnest Jells can be lynched in Clarksdale by merchants and members of the Clarksdale Police Force acting together, what more will it take to get you not to shop downtown? Must it be your own children or you before you will wake up. Wake up now Negroes of Clarksdale! ! ! ! !

A voters registration campaign sufficient to effect the registration of every Negro Citizen over twenty one is being planned for Clarksdale and Coahoma County. This is the best time to go over and try to register. Out of our concern for the illiness and recent operation, undergone the Circuit Clerk our campaign has been delayed.

All is expected to be well soon and the campaign is scheduled to begin on December 1st. Watch the newsletter and Freedom meeting for further information.

You have now received the Coahoma County Branch NAACP newsletter weekly for a long time. You know of the expense of mailing you the newsletter weekly. We are also concerned about the number of people that receive the newsletter that really read it and desire to continue reading it. If you desire to continue to receive the newsletter weekly, please indicate your desire by checking one of the boxes below.

( ) I read the newsletter weekly and I am making a financial contribution to help with the expense of postage.

( ) I desire to remain on the mailing list of the newsletter, but I am not able to make a contribution to the postage expense at this time.

( ) I no longer have any desire to receive the newsletter by mail, please discontinue it.

Please address reply to Newsletter, 213 Fourth Street, Clarksdale, Mississippi.

WBU
JM
RTBL

COAHOMA COUNTY BRANCH NAACP

October I2,I963

OCT 16 1963

REGISTER- VOTE!

Pay your Poll Tax
this year for the
last time (we hope)

PLEASE DO NOT SHOP IN DOWNTOWN CLARKSDALE ! !

TRANSPORTATION FOR SHOPPERS PROVIDED TO ANY NEARBY CITY ABSOLUTELY FREE - FROM NOW UNTIL AFTER CHRISTMAS. PLEASE, NO TURKEYS NOR TOYS FROM D O W N - T O W N .

When the downtown merchants went on the street to try to sell their merchandise you know they must have been hurting. A few Negroes were seen downtown during this Bargain Day Street Sale. This does not discourage the Freedom Movement because there are some Negroes who don't want to come out of slavery in I863. Most likely you who still shop downtown in I963 are their grandchildren.

The big push now for the Branch is the Freedom Vote Campaign. The important thing about this direct action movement is that it provides a platform from which the real issues of Mississippi can be discussed. The real issues or problems concerning Mississippi are "unemployment, right to vote, education, and dignity of person". The issue is not who stood in what door and really why he stood there! It is frightning to hear Mr. Johnson talk about how bad the Democrats have been to Negroes, and how they have kept the Negroes down, and then to hear Mr. Phillips discuss how much worst the Republicans will be on the Negro if he is elected. (He and Barry Goldwater).

Every unregistered citizen of Mississippi is asked to cast their vote in the Freedom Bote Campaign being conducted on Sunday October 27, I963 and Sunday November 3, I963; other days will be arranged for some communities. On election Day every registered Mississippian, who do not favor neither the Democratic nor the Republican Candidate, is asked to write the name Aaron Henry on the line of the ballots thus voting, but denying our vote to either of the candidates in the race that offer us so little or nothing.

Every street and neighborhood in Clarksdale and Coahoma County will be organized; our chairman is Mr. James Jones, 429 Yazoo Avenue. All workers are asked to contact him for assignments.

Our petition to the school board to permit Negroes to attend the best schools in the area has gone unanswered. A Lawsuit will have to be filled to secure, for our children, this right to a good education. All the signers of the petition have already signed the papers for the suit in the event there was no favorable answer by the school board on or before October II,I963 any parents desiring to be included in the suit will please contact the branch secretary, Mrs. Vera Pigee immediately as the suit will be filled without delay.

The city of Clarksdale, last week, passed a law making it a crime for Uncle Toms and Nervous Nellies to bring erronueous information. It looks like Mr. Goodwill made fools of the White Citizens Council and their Crowd; nevertheless, Brother Goodwill made fishes and loaves and have left these parts. ANY MORE SUCKERS !!!

Remember: The Coahoma County Branch of the NAACP presents Senator Leroy Johnson of the State of Georgia Wednesday night, October 30, I963 at the First Baptist Church. The following firms are also on the Boycott List. Fair Deal Grocer, X-L and Lion Service Stations, Jordan Furniture Company and Fifth Street Grocery.

Freedom Meeting, Wednesday night, October I6,I963, Mt. Mariah Methodist Church.

OCT 29 1963

WBC
JMC
RLB

COAHOMA COUNTY BRANCH NAACP

OCTOBER 26, 1963

PLEASE DO NOT SHOP IN DOWNTOWN CLARKSDALE!!! FREE TRANSPORTATION PROVIDED TO ANY NEARBY CITY FOR ITEMS THAT M U S T BE PURCHASED. ONLY NERVOUS NELLIES AND UNCLE TOMS STILL SHOP DOWNTOWN. THOSE OF US WHO WANT TO BE FREE, WILL PROTEST UNTIL FREEDOM COMES.

BE SURE TO CAST YOUR VOTE IN THE FREEDOM VOTE CAMPAIGN AS BALLOT BOXES WILL BE PROVIDED FOR YOUR CHURCH, NEIGHBORHOOD, AND STREET. EVERY PERSON 21 YEARS AND OVER IS ASKED TO CAST HIS FREEDOM VOTE AT ONE OF THE AFORE MENTIONED PLACES. VOTE BETWEEN SUNDAY, OCTOBER 27, 1963 AND TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 5, 1963.

ON TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 5, 1963 ALL REGISTERED VOTERS ARE URGED TO WRITE IN THE NAMES OF AARON E. HENRY FOR GOVERNOR, AND EDWARD KING FOR LIEUTENTANT GOVERNOR; THIS ACTIVITY WILL HAVE A TREMENDOUS LONG RANGE ADVANTAGE IN OUR STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM. REMEMBER: WRITE IN THE NAMES - HENRY AND KING ON TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 5, 1963.

THE REACTION OF SOME OF THE LOCAL POLICEMEN, AGAINST THE WORKERS IN THE "FREEDOM VOTE CAMPAIGN" THAT IS DESIGNED TO ELECT HENRY AND KING, IS REALLY ASTOUNDING. SOME THIRTY OR MORE CAMPAIGN WORKERS, DISTRIBUTING LITERATURE FOR THE CAMPAIGN, HAVE BEEN ARRESTED. THIS IS LARGELY DUE TO THE PARTICIPATION OF THE WHITE AND NEGRO STUDENTS, FROM YALE, WHO HAVE COME DOWN TO HELP IN THE CAMPAIGN. IF THIS IS TO BE THE STANDARD PATTERN, WE URGE LOCAL AUTHORITIES TO CLEAN OUT THE "WHITE" SECTION OF THE JAIL BECAUSE MANY, MANY MORE ARE COMING. THERE IS NO NEED OF ASKING THAT THE "NEGRO" SIDE OF THE JAIL BE CLEANED BECAUSE THAT WOULD BE ONLY WASTING BREATH.

WE CALL YOUR ATTENTION TO THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT.....

"WHAT IS GOING ON IN THE STATE OF MISSISSIPPI IN OCTOBER, 1963 IS ASTOUNDING TO AN AMERICAN CITIZEN NOT EXPERIENCED IN THE WAYS OF THIS STATE. IT IS OF COURSE NO SECRET THAT NEGROES IN GENERAL ARE NOT ALLOWED TO VOTE IN MISSISSIPPI, BUT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE NEED TO KNOW THAT IN ADDITION TO DISENFRANCHISING NEGROES, THE PRESERVATION OF THE "MISSISSIPPI WAY OF LIFE" DEMANDS THE INTIMINDATION OF ANYONE NOT WILLING TO SUPPORT THE WHITE SUPREMACY RULE. THIS WAY OF LIFE CAN BE CALLED THE "MISSISSIPPI WAY OF LIFE" ONLY IN THE SENSE THAT IT IS ENFORCED BY THE STATE OF MISSISSIPPI IN VIOLATION OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES, BUT IN A LARGER SENSE IT IS UNFAIR TO CALL THIS THE MISSISSIPPI WAY OF LIFE BECAUSE AS THE PEOPLE WHO RUN THE STATE WELL KNOW, IT COULD NOT SURVIVE THE TEST OF A FREE ELECTION - THAT IS WHY THESE PEOPLE WILL NOT ALLOW A FREE ELECTION TO BE HELD. THE EFFORT TO PRESENT AN ALTERNATIVE TO THE CURRENT SITUATION HAS COME TO BE CENTERED ON THE CANDIDACIES OF AARON E. HENRY AND EDWIN KING.

CAMPAIGN WORKERS FOR THESE CANDIDATES HAVE DISCOVERED THAT IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO FUNCTION IN MISSISSIPPI WITH THE MINIMUS SAFEGUARDS OF ANY FREE SOCIETY. PEOPLE ARE ARRESTED FOR DISTRIBUTING LEAFLETS, FOR VIOLATING CURFEWS WHILE TRYING TO ENTER HOTELS AND FOR COMMITTING THE MOST IMAGINATIVE VARIETY OF NON-EXISTING TRAFFIC VIOLATING. MINISTERS WHO OFFER THE USE OF CHURCH FACILITIES FOR MEETINGS ARE THREATENED. NEGROES KNOWN TO HAVE TALKED WITH CAMPAIGN WORKERS ARE TOLD — SOMETIMES BY PRIVATE CITIZENS, BUT MORE FREQUENTLY BY OFFICIALS OF THE COMMUNITY— NOT TO LET IT HAPPEN AGAIN. THIS SOUNDS MORE LIKE THE ATMOSPHERE OF A CAMPAIGN CONDUCTED IN SOVIET RUSSIA OR CUBA RAHTER THAN IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. IN SUCH A SITUATION THE COURAGE OF THE PEOPLE WHO ARE CONTINUING THEIR EFFORTS IN THE CAMPAIGN CANNOT FAIL TO IMPRESS AND MOVE THOSE OF US WHO HAVE ARRIVED FROM OTHER PARTS OF THE UNITED STATES.

WE SHALL TELL WHAT WE HAVE FOUND IN MISSISSIPPI WHEREVER WE GO WHEN WE LEAVE, AND WE SHALL NOT LEAVE UNTIL WE HAVE SEEN THROUGH THE REST OF THIS DISMAL AFFAIR. WE SHALL SUBMIT EVIDENCE OF WHAT WE HAVE FOUND TO THE CIVIL RIGHTS COMMISSION AND TO MEMBERS OF THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES IN THE FAITH THAT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, ONCE THEY KNOW THE FACTS, WILL NOT LONG BE WILLING TO ALLOW TYRANNY TO WRAP ITSELF IN THE AMERICAN FLAG IN AN AMERICAN STATE.

WE ARE PARTICULARLY GRATEFUL TO THE STUDENTS OF YALE UNIVERSITY WHO HAVE TAKEN TIME FROM THEIR STUDIES AND TRAVELED LONG DISTANCES TO ASSIST IN THESE EFFORTS. IT IS OF COURSE A PITY THAT IT SHOULD BE NECESSARY FOR PEOPLE TO MAKE SUCH SACRIFICES IN OUR COUNTRY AT THIS LATE DATE, BUT IT IS WONDERFUL TO KNOW THAT THERE ARE MANY PEOPLE PREPARED TO DO SO AS LONG AS IT MAY BE NECESSARY.

SIGNED: A VISITOR TO MISSISSIPPI

BE SURE TO ATTEND THE MEETING, WED. NIGHT AT FIRST BAPTIST CHURCH - 8:00 P. M. SENATOR LEROY JOHNSON WILL BE OUR GUEST SPEAKER AND WILL SPEAK IN BEHALF OF THE FREEDOM VOTE CAMPAIGN. COME OUT EARLY AND HEAR THE FIRST NEGRO SENATOR IN A SOUTHERN STATE IN 92 YEARS. HISTORY IS BEING MADE; YOU SHOULD BE A PART OF IT.

WDW
JMV
RTBV

DEC 3 1963

COAHOMA COUNTY BRANCH NAACP

November 30, 1963

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GOODBYE! PRESIDENT JOHN FITZGERALD KENNEDY. WE ARE THANKFUL TO GOD, IF ONLY FOR A LITTLE WHILE, HE PERMITTED MANY OF US TO HAVE KNOWN YOU, AND FOR YOU TO HAVE SERVED AS THE GREAT PRESIDENT OF A GREAT NATION. ALL OF US AND THE NATION ARE BETTER BECAUSE OF YOUR SERVICE HERE.

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THE DEATH OF OUR DEARLY BELOVED PRESIDENT HAS LEFT MOST OF US SAD AT HEART. WE, SOMEHOW, MUST PICK UP THE PIECES AND COMPLETE THE JOB THAT HE GAVE HIS LIFE TRYING TO ACCOMPLISH. TO THAT END WE REDEDICATE OURSELVES TO CONTINUE THE ROLE OF FREEDOM SEEKERS UNTIL FREEDOM COMES TO ALL MANKIND.

WORD HAS COME OUT OF THE CITY JAIL THAT ON FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 22, 1963, THE DAY THAT PRESIDENT KENNEDY WAS KILLED, A JUBILANT ATMOSPHERE EXISTED IN THE CITY JAIL. THE PRISONERS WERE ALLEGEDLY FED HALF FRIED CHICKEN AND THE OFFICIALS HIT THE BOTTLE IN JOY OVER THE DEATH OF THE PRESIDENT. THIS BEING TRUE - WHAT A SICK CREW WE HAVE AS CITY POLICEMEN!

BECAUSE OF THE CONTINUED DISPLAY OF THE "K. O. THE KENNEDY'S" SIGNS ALL OVER THE HIGHWAYS OF MISSISSIPPI THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE WAS SENT TO MR. RUBEL PHILLIPS, GOVERNOR ROSS BARNETT, AND PRESIDENT LYNDON B. JOHNSON: WE CALL YOUR ATTENTION TO AND RESPECTFULLY REQUEST THAT YOU IMMEDIATELY EFFECT THE REMOVAL OF ALL THE SIGNS NOW APPEARING ALONG THE HIGHWAYS OF OUR STATE WHICH CALLS FOR "K. O. THE KENNEDY'S." IT IS OUR FEELING, THAT SUCH CALLS, FOR HATE AS THIS, HAVE PLAYED NO SMALL PART IN THE TRAGIC ASSASSINATION OF THE LATE PRESIDENT - JOHN FITZGERALD KENNEDY. THESE CALLS TO HATE ARE THE REAL INFLUENCES THAT PULLS THE TRIGGER OF HIGH-POWERED RIFLES THAT KILL MEN LIKE MEDGAR EVERS AND PRESIDENT KENNEDY. THE SLOGAN "K. O. THE KENNEDY'S" COULD MEAN MANY THINGS: THIS TIME IT WAS A PART OF THE HATE BUILD UP THAT KILLED OUTRIGHT A KENNEDY.

OVER

Agencies
NAACP

THE SELECTIVE BUYING CAMPAIGN WHICH HAS BEEN IN PROGRESS SINCE 1961 MUST CONTINUE UNTIL THE DOWNTOWN MERCHANTS AGREE TO HIRE NEGROES ABOVE THE MENIAL LEVEL AND TREAT US WITH COURTESY AS THEY DO THEIR OTHER CUSTOMERS. ALL NEGROES ARE URGED TO REDEDICATE THEMSELVES TO THE TASK OF NOT TRADING IN DOWNTOWN CLARKSDALE UNTIL THE MERCHANTS GRANT TO US THESE PRIVILEGES. DO NOT LET THE DEATH OF PRESIDENT KENNEDY BE IN VAIN, FOR A FREEDOM FOR US THAT WE WILL NOT SACRIFICE AT ALL FAR.

AN INCIDENT AT THE TRIAL LAST WEEK POINTED CLEARLY THAT CHIEF BEN COLLINS CAN NO LONGER BE RESPECTED AS A MAN OD CHARACTER AND HIGH MORALE. COULD IT BE THAT THE CHIEF HAS ALLOWED HIMSELF TO BECOME INDECENT BY DISRESPECTFULLY FOLLOWING MRS. VERA PIGEE AND MISS WILMA JONES IN THE LADIES REST ROOM AND DEMANDING THAT THEY COME OUT.
ATTORNEY BARBARA MORRIS DETHRONED HIM, AND FOR THE FIRST TIME IN THE HISTORY OF THE COURTHOUSE, NEGROES WERE ABLE TO SIT ALL OVER THE PLACE IN SPITE OF THE OBJECTION OF CHIEF COLLINS.

BE SURE TO PAY YOUR POLL TAX DURING THE MONTH OF DECEMBER AND JANUARY. WE CAN HOPE THAT THIS WILL BE THE LAST YEAR THAT POLL TAXES WILL HAVE TO BE PAID, BUT WE MUST PAY THEM THIS TIME. THERE IS A PRESIDENTIAL AND A LOCAL CITY ELECTION COMING UP NEXT SUMMER. LET US ALL BE PREPARED TO VOTE IN BOTH INSTANCES.

THE SECOND CENTURY OF FREEDOM PROGRAM, WHICH REPLACES THE EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION PROGRAMS PREVIOUSLY HELD DURING THE MONTH OF JANUARY, WILL BE HELD ON EITHER THE THIRD OR FOURTH SUNDAY IN JANUARY, 1964. A DEFINITE DATE WILL BE ANNOUNCED AS SOON AS ALL ARRANGEMENTS HAVE BEEN MADE. LET US GET PREPARED NOW TO START THE YEAR OF 1964 IN HIGH SPIRIT FOR FREEDOM'S CAUSE.

ALL PERSONS DESIRING TO DO THEIR CHRISTMAS SHOPPING IN MEMPHIS WILL HAVE, AS USUAL, FREE TRANSPORTATION PROVIDED ON TUESDAY, DECEMBER 3, 1963. ALL PERSONS DESIRING TO MAKE THIS TRIP PLEASE CALL THE BRANCH SECRETARY, MRS. VERA PIGEE AT HOME OR AT THE BEAUTY SHOP SO THAT SPACE WILL BE AVAILABLE FOR ALL DESIRING TO GO.

FREEDOM MEETING, WEDNESDAY NIGHT, WILL BE HELD AT THE JERUSALEM BAPTIST CHURCH, 835 FLORIDA. PLANS FOR THE FUTURE WILL BE DISCUSSED AT THIS MEETING. PLEASE BE PRESENT TO HELP MAKE THESE PLANS. ALL PERSONS INVOLVED IN THE SUIT TO DESEGREGATE THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS ARE ESPECIALLY URGED TO BE PRESENT.

WB
RTB

COAHOMA COUNTY BRANCH NAACP

DEC 26 1963

December 21, 1963

When we think of the newspaper report of the Clarksdale Press Register dated Dec. 18, 1963, concerning the asking of segregated Negro facilities, by a local Negro Citizen, we must consider at the same time the effort that the White community is putting into a campaign to openly divide the Negro community into separate warring camps.

It is understood that the legal authorities plan to use this asking for racially segregated facilities, as a part of their defense against the suit that has been filed by the NAACP; challenging all segregated facilities, including recreational, in this community. This plan, to ask for racially segregated recreational facilities, smells of being born in the minds of the White racist of our community, already decided upon by them, and then handed over to unsuspecting Negroes to go up and ask for; to make it appear that the White people consider them above the other Negroes. The Press Register quoted Mr. Charles Stringer as asking for these segregated facilities; however, we know Mr. Stringer to be as much concerned with freedom for all people as anyone else. Our suggestion to you - Mr. Stringer is, "Be ware of the Greeks, even when they are Bringing Gifts. The white community has not stopped at the above trick to defeat the Negro drive for freedom. Below is an exact duplicate of a petition prepared by them which they have duped a few Negroes into circulating and signing.

To The
United States District Court
For The
Northern District of Mississippi
Delta Division
A petition for the Protection of our Civil Rights

We, the undersigned Negro Citizens of Coahoma County, Mississippi, believe that our Civil Rights have been violated by the filing of Civil Action Suit No. 6323 which has been filed in this court.

This suit was filed without our consent or knowledge and H. Y. Hackett and Rev. J. D. Rayford were not authorized in any way or manner to represent us.

We humbly petition this Court to set aside this suit and request that the Court issue an injunction against local and outside agitators preventing them from filing class suits of this nature without the consent of the majority of the colored rece.

We are desirous of living in peace in the community and humbly ask that we be left alone to work with our White friends in harmony.

When the Negro comes to you and asks you to sign this petition, give him the treatment he deserves. Now let us get on with Freedom's business - - -

All persons who will participate in the picketing of the downtown Merchants on Monday and Tuesday are asked to gather at Freedom House at noon on Monday, Dec. 23, 1963 for the final instructions. Since it appears that many of us will have Xmas in the Clarksdale City Jail, let us get prepared for all possibilities. Remember: Leave all articles that you do not want the police to take, at home, as we will not return home before the demonstration and certain arrest.

Santa Claus has left us a few toys, for the needy families,with children, unable to purchase them. If you are in need of toys for young children call Santa's Headquarters at Ma 4-9179 and Mrs. Santa Claus will do her best to attend your needs.

Freedom Concert - Sunday, Dec. 29, 1963 - Haven M. E. Church, 2:30 p.m. featuring Miss Mari Jayne Pigee and Mr. Guy Carrawan. Advance Tickets $1.00 for adults; $.50 for youth. Tickets may be purchased from Pigee's Beauty Salon or 4th St. Drug Store.

Freedom Meeting, Thursday Night, Dec. 26, 1963 - Chapel Hill M. B. Church.

"Second Century of Freedom", Sunday, January 26, 1964 - Speaker: Mr. Gloster Current, Director of NAACP Branches.

In the meantime do your best, under the circumstances, to have a Merry Xmas. Let us think of the late Medgar Evers, the little Birmingham children, President Kennedy, and Jesus Christ. Let us be thankful that God permitted us to know and love them, if only for a little while. Let us rededicate ourselves to work harder for the freedom for which their lives were given; then one day - every Day will be Merry Christmas - WHEN FREEDOM COMES.

Agnes Gen.

JAN 16 1964

WB
RTB
BW

COAHOMA COUNTY BRANCH NAACP

January 12, 1964

PLEASE DO NOT SHOP IN DOWNTOWN CLARKSDALE UNTIL FREEDOM COMES!!!

BE SURE TO PAY YOUR POLL TAXES THIS MONTH, ALSO BECOME A REGISTERED VOTER - THEN THE ISSUES RAISED IN THIS NEWS LETTER WILL BE HISTORY FOR GOOD.

AS THIS NEWSLETTER GOES TO PRESS THE NEGRO COMMUNITY IS QUITE DISTURBED ABOUT AN ALLEDGED REPORT OF BRUTALITY FROM THE COAHOMA COUNTY JAIL. THE VICTIM IS REPORTED TO BE OTIS POWELL. OUR INFORMATION AT THIS TIME ALLEDGES THAT OTIS POWELL, WHILE A PRISONER IN THE COAHOMA COUNTY JAIL WAS SEVERELY BEATEN WITH A SHOVEL BY A PRISON GUARD. HE ALLEDGEDLY WAS CARRIED TO THE COAHOMA COUNTY HOSPITAL. HE WAS REFUSED ADMITTANCE TO THE HOSPITAL AS THE HOSPITAL REFUSED TO BE A DUMPING GROUND AND A COVER UP FOR THE SADISTIC MANISFESTATIONS OF GUARDS AT THE LOCAL COUNTY JAIL. UPON REFUSAL OF ADMITTANCE AT COAHOMA COUNTY HOSPITAL, POWELL WAS ALLEDGEDLY CARRIED TO ANOTHER HOSPITAL IN THE STATE - SUPPOSEDLY TO JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI. A FORMAL AND OFFICIAL REQUEST INTO THE PHYSICAL CONDITION AND THE WHEREABOUTS OF POWELL IS NOW BEING CONDUCTED.

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THE ANNOUNCEMENT, THIS WEEK, THAT THE CITY WILL BUILD A RECREATIONAL CENTER FOR NEGROES IN 1964 IS QUITE BEHIND THE TIMES. ANY MONEY THAT IS SPENT, ON PUBLIC ACCOMMODATION, THE NAACP WILL SEE TO IT THAT ALL THE CHILDREN OF THE COMMUNITY HAVE THE PRIVILEDGE OF USING THEM. WE ARE NO MORE IN FAVOR OF A BLACK DYNASTY THAN WE ARE THE WHITE ONE THAT WE HAVE BEEN FORCED TO LIVE UNDER ALL OF THESE YEARS. JUST AS WE PLAN FOR THE RIGHTS OF NEGRO CHILDREN TO USE THE "CAT CAVE", ALL PLAYGROUNDS, SWIMMING POOLS, AND ALL OTHER THINGS THAT ARE PUBLIC OR SERVING THE PUBLIC, WE INSIST THAT WHITE CHILDREN AND PEOPLE ALSO HAVE THIS SAME RIGHT TO USE ALL THE FACILITIES IN OUR COMMUNITY.

.....

WE OFFER OUR CONGRATULATIONS TO THE FACULTY AND STUDENT BODY OF THE HIGGINS HIGH SCHOOL UPON ITS RECENT ACCREDITATION. WE WOULD HOPE THAT THE INTEREST RAISED BY THE NAACP EXPOSING THE POOR EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES AFFORDED NEGRO CHILDREN THROUGH THE YEARS HAS HAD SOME EFFECT IN THE UPGRADING OF THE TEACHING PERSONNELL AND TEACHING AIDS. MANY OF US REMEMBER WHEN THERE WAS ONLY AN EIGHTH GRADE SCHOOL FOR NEGRO CHILDREN IN CLARKSDALE. MANY OF US ARE THE BITTER VICTIMS OF AN INFERIOR EDUCATION THAT WAS CAST UPON US ONLY BECAUSE WE ARE NEGROES.

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ON SUNDAY, JANUSRY 26, 1964, THE COAHOMA COUNTY BRANCH OF THE NAACP WILL BE ADDRESSED BY MR. GLOSTER CURRENT, THE DIRECTOR OF BRANCHES OF THE NEW YORK OFFICE. THIS WILL BE MR. CURRENT'T FIRST VISIT TO CLARKSDALE. LET US TURN OUT AND GIVE HIM A FREEDOM WELCOME. THE PROGRAM WILL BE AT THE HAVEN METHODIST CHURCH AT 3:00 P.M. IN CLARKSDALE.

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THE "TRIAL" OF BYRON DE LA BECKWITH, THE ACCUSED ASSASSIN OF OUR BELOVED MR. MEDGAR EVERS, WILL BE HELD MONDAY, JANUARY 27, 1964 IN THE HINDS COUNTY COURT HOUSE IN JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI. ALTHOUGH WE CAN ALREADY PREDICT THE WHITE WASH OF THIS TRIAL, LET US ALL MAKE PLANS TO BE PRESENT. SAD TO SAY THERE IS NEVER ENOUGH EVIDENCE TO CONVICT A WHITE MAN OF A CRIME AGAINST A NEGRO; THERE IS ALWAYS ENOUGH EVIDENCE TO CONVICT A NEGRO OF A CRIME AGAINST A WHITE MAN.

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THE CITIZENSHIP SCHOOLS MEET EACH WEEK ON MONDAY AND TUESDAY NIGHTS: CHAPEL HILL M. B. CHURCH - 7:00-9:00 P.M.
RAYFORD CHAPEL M.B. CHURCH - 6:30-8:30 P.M.
PIGEE'S BEAUTY SALON - 6:00-8:00 P.M.
ALL REQUIREMENTS FOR THE COURSE ARE FURNISHED FREE

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MASS MEETING, WEDNESDAY NIGHT, JANUARY 15, 1964, FIRST BAPTIST M.B. CHURCH, FOURTH STREET, CLARKSDALE, MISSISSIPPI.

Agencies - NAACP

WB/ BW RTB

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

February 1, 1964 FEB 4 1964 COAHOMA COUNTY BRANCH Newsletter

NOW that those who have not paid their Poll Tax for this year can only weep, let us together get on to the next effort. It is now absolutely important for EVERYONE over the age of 21 to go to the Court House and TRY to register.

THE Coahoma County Branch of the N.A.A.C.P. will SOON launch its most concentrated Registration To Vote Campaign which is designed to bring a minimum of 5,000 Negroes to the Court House. While you may not make it on the first attempt, we GUARANTEE that your name will be placed on the registration book in the near future. IF YOU will only go down and try, the Federal Government and other institutions will see to it that your RIGHT TO VOTE will no longer be denied.

YOUR door will be knocked on; INSTRUCTIONS will be given; TRANSPORTATION, if necessary, will be provided to the Court House; BABY SITTERS can be arrainged. All that you have to do is GO DOWN TO THE COURT HOUSE.

THIS will be an expensive campaign. Interested citizens, business places, and churches interested in the progress of a Voter Registration program are urged to make financial contributions to insure the success of the project. Of course, THERE IS NO EXPENSE INVOLVED IN GOING TO REGISTER.

A SPECIAL MEETING is being called for Thursday night, Feb. 13, to work out the details of the Voter Registration Campaign. The meeting will be held in the N.A.A.C.P. Office, 429 Yazoo (Freedom House), at 7pm. All persons who will be participating in the campaign in any way should be at this meeting. We should have at least one representative from each of the various clubs, churches, and fraternal organizations. Refreshments Will Be Served

LAST Sunday we held our "Second Century Of Freedom Program". The speaker was Mr. Gloster Current of the National Office. Mr. Current brought an inspiring message, and many acclaim the address as the GREAT MESSAGE OF THE YEAR. We are indeed Grateful to you, Gloster, for coming and hope that you will return at your earliest convenience. The terrific Branch Secretary's Report, made at this meeting, was printed and is available to all members. Contact the Secretary, Mrs. Paul Pigee, for your copy. Just a few of the Freedom Calanders are still available. Get one now.

A Special Meeting will be held Mon. Feb. 3 at 5:30 in Freedom House for all students who could not return to school last year for whatever reason. A way will be found to make it possible to get you into school IF you have any desire to go. REMEMBER, you cannot make it now without an education. If you want to be helped, be at Freedom House for this very necessary session

THE WED. FREEDOM MEETING was conducted by the YOUTH COUNCIL last week, and what a grand job they did. The meeting this week will be at CHAPEL HILL BAPTIST CHURCH, and the Youth are again in charge. COME OUT FOR A VERY INSPIRING EVENING WED. NIGHT. Mr. Wade Walton displayed his great musical talent at the meeting last week and we expect him back again. He was really GREAT!! "Thanks, Wade."

Another FREEDOM FIGHTER came home last week in the person of J. D. RAYFORD, jr. We will hear a lot from this young man as time goes on. "WELCOME HOME, JENE."

Mr. AARON HENRY, President Mrs. VERA PIGEE, Secretary

429 Yazoo

COAHOMA COUNTY BRANCH NAACP

"DO NOT TRADE IN DOWN TOWN CLARKSDALE,
UNTIL FREEDOM COMES!"

January 25, 1964

WHY STILL PAY POLL TAX ???

The action of the legislature of South Dakota in ratifying the 24th Ammendment to the U. S. Constitution, making the poll tax ILLEGAL, is ONLY APPLICABLE TO FEDERAL ELECTIONS. It gives us NO VOTE in the case of governors, sheriffs, mayors, commissioners, and other state officials. In order to vote for these persons we first have to pay the poll tax. Please pay your poll tax BEFORE FEBRUARY 1964. Your door will be knocked upon and you will be called upon the telephone reminding you. Please say YES.

"THE SECOND CENTURY OF FREEDOM PROGRAM"

Sponsored by the Coahoma County Branch of the N.A.A.C.P. and scheduled for SUNDAY JANUARY 26, this will be a very important meeting. BE THERE!! The guest speaker is MR GLOSTER CURRENT, Director of Branches from the New York office. Plans and techiques for the future will be discussed. The meeting will begin at 2:30pm. Come early for seats. A special session at 5pm will be held for Branch Presidents from all over the state with problems. The FREEDOM CALENDER will be available at this session. On this calender are the photographs of the late PRESIDENT KENNEDY and of our late Field Secretary MEDGER EVERS. Be sure to get you copy of this important keepsake. A special effort will be made to help insure passage of the CIVIL RIGHTS BILL. COME OUT AND LEND YOUR SUPPORT.

WHAT HATTIESBERG MEANS TO MISSISSIPPI!!!

On Tuesday of this week, more than 300 citizens joined in a picket demonstration against the evils of racial bigotory in Hattiesberg. Included in this demonstration were representatives of the major churches of the World, and the Civil Rights organizations of the nation including two representatives of the Clarksdale Branch of the NAACP -- Cleo Jackson and Aaron Henry. Also taking their places in this demonstration for Freedom were Charles Evers (NAACP Field Secretary), Neil Goldschmidt (Public Relations Man for the NAACP in Mississippi), James Fairley (President of Hattiesburg NAACP), and many others of NAACP, CORE, SCLC, and SNCC combined in one unity organization known as the COUNCIL OF FEDERATED ORGANIZATIONS of COFO.

If your community is interested in bringing an end to the denial of the RIGHT to trgister to vote, contact headquarters of the NAACP in Jackson. A way WILL be found to insure everyone the right to register and vote.

CITIZENSHIP SCHOOLS

The Citizenship Schools now in progress in Coahoma County are open every Monday and Tuesday evenings at CHAPEL HILL M. B. CHURCH, RAYFORD CHAPEL M. B. CHURCH, PIGEE'S BEAUTY SALON, AND JOHNSON'S SANDWHICH SHOP. If you are not a registered voter anddesire to become one, BE SURE TO ATTEND ONE OF THESE SCHOOLS.

For those who might desire to run for public office, there is the possibility of offering classes in PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION in theimmediate future. There is an old saying that "Negroes couldn't do worse in public office than the white people are doing". While this may be true, when our opportunity comes to hold public office we must be prepared to do a much better job than is being done now. If not, why change? Those of us who will be interested in learning the duties and obligations of a public official should register such desire with the local Branch of the NAACP, I M M E D I A T E L Y.

We have been notified that the T.V. artists preforming in the BONNANZA show have cancelled an engagement in Jackson, Miss. because of the segregation in effect there. This is a pattern that can be followed all over the state when artists of national importance are booked. Simply complain and notify the artist of the racial bigotry existing and many will cancel. This should be done UNTIL NEGROES ARE ACCEPTED IN THE AUDIENCE WITHOUT SEGREGATION OR DISCRIMINATION.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE N.A.A.C.P.

429 Yazoo Clarksdale

FEB 11 1964

February 8, 1964

COAHOMA COUNTY BRANCH

Dr Aaron Henry,
President

NEWSLETTER

Mr Cleo Jackson,
Chair. Pub. Comm.

WBV
RTR
BW

DE LA BECKWITH — While the trial of Byron De La Beckwith resulted in a "hung jury", many of us would like to believe that there were five or six men on the jury that wanted to see this man pay for his crime. Some of us see this, however, as only act two of a three act drama with the parts and actions carefully rehearsed. Act three of the drama will reveal true Mississippi justice and Beckwith will be released (I almost said "freed") and he will live happily ever after in a villa in New Mexico employed by a pharmaceutical company or maby by a gun manufacturer. You know, Miss. even fools the Federal Government at times.

CIVIL RIGHTS BILL — The Civil Rights Bill seems to be doing well in the House of Representatives, thanks very much to the work of many of the stalwart Civil Rights Fighters in persistently keeping the pressure on. There are none more diligent than our own Clarence Mitchell and Frank Polhaus of the NAACP Washington Bureau. WE ARE AGAIN BEING CALLED UPON TO ADD OUR PRESSURE BY WRITING TO OUR MISSISSIPPI SENATORS AND OTHERS IN CONGRESS URGING THAT THEY SUPPORT THE BILL. WRITING REALLY DOES A LOT OF GOOD, WHETHER WE REALIZE IT OR NOT.

VOTER REGISTRATION CAMPAIGN — The organizational meeting to launch the Voter Registration Campaign will be Thursday night, 8 pm, in Freedom House. ALL persons who will work in the Campaign should be present. At least one person from every church is expected to attend as well as workers from the various neighborhoods and streets. This project is under the direction of the Political Action Committee of your local Branch, chaired by Mrs. Idessa Johnson. Staff personell are Mr. J. D. Rayford, Jr. and Mr. Gordon Harris. Let us ALL give them our cooperation.

CITIZENSHIP SCHOOLS — Four schools for self-improvement are now in operation in Coahoma County. Located at Chapel Hill M B Church, Rayford's Chapel, Pigee's Beauty Salon, and Johnson's Sandwich Shop, these schools teach basic reading and writing to those persons who lack these advantages. Other schools will be opened later for more advanced training. Soon there will be no excuse for any adult illiteracy in Coahoma County. You may not have had a chance when you were younger, but here is a second opportunity. Will you let it pass you by again?

TRADE WITHDRAWL CAMPAIGN — All Negroes are not cooperating in our "No Shopping In Downtown Clarksdale" campaign. But enough of us are cooperating to assure that the effort will be crowned with victory. Here, as in Jackson, several downtown merchants will be willing to accord courtesy and fair employment to Negroes soon. Will YOU be a part of the driving force behind the project, or will you only jump on the bandwagon when victory comes. Either way, we'll let you ride.

FREEDOM MEETING — THE NEXT IN THE SERIES OF WEEKLY FREEDOM MEETINGS WILL BE AT MOUNT MARIAH METHODIST CHURCH ON WEDNESDAY NIGHT. AN IMPORTANT SPECIAL FILM WILL BE SHOWN. MAKE PLANS NOW TO ATTEND.

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FEB 18 1964

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COAHOMA COUNTY BRANCH

429 Yazoo
Clarksdale, Miss.

Dr. Aaron Henry
President

Mr. Cleo Jackson
Chairman,
Publicity Comm.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

BRANCH NEWS

Feb. 15 1964

NEXT REGULAR FREEDOM MEETING

Wednesday, Feb. 19

Jereseleum Baptist Church

See You There

A PRESENTATION ON NEGRO HISTORY

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WR
BW
RTB
B.W.

VOTER REGISTRATION CAMPAIGN

THE organizational meeting which launched the Voter Registration Campaign was held last Thurs. and plans are well underway for an all-out effort. The Campaign will result in 5,000 Negroes seeking the right to register. 500 of these will be secured during the first three months beginning March first. The project will begin in the Round Yard Community and move on from there. All persons over 21 should go down to register as soon as they have had the proper instructions from us. EVERY MINISTER SHOULD ENCOURAGE HIS CONGREGATION TO PARTICIPATE. CHURCHES, BUSINESSES, AND INDIVIDUALS NEED TO SUPPORT THE CAMPAIGN FINANCIALLY. All information is obtainable from Freedom House (429 Yazoo) or from Mrs Idessa Johnson, Chairman of our Political Action Committee. All Chairmen and members of the NAACP WILL do their individual best to insure the success of this campaign. How about you? IF THIS ONE IS SUCCESSFUL, WE WILL NEVER NEED TO HAVE ANOTHER!!

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SELECTIVE BUYING CAMPAIGN

ONE of the main issues involved in the "Selective Buying Campaign" is the question of Human Dignity. We resent our ladies being addressed in a store or by mail as "girl", "auntee" or by their first names. We demand courtesy for all Negro ladies and are not content for its extension to a few of the "big shot" women, as classified by the whites. We are alarmed because too many of these women now seem reluctant to keep their stand with their neighbors. Don't let a pat on the back, or elsewhere, and a suggery statement like "If all nigras were like you, everthing would be all right", fool you. As long as you are black, and that is going to be for a long time, we are ALL in the same boat and there is going to be trouble unless we get it straightened out NOW, once and for all. Furthermore, the excuse that others are trading downtown is too weak to justify anyone else doing it. 99% of the time, this statement is only an excuse manufactured by those who want to go anyway.

• • •

MEMO TO THE DOWNTOWN MERCHANTS

WITH a shopping center being built in Oakhurst and another in the Brickyard, you are being isolated whether you realize it or not. Unless you decide to treat Negroes with courtesy and employ us a above the menial level soon (very soon), a decision later will be too late to do any good. The people who are advising you to hold the line are going to see your part of town turned into a Ghost area unless you wake up now.

• • •

CITIZENSHIP SCHOOLS

THE attendance at the Citizenship Schools is growing. Those who need the service of these schools and have yet to enroll are missing a wonderful opportunity. Our students have not only learned to read and write since attending the Citizenship Schools, but many have gone on to pass the literacy test and have become registered voters. What are You waiting for? Many of your neighbors have already taken this opportunity.

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THE office at Freedom House can use all surplus Newsletters and other mimeograph (used) papers and would appreciate your help.

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agencies Not NAACP Project

FEB 27 1964

WBC
BW
RTB

BRANCH NEWSLETTER

FEB. 22 1964

COAHOMA COUNTY BRANCH

N. A. A. C. P.

429 Farco
Clarksdale,
Mississippi

Dr Aaron Henry, president

Mr Cleo Jackson, publicity chairman

THIS WEEK'S FREEDOM MEETING will be at BELL GROVE BAPTIST CHURCH. The faculty and students of the CITIZENSHIP SCHOOLS will be in charge of the program.
Pictures of the schools in action will be shown.
Hope to see you there and on time.

o o o

THE PRELIMINARY WORK LEADING TO A SUCCESSFUL VOTER REGISTRATION CAMPAIGN IS IN FULL SWING. Interviews are already being conducted and several persons have reported to the Registrar's office asking for their rights. Every pastor or minister in the community should encourage every member of his church to REGISTER. Copies of the test given are available at the N.A.A.C.P. office. Any person desiring assistance can have it ANYTIME and ANYWHERE simply by asking. Let us ALL register, vote, and stop complaining and begging. How can we help YOU?

o o o o

IF CLARKSDALE HAD HAD A LARGE NUMBER OF NEGROES REGISTERED TO VOTE, DO YOU THINK THAT THE CITY POLICE WOULD HAVE GONE INTO THE CONEY ISLAND CAFE THIS WEEK AND ARRESTED ALL OF THOSE PEOPLE BECAUSE "they did not have a job?"
Where is there a job for a Negro farmer in Coahoma County during the month of Feb?
What about the large number of WHITES that hand out in cafes during this time of year? Are any of them arrested? Of course not.
This Clarksdale Police Department is so EVIL that a decent act would give them hydrophobia.

o o o o o o

TO THE WHITE MINISTERS OF CLARKSDALE: Last Monday, a young Negro attempted the crime of cashing a bad check at a local bank. Some of the bank's employees tried to apprehend him with the simple idea that anytime a White Man said to do something a Negro would just naturally do it. He didn't and in running away the young man pushed back all who got in his path. The report that a Negro has affronted a white man bought out the good Police Department and its vengence. Several Negroes have been picked up at random, charged with vagrancy and are NOW serving time on the road. This is not some far away country under communistic rule, this is our home town. How are we going to react to this senseless terror to our citizens? Will we require an investigation and stop this perverted glee, or give it our thundering silence?

o o o o o o

Noticed in the Clarksdale Daily Press this week the salaries of City School Teachers. Where the white teachers were mentioned, larger fat figures in $ and ¢ were used. For Negro teachers, the report mentioned only that SUBSTANTIAL INCREASES had been made in their salaries. We want to see boths sets of figures lined up side by side so that we can draw our own conclusions as to which increase was substantial. Perhaps the Press did not have access to the figures. How about it?

o o o o o o o

We saw SEVERAL Negroes shopping overtown today. Were YOU among them? Just remember that YOU, as well as any of us, could have been one of those picked up this week for "vagrancy".

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LET'S SEE EVERYBODY WENDSDAY NIGHT AT BELL GROVE.

Read carefully

NAACP Regional To Feature Nat'l Secretary Wilkins

Atl. Wor 2-27-64

The 12th Annual Southeast Regional NAACP Conference will convene at Macon, Georgia March 5-8. The featured speaker at the Conference will be Roy Wilkins, the organization's Executive Secretary. Mr. Wilkins will address the Sunday Mass Meeting, to be held at the First Baptist Church of Macon.

This Conference reportedly will be the largest since its inaguration. Youth Councils, College Chapters, Church leaders, and Women in NAACP Service will be represented

The Ministers Conference will be one of the highlights of the Conference, the theme for which is "The Church, The Community and the Crisis in Civil Rights." Workshops will be concerned with Symptoms of the Civil Rights Crisis in our Region, Stimulating Community Responses to the Moral Challenge in Civil Rights, Creative Church Resources to Meet Current Needs in Civil Rights.

The overall theme for the Conference is "That They Should Not Have Died in Vain" This theme was inspired by the supreme sacrifice given by Medgar Evers, NAACP Field Secretary for the State of Mississippi, The Late President John F. Kennedy, and the four little girls who were victims of the still unsolved Birmingham Church bombings and others who have sacrificed their lives in the struggle for human rights and first class citizenship.

Mrs. Ruby Hurley, Southeast Regional Secretary for the NAACP indicates that this Conference will be especially significant in that programming for the continued assault on bias and segregation will be discussed. Other National Staff members who will participate in the Conference are as follows: Gloster B. Current, Directors of Branches, Miss Lucile Black, Membership Secretary, and Rev. E. J. Odom, Church Secretary.

NAACP

The American Library Association is sponsoring a study of access to public libraries in the United States. The research for this study is being conducted by International Research Associates, an independent organization located in New York city.

A vital part of the information needed can be provided by informed observers in local communities throughout the nation. The INRA is particularly interested in learning about the current status of access to public libraries in the South. For this reason, we here at the Southern Regional Council have agreed to send out an INRA local observer questionnaire to citizens of southern communities with whom we are acquainted.

We hope that you will assist in the completion of this project by filling in the enclosed questionnaire and returning it directly to the INRA as soon as possible. We are also enclosing stamped return envelopes provided by the INRA for this purpose.

The facts you provide by answering this questionnaire will be assembled with those provided by librarians and local observers throughout the nation. The overall findings will be presented to the American Library Association. But no individual responses will be released to the ALA; all replies will be kept strictly confidential.

Your help and cooperation in helping to insure the success of this research effort will be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Staige D. Blackford
Director of Research

SDB/nmj
Enclosures

AH. World

Wilkins Stresses Voting And Jobs

3-1-64

NEW YORK — NAACP Executive Secretary Roy Wilkins has recently participated with other civil rights leaders in two magazine symposia on civil rights plans for 1964.

The first article was published in the January issue of Negro Digest and the second in U. S. News and World Report, February 24.

In both his contributions, Mr. Wilkins stressed the need for a stepped-up program of political action in this presidential election year. This, he pointed out, requires an intensive voter registration cam paign in every state of the Union, beginning with the New Year and continuing until the registration rolls are closed.

Another major problem, pointed out by the NAACP leader, is employment. The excessively high rate of unemployment among Negroes must be halted, he said.

Elimination of segregation in public education, both North and South, is also a pressing issue requiring prompt attention and positive action to get rid of present educational inequities, Mr. Wilkins asserted.

Other participating in the Digest symposium include Whitney Young, Jr., executive director, National Urban League the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., president, Southern Christian Leadership Conference; James Farmer, executive director, Congress of Racial Equality; and John Lewis, president, Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

The U. S. News contributors include, in addition to Mr. Wilkins, Dr. King, Mr. Young, Mr. Farmer and James Forman, executive secretary, SNCC.

NAACP

MAR 2 1964

WB
SW
RDB

CLARION

FREEDOM MEETING THE CIVIL RIGHTS BILL, as passed by the U. S. House of Representatives but has yet to be passed by the Senate, will be the main subject at the next Freedom Meeting to be held this Wednesday night at Haven Methodist Church. Exactly what is in the Bill and which congressmen voted for and which voted against it will be revealed.

Also, the report of the meeting of the the Coahoma County Bar Association, held at the Court House last week, will be analysed. Attorney R. Jesse Brown will be on hand for the discussions.

The COAHOMA COUNTY PROGRESSIVE VOTERS LEAGUE, Rev R. L. Drew Chairman, will hold an emergency session Monday night March 2 at the Royal Funeral Home, 507 Ashton in Clarksdale.

The purpose of the meeting is to discuss each candidate in the race for CHANCERY CLERK. The best one will be endorsed.

ALL PARENTS of children to be involved in the SCHOOL DESEGREGATION SUIT for the Clarksdale and Coahoma public schools, are asked to meet at Haven Methodist Church at 7 pm Wed. March 4th.

This will be the FINAL orientation meeting. Whatever questions you may have will, of necessity, be cleared up at this session.

Some of the busiest people in the field of Civil Rights and in Coahoma County are the workers on the EMERGENCY WELFARE AND RELIEF COMMITTEE.

We are grateful for the generous contributions of clothing and food that come from every part of our country. Large shipments reciently came from as far away as Smith College in Mass. and Yale University in Conn. Another load this week came from as close as our NAACP Branch in Moss Point.

In the Freedom Movement there are no OUTSIDERS. We are all involved, wherever the problem.

THE VOTER REGISTRATION CAMPAIGN for 1964 in Clarksdale and Coahoma County WILL KICK OFF MONDAY MARCH 2.

The Campaign will continue until every adult has had the opportunity to register.

Because of a negative reaction already evidenced by the Circuit Clerk and anticipated from the Police, the federal Department of Justice ~~has been~~ notified and will be looking on.

THIS IS ABSOLUTELY THE BEST TIME TO GO DOWN TO REGISTER, that is, WHILE THE COMMUNITY HAS COMPANY.

A CHEER for the U. S. Supreme Court for agreeing to review Dr Henry's case. "Congratulations, Doc".

On the other hand, let's not forget the plight of the young men [illegible] "road-gang"

TODAY, in Edwards Miss., several farmers — members of the NAACP — are being briefed by the Department of Agriculture, and other federal agencies, as to the programs and federal benefits available to ALL farmers.

So many Negro farmers reported getting a run-around at Production Credit offices and other federal bureaus located in Miss, that a special conference had to be set up (showing the value of protest).

Several farmers from our area are attending — including Mr Cleo Jackson, Mr H Y Hackett, Mr R L Drew, Rev Willie Goodloe, and Mr J C Pettis.

THE NAACP SOUTHEASTERN REGIONAL CONVENTION, which includes Miss, WILL BE HELD IN MACON GEORGIA March 5,6,7, and 8.

A delegation will go from the Coahoma Branch and it will be called on for a full report of the NAACP's future program when our people return.

The contribution of the CITIZENSHIP SCHOOLS to our fight for Freedom cannot be overstated

The Schools are now involved in the Registration To Vote Program. They will serve as clearing houses in every section of our community.

The present schools are located at Johnson's Sandwich Shop, Chapel Hill Baptist Church, Rayford Chapel, and Pigee's Beauty Salon.

(A bouquet to toe staff and students of the Schools for a great program presented at last week's Freedom Meeting.)

The Soverign State of Mississippi has again seen fit to ignore the Bill of Rights of the Constitution of the United States.

This past week, the Mississippi legislature (supposedly representing us) declared it illegal for anyone to urge a selective buying campaign. Your NAACP has urged you to buy selectively for about two years, is still asking for your cooperation, and will continue to do so until we can get overtown all that we pay for — an equal chance at employment and decent, human courtesy.

LET'S ALL STAY FROM OVERTOWN.

who are still on the "road-gang" for the crime of not having a job.

Atl. Const. 3-8-64

Integration Drives Expected to Rise

By WALTER RUGABER
Journal-Constitution Staff Writer

MACON, March 7—Negro leaders from over the South predicted here Saturday that desegregation efforts will increase in tempo during 1964—even if Congress passes the civil rights bill.

This outlook came from local and state leaders of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, gathered here for the organization's 12th annual Southeast regional conference.

A number of the NAACP leaders admitted privately that in some instances the integration push has been marking time while Congress debates the civil rights bill.

BUT THE NEGRO drive will not automatically be over even if the bill becomes law, it was forecast, because there is almost certain to be a problem of implementation.

Many NAACP officials compared passage of the bill to the U.S. Supreme Court decision on school desegregation: The implementation of that "law" is still going on.

The aftermath of passage, many of the leaders believe, will be complicated by an effort on the part of white segregationists in some areas to demonstrate the law is unworkable.

SOME NEGROES expressed a fear that resistance to the law in certain parts of the South will include violence—especially in the area of public accommodations.

The reaction to this possibility was ambivalent. While none of the NAACP officials was advocating offensive violence, there were some who said the Negro would not be brutalized forever.

Sooner or later, they said, he will hit back—a significant departure from the theories of nonviolence popularized by Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

MOST OF THE NAACP officials appeared confident the civil rights bill will pass in substantially its present form. They forecast a sharp and widespread reaction by Negoes if it does not.

Defeat of the bill, one of the leaders said, would have an emotional impact on the Negro masses much like the assassination of President Kennedy or NAACP Field Secretary Medgar Evers.

He was turned away at both.

SATURDAY afternoon, some 25 demonstrators—most of them leaders of NAACP youth and college branches in town for the conference — picketed in front of at least one of the motels involved.

Police stood by, but the protest was orderly and no incidents were reported. There were similar demonstrations before at least two other facilities.

The NAACP wired U.S. Sen. Richard B. Russell and Herman E. Talmadge that the Friday night incidents pointed up the need for "passage of (the) pending civil rights act."

"This discrimination accounts for many highway accidents (involving) colored persons who must drive long distances because of inability to find decent and sanitary conditions."

LATER Saturday, the widow of Mr. Evers was to receive an award during a banquet. Some 100 other individuals who aided NAACP membership campaigns also were to receive awards.

Florida was to receive a citation for achieving the greatest increase in membership during 1963, and three of its cities—St. Augustine, Pensacola, and Jacksonville—were to be recognized for membership achievements in three categories.

The regional gathering is scheduled to close Sunday after an address by Roy Wilkins of New York, executive secretary of the organization.

NAACP

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Defeat of the bill, one of the leaders said, would have an emotional impact on the Negro masses much like the assassination of President Kennedy or NAACP Field Secretary Medgar Evers.

Furthermore, one official said, Negroes believe that desegregation moves — especially in the public accommodations field — have been postponed too long already.

Negro impatience is piling up, declared Leon Cox of Atlanta, the NAACP's Georgia field secretary. "The moment of truth is now at hand," he said.

NEVERTHELESS, there has been a noticeable lack of emphasis on antisegregation street demonstrations such as sit-ins and marches during the conference here.

Most of the discussion and speeches have seemed to mainly concern voter registration programs and economic boycotts rather than direct action protests.

There was considerable disagreement over the exact importance of the sit-in. The consensus seemed to be that while no one believed the tactic passe, its use is nevertheless on the wane.

The NAACP has never been a major sponsor of direct action anyway, and its leaders seemed to be saying they intend to use street protests only for specific reasons.

But clearly the NAACP does not consider the direct action tactic useless. Its director of branches, Gloster B. Current of New York, sought a room at two Macon hotels Friday night.

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NAACP

May 1, 1963

Dear Mr. Coudres:

The American Library Association is sponsoring a study of access to public libraries in the United States. The research for this study is being conducted by International Research Associates, an independent organization located in New York city.

A vital part of the information needed can be provided by informed observers in local communities throughout the nation. The INRA is particularly interested in learning about the current status of access to public libraries in the South. For this reason, we here at the Southern Regional Council have agreed to send out an INRA local observer questionnaire to citizens of southern communities with whom we are acquainted.

We hope that you will assist in the completion of this project by filling in the enclosed questionnaire and returning it directly to the INRA as soon as possible. We are also enclosing stamped return envelopes provided by the INRA for this purpose.

The facts you provide by answering this questionnaire will be assembled with those provided by librarians and local observers throughout the nation. The overall findings will be presented to the American Library Association. But no individual responses will be released to the ALA; all replies will be kept strictly confidential.

Your help and cooperation in helping to insure the success of this research effort will be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Staige D. Blackford
Director of Research

SDB/mmj
Enclosures

THE COAHOMA COUNTY BRANCH

"THE VOICE OF ONE

CRYER

CRYING IN THE WILDERNESS

PREPARE YE THE WAY . . ."

MAR 12 1964

AARON E HENRY, Branch President

429 Yazoo Clarksdale, Mississippi

CLEO JACKSON, Publicity Chair.

MARCH 7 1964

A DECISION BY THE UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT RELATIVE TO SEGREGATION IN HOSPITALS, has real meaning for Negro patients in the Coahoma County Hospital.

The Supreme Court said that IN A HOSPITAL BUILT WITH FEDERAL FUNDS, commonly called Hill Burton Hospitals, SEGREGATION ACCORDING TO RACE IS AGAINST THE LAW.

The Coahoma County Hospital is such an institution. All Negro patients going there in the future should request a room above the first floor.

After all, the first is the noisyest floor in the place and the area where the poorest food is served. Let's see how well the "upstairs" patients on the 2nd and 3rd floors are living. Remember, we are also paying for the good service

---

"WE ARE MEN!

WE WILL BE TREATED AS MEN,

AND WE SHALL WIN." W. E. B. DuBois

With the coming of Easter, your NAACP announces that TRANSPORTATION WILL BE PROVIDED FOR YOU TO DO YOUR SHOPPING IN ANY NEIGHBORING CITY.

We have worn our old Easter clothing for three years now, and perhaps this year we do need a change.

Please, DO NOT PURCHASE ANY ITEMS IN DOWNTOWN CLARKSDALE until Negroes are treated with courtesy and are given equal opportunity at all jobs.

Several stores in Jackson have had to close in recent weeks because of a similar selective buying campaign there. The state would not have bothered to write the recent unconstitutional anti-boycott law if their bank accounts were not being bothered.

A big break is possible here any day now. If the downtown merchants hold out much longer, a truce will have no effect. Shopping centers will soon make it much more convenient for everyone to shop in areas far removed from this backward area.

IMPORTANT FREEDOM MEETING

WEDNESDAY NIGHT

MT MORIAH METHODIST CHURCH ! ! !

Several of our local NAACPers are attending the N. A. A. C. P. Regional Conference in Macon Georgia this weekend.

A report on this conference and on the future plans of YOUR N. A. A. C. P. will be given Wed night.

At the regular Freedom Meeting last Wednesday night, Jene Rayford provided us with some answers to the important question, "Just what is the Civil Rights Bill that everyone is talking about?"

Briefly, the Bill as passed by the U. S. House of Representatives is the strongest pro civil rights legislation in the history of this country. The phases of the problem that it covers include the following:

Voting (perhaps the most important item in this section is

- Continued p 2 -

THE VOTER REGISTRATION CAMPAIGN NOW TAKING PLACE IN CLARKSDALE IS MOVING STEADILY.

We appreciate the fact that the Circuit Clerk is at least permitting people to take the test — most of the time.

Our good Police Department is keeping its promise — so far — not to harass us and generally things are just about as smooth as can be expected.

The presence of interested persons

- Continued p 2 -

Agenda NAACP

(CIVIL RIGHTS BILL, continued)

that a person will be presumed literate if he has completed the sixth grade, regardless of any "literacy test".)

Public Accomidations. (Prohibition of discrimination in such places as hotels, restaurants, theaters, and gas stations.)

Desegregation of Public Facilities. (That is, any facility owned by or operated by government — federal, state, city, etc.)

School Desegregation.

An Equal Employment Opportunity Committee.

Nondiscrimination in Federally Assisted Programs. (With a provision to deny federal funds to those which discriminate.)

This Bill, then, contains many good things for all of us (more details may be found in the March 6 issue of Jet) and therefore YOUR N. A. A. C. P. supports it. However, so far the Bill has only passed the House of Representatives and still faces a stiff battle in the Senate. The N. A. A. C. P., C.O.R.E., S.N.C.C., and other civil rights groups are all working in Washington to see that it does pass and is made into law. (The State of Mississippi is spending our tax money in large sums in an effort to keep it from passing.)

The following telegram was recieved by the Coahoma County Branch from the Washington Bureau of the N.A.A.C.P. which is working hard for the Bill:

"The Civil Rights Bill has passed a major hurdle by a vote of 54 to 37. The Senate placed it on the calendar instead of sending it to Chairman Eastland's Judiciary Committee. .... Senate will begin action on Civil Rights Bill March 5 or shortly thereafter. Senators Report hate groups sending in large volume of anti-civil rights mail. Please see that friends of civil rights make know their support for the Bill by letters, telegrams, etc. Will send more detailed statement when actual consideration of Bill begins. As always thank you very much.

Clarence Mitchell, Director Washington Bureau"

Any Senator may be written to in care of The Senate Office Building. A 15 word telegram can be sent to any official in Washington for only 75¢. LET'S LET AS MANY SENATORS AS POSSIBLE KNOW THAT THERE ARE MANY PEOPLE IN MISSISSIPPI WHO WANT THE BILL MADE INTO LAW!!

(VOTER REGISTRATION CAMPAIGN, continued)

from the U. S. Justice Department has not hurt the Campaign at all.

The persons working full time on our drive for registration appreciate the welcome, if not cooperation, to be found in almost every home. Let's all cooperate as well and not have to be beged to do something for ourselves for a change. The is also a need for volunteers to help comb Clarksdale for unregistered voters and a need for volunteer drivers to help carry people to the Court House. This Campaign is the program of YOUR N.A.A.C.P. Branch. Let's ALL show that our membership means more to us than just paying a few dollars.

Some years back, somebody started the slogan, "We'll Be Free By '63."

It didn't work, but perhaps this one will if we all work at it:

"Open Every Door in '64"

THE

COAHOMA COUNTY BRANCH CRYER

"A VOICE CRYING IN THE WILDERNESS .."

AARON E HENRY, Branch President — 429 Yazoo Clarksdale, Mississippi — CLEO JACKSON, Publicity Chair.

MARCH 14 — FREEDOM EDITION *** — 1964

FREEDOM MEETING THIS WEEK (WED)

BELL GROVE BAPTIST CHURCH

Keep up by attending the weekly meetings.

"Those who expect to reap the blessings of FREEDOM,
Must,
Like men,
Undergo the fatigues of supporting it."

A report from our delegates to the recent N.A.A.C.P. Regional Convention in Macon, Georgia will be given at the Freedom Meeting Wed. night.

Many of us have been waiting to hear Mr Cleo Jackson, our Vice President and Pub. Chairman make a speech. Well, THIS IS IT. Do not miss this session since several items concerning this year's activities will be given.

THE COUNCIL OF FEDERATED ORGANIZATIONS (COFO) WILL MEET IN JACKSON SUNDAY MARCH 15th TO OFFICIALLY LAUNCH THE SUMMER FREEDOM PROGRAM.

A wire was recieved today from our National Office giving COMPLETE support to the Program and an initial contribution of $1,000 to help insure success.

All N.A.A.C.P. Branches in the state are incouraged to also support this Summer Freedom Program.

Members of college chapters of NAACP all over the nation will swell the ranks of more than 2,000 workers expected to come south this summer. Of the estimated 26 areas to conduct campaigns, some 14 will be spearheaded by N.A.A.C.P. units. This is what is known as getting the job done.

THE LAST LETTER TO BE RETURNED TO THE LEGAL STAFF, relative to our school desegregation activity, SHOULD BE SENT IMMEDIATLY if not sooner.

All those involved who have not returned this letter should get in touch with Mrs. Vera Pigee, Branch Secretary. For any additional information, please see Mrs Pigee at once.

Summer Camps for children of Civli Rights workers will be available in many northern areas again this year.

Attorney Marion Wright of our Legal Defense Fund is securing as many places as we want to use.

All interested parents should contact the Branch President.

Noticed in The Clarksdale Press Register this week that some of the merchants across town were having a "Welcome Neighbor Days" sale.

Hope no one was taken in by this kind of talk. What kind of neighbor is the man who acts like he is only interested in your money and doesn't seem to know the meaning of the word courtesy?

Those of us with some pride left aren't waiting for "a special welcome". We're waiting until we can get an honest "Welcome neighbor" with real meaning behind it.

PLEASE DO NOT BUY IN DOWNTOWN CLARKSDALE. Transportaion will be made available for all to do their shopping elsewhere.

non-agenda

THE VOTER REGISTRATION CAMPAIGN LAUNCHED BY YOUR N.A.A.C.P. BRANCH ON MARCH 2, 1964 IS GETTING RESULTS.

In the Roundyard, the first area tackled, work is nearing completion. A worker is already buisy in Riverton and we ask our friends there to be as cooperative as those in the Roundyard.

By next week-end, every home in the Roundyard will have been visited and many will have gone to register and assert their citizenship. We have done our duty when we go down and take the test at least once. The rest is up to the Circuit Clerk (and his conscience) and to the courts if the Clerk refuses to register us.

THE EMERGENCY WELFARE AND RELIEF COMMITTEE THIS WEEK MADE FOOD, CLOTHING, AND FINACES AVAILABLE TO SOME SEVENTY FAMILIES.

The families ranged from a group of five to some of twelve. About 700 persons were aided in just one week.

The aid came from many sources. Food For Freedom in California; United Packinghouse Food and Allied Workers, AFL-CIO, of Chicago; the Buffalo Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends; the Womens International League For Peace; and Mrs R H Comer of Crete Nebraska are just a few of the great number of Americans who know the answer to the ancient question "Am I my brother's keeper."

HAVE YOU WRITTEN TO SOMEONE IN WASHINGTON THIS WEEK TO LET HIM KNOW THAT THERE ARE PEOPLE IN MISSISSIPPI WHO EXPECT THE CIVIL RIGHTS BILL PASSED.

The whites (or should we be accurate and say "the pinks") claim that they have sent at least 500 letters this past week.

Are we going to take the chance of loosing from simple lack of interest. If we can help you in this effort of communicating, let us know.

glh

COAHOMA COUNTY BRANCH NAACP APR 2 1964

WD
BW

"C R Y E R"

March 21, 1964

VOTER REGISTRATION CAMPAIGN:

A knock on your door wil mean an invitation to go down to the Courthouse to register to vote. Most of our problems will be settled at the ballot box.

In the race for our congressional district this year, will be Mrs. Fannie L. Hamner, of Ruleville, Mississippi. Let us begin now to give Mrs. Hamner the greatest vote of any county in the District. A District meeting will be held soon, and Coahoma County will be expected to do as usual, that is; be present, give support, leadership and guidance to this very wonderful lady in every way. Mrs. Hamner will be speaking in Clarksdale soon. Let us prepare now to be present and here her.

SUMMER FREEDOM PROGRAM

The NAACP State Board was in session Sunday, March 15th, in Jackson to adopt a summer program that will transform the image of Mississippi. The NAACP IN CONCERT WITH THE OTHER CIVIL RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS OF THE STATE WILL CONDUCT A THREE FOLD PROGRAM IN VOTER REGISTRATION, COMMUNITY CENTERS, AND FREEDOM SCHOOLS THAT WILL DO IT FOR MISSISSIPPI.

Our responsibility right now is to participate in the FREEDOM REGISTRATION PROGRAM. Every person over twenty-one in Coahoma County MUST register in this Freedom Registration Program. State-wide we are aiming at 400,000 registered persons on the Freedom Registration Book. Our County Registrar is Mr. Willie Scott. His office is at Freedom House, 429 Yazoo Avenue. He will have deputies on duty all day to register you. Night time registration sessions can be arranged ifnecessary. We do not need to have paid poll taxes to vote in the elections this year. Please Secure Additional Information On this Subject.

R E M E M B E R:

Be sure to register at all three places, the courthouse, city hall, and Freedom House. It could be that the Federal Government will accept our Registration Books at Freedom House as the official registration book of this County, since we do not discriminate against any one because of race in our registration activity.

LEGISLATIVE VISIT

Many of us thought and hoped that the freedom riders were back with us when we say a couple of Greyhound buses heading toward the Coahoma jail yesterday. Upon learning that these buses were also going to visit parchman, We soon learned that the occupants on the buses were members of the Mississippi State Legislature.

Freedom Meeting this week at Rayford's Chapel. Be present for additional information.

Leave agenda

THE
COAHOMA COUNTY BRANCH CRYER

"A VOICE CRYING IN THE WILDERNESS"

AARON E HENRY, Branch President — 429 Yazoo Clarksdale, Miss. — CLEO JACKSON Publicity Chair.

MARCH 28 — FREEDOM NOW EDITION * — 1964

FREEDOM MEETING
WEDNESDAY
CENTENTIAL CHURCH

A part of this week's Freedom Meeting will be used to write letters to various U. S. Senators to protest the un-democratic filibuster against the Civil Rights Bill that is expected to begin this week.

There is no membership requirement for attendance at these weekly meets.

- - - -

An Easter Message

"Mine eyes have seen the glory
Of the coming of the lord.
He is trampling out the vintage
Where the grapes of wrath are stored

.....

As he died to make men holey,

LET US LIVE TO MAKE MEN FREE

While God goes marching on."

- - - -

HAPPY EASTER. YOUR FRIENDS HOPE THAT YOU JOINED WITH THEM IN OBSERVING THE SEASON IN A CHRISTIAN WAY BY REFUSING TO PAY FOR UN-CHRISTIAN DISCRIMINATION WHEREVER IT RAISES ITS UGLY HEAD, especially across town.

Jesus said, "Take up your cross and follow me". Is this campaign much of a cross compaired to the one carried about 1931 years ago?

- - - -

School Superintendent, Mrs Vera Pigee, reports that THE COAHOMA COUNTY CITIZENSHIP SCHOOLS WILL HOLD THEIR CLOSING EXERCISES FOR THE 1963 - 1964 SCHOOL YEAR ON TUESDAY MARCH 31 AT 7;30 IN CHAPEL HILL M. B. CHURCH.

Miss Arnell Ponda, S.C.L.C. Staff Member and Regional School Director, will be the featured speaker. The public is cordially invited.

CONGRATULATIONS TO THE STUDENTS AND STAFF FOR THE FINE JOB DONE.

- - - -

This year, FREEDOM MINDED VOTERS IN MISS WILL HAVE CANDIDATES FOR NATIONAL OFFICES WORTH VOTING FOR.

Two Negroes have already entered the campaign and more are expected to follow. These candidates will enter both the general and Freedom elections and will need support in both.

BUT REMEMBER, YOU MUST REGISTER FOR BOTH ELECTIONS TO GIVE THE FULL SUPPORT NEEDED.

- - - -

The papers reported this week that the Miss legislature and governor are work- to pass a bill to increase their dictitorial power over the people of this state by making it almost impossible for any political party except the "Miss Democratic Party" to function as a political organization.

The headlines have stated that this is aimed at the "Miss Republican Party". Yet, one wonders if this is not merely a smoke-screen to hide the real problem that the "Democrats" have — that is, political action by Negroes and the possibility of the creation of a third or Freedom Party.

This bares watching very closely.

- - - -

A SPECIAL REPORT ON V. R. PROJECTS ****

This paper has been reporting on the progress and problems of a Voter Registration Campaign currently being conducted by YOUR N.A.A.C.P. Branch in conjuntion with a state-wide campaign. Now, begining this week, there will be two different but equally important Voter Registration Projects.

(Continued on p 2)

VOTER REGISTRATION PROJECTS (cont.)

The campaign that was begun locally on March 1st to get every adult in the county to register at the Court House is moving forward with the emphasis now being given to the Downtown and Riverton areas. As there is no Poll Tax needed for registration, there is no good reason for anyone to delay longer. Whether one is or is not allowed to pass is not very important, but the simple act of making the attempt is very important. You may well be turned down if your complexion happens to be dark, but when the N.A.A.C.P. makes this injustice known to the world and registers a protest with the National Government it needs to be able to say honestly that attempts were actually made. The more attempts, the better is our case.

However, since it has long been apparent that race is one of the main factors, if not the only one, in determining who is allowed to register in Miss — contrary to the National Constitution — a FREEDOM REGISTRATION program has been started throughout the state. Freedom Registration will be open to all qualified persons regardless of color and will show the world that Negroes will register if given the chance.

The only qualification for Freedom Registration are (1) that the applicant be at least 21 years old before the election (November), and (2) be a citizen of the state for at least one year.

Mr Willie Scott has been elected Freedom Registrar for Coahoma County and he has appointed several deputies to serve applicants. The office of the Registrar is in Freedom House, 429 Yazoo, and it is hoped that he will be able to keep it open all day six days a week to encourage registration. Further information may be obtained at the office.

Those who register in the Freedom Registration will be elegable to vote in the Freedom Vote, to be run at the same time as the general election. Don't mistake the ease of Freedom Registration for non-importance. An attempt will be made to have the Freedom Registration and Freedom Vote accepted as the only valid ones since the other discriminates and is thus not legal. For this reason you should register with the Freedom Registrar even if you are already registered at the Court House.

DON'T DELAY. IF YOU HAVE NOT ALREADY DONE SO, TRY TO REGISTER AT THE COURT HOUSE. WHETHER OR NOT YOUR APPLICATION IS ACCEPTED THERE, COME TO THE FREEDOM REGISTRATION OFFICE.

Rev. Martin Luther King has said that he expects more demonstrations this year than ever before.

In Mississippi this year we have already had demonstrations in Hattiesburg, Canton, and now this past week only 50 miles away in Greenwood. Each was a significant victory. Will Clarksdale be next to get moving again?

Indefatigable "Gov" Henry was on hand in Greenwood (of course) and so were Willie Scott, [illegible], and Gordon Harris.

THE
COAHOMA COUNTY BRANCH CRYER

"A VOICE CRYING IN THE WILDERNESS"

APR 9 1964

AARON E HENRY, Branch President — 429 Yazoo Clarksdale, Miss — CLEO JACKSON, Publicity Chair

APRIL 4 — FREEDOM NOW EDITION — 1964

This Week's

FREEDOM MEETING

Jereseleum Baptist Church

- - -

"I'm sick and tired
of being sick and tired"
Fanny Lou Hamer

Last Wed evening, the Coahoma County Freedom Meeting was host to the dynamic Mrs Fannie Lou Hamer — the 2nd Congressional District's candidate for Congress.

All who were present offered ENTHUSIASTIC SUPPORT for "our" candidate.

Mrs Hamer will hold a DISTRICT RALLY in Clarksdale on SUNDAY MAY 24. This will be a whopper. Watch the CRYER for further information.

- - -

THE VOTER REGISTRATION CAMPAIGN IN COAHOMA COUNTY IS STILL BEARING SWEET FRUIT. Both Riverton and the Downtown areas are now being canvassed.

Our harty congratulation go to the ministers of this community for their support of the Registration Campaign. This week, several pastors will lead their congregations to the Court House to register.

Mon. April 6 — Rev Morris will lead the congregation and friends of Bell Grove M. B.
Tues. April 7 - Rev. Crump and Rev Raford will lead Haven Methodist Ch and Rayford Chapel Baptist Ch.
Wed. April 8 — Rev West will lead Centenial Baptist Ch.
Thursday April 9 — Rev B. F. Rayford will lead Mt Zion Baptist Ch.
Fri. April 10 — Rev Skipper will lead Chapel Hill Baptist Ch.

All persons living near the above churches are asked to participate, whether you are a member of that particular church or not. All persons are to gather at the churches by 8:30AM. Instructions about registering and transportation will be provided where necessary.

- - - - -

The Editorial Staff of The CRYER applaud the news that Miss. has, by declaring "Mental Health Week", apparently recognized the danger to the state and the nation represented in the appaling lack of mental health to be found in individuals and groups here.

As a group that has been in contact with the mental illness problem in Miss for many years, may we point out from our experience that Mississippians are especially beset by the two similer forms of mental illness known to the layman as "White Supremacy" and "Uncle Tomism". These diseases are dangerous not only to one so diseased but also to anyone who unwittingly may come in contact with him — especially since one of the symptoms of both afflictions is the tendency for the ill to claim, in their delirium, that they are the only ones sane and the rest of the world is crazy.

Those ppor souls suffering from "White Supremacy" may be further recognized by their compulsion to ride in police cars as though they were law enforcement officers, their cowardly aggression, their need to hide behind telescopic rifles and dogs, and in many cases and apparent mental retardedness.

"Uncle Tomism", on the other hand, is almost always marked by a rejection and fear of one's birthright; the constant use of the phrase "I'm with you a hundred percent, but ..."; the conviction that one is too young or too old, too rich or too poor, to educated or not educated enough to be the man that he was born to be; and suffering from the illusion that anyone suffering from "White Supremacy" is a kind

(Continued on p 2)

deity with powers greater than that of the God they worship. Strangely enough, this disease seems to be especially prevalent among those who claim the right to preach the Gospel to us (but reject the responsibility to live up to its teachings) and among those who claim the priviledge to teach our children.

Many tons of thousands of dollars are spent (lives too) each year in an effort to do something about these diseases. If Miss. were really interested in combatting mental illnesses in all of its forms, a cure might soon be found. Will our children be able to look back on the present epidemic as we now look back on the ravages of such diseases as smallpox? Let us hope so; or rather, let us make sure it is so.

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THE DISCUSSIONS ON THE FLOOR OF THE SENATE GIVE EVERY INDICATION THAT THE CIVIL RIGHTS BILL WILL PASS IN TOTAL. MISSISSIPPI IS BEING USED BY THE BIGOTS ALL OVER THE COUNTRY AS THE FALL-GUY IN THE FIGHT AGAINST THE BILL.

Miss. has spent over $200,000 to fight the Bill — more than all the other states combined — in a futile attempt. An additional contribution of $50,000 this week prompted the following telegram sent to Gov. Paul Johnson:

"When will we ever learn, will we ever learn? We noticed today where Miss contributed another $50,000 to oppose the Civil Rights Bill now pending before the Senate. Our total contribution is far in excess of this.

Before and during the Civil War, we of Miss made hugh financial contributions to a cause intended to keep Negroes in Slavery ... We were at that time the 5th most wealthy state in this nation. As a result of this very unwise squandering of state funds, Miss. immediately after the War fell to the bottom of all states in the nation in terms of wealth. Our man at that time was Jefferson Davis. Today we have another champion, Mr John Satterfield, who is leading us down that same road to ruin as did Jefferson Davis. THE CIVIL RIGHTS BILL IS GOING TO PASS. Miss will find herself in the same predicament as she did after the Civil War ...

This is a useless, foolish expenditure. Will you please use your great influence as Gov. to stop it and let us work together for the freedom of all Mississippians — Black, White, rich and poor alike. Let us change the image of Miss. Today Miss is all things to all men. We are the citiadel of racial bigotry, being the champion of this thinking ... Likewise, Miss is the Golden Goose of every fund raising effort in the name of Civil Rights all over this country. We are and feel that you are tired of Miss being all things to all men. Let us stop being everybodys fool. When will we ever learn.

Yours for FREEDOM:
Aaron E Henry
President, Mississippi State Conference N.A.A.C.P.

- - - - -

CONGRATULATIONS TO MRS VICTORIA JACKSON GRAY, a long time supporter of the Hattiesburg Branch of the N.A.A.C.P. Mrs Gray has just entered the race for the Senate seat now held by Mr Stennis.

N.A.A.C.P. units all over the state are urged to support all four candidates: HAMER, GRAY, CAMERON, AND HOUSTON.

All are members of the Mississippi State Conference N.A.A.C.P., and all are capable persons worthy of all our support.

- - - - -

DON'T BE MISLEAD, The Selective Buying Campaign is still on. You are only cheating yourself if you shop over town.

"SOMEBODY IS SITTING ON MY FREEDOM, and they sure as *&$% better get off."

THINKING OUT LOUD

By Ralph Matthews

It's time for NAACP to stop running from its critics

NEWARK

ONE OF THE usual harbingers of spring which usually shows its slimy head in the wake of the disappearing snow is the howls against NAACP executive secretary Roy Wilkins raised by first one fly-by-night civil rights organization and then another.

It appears that certain racial leaders out to establish their own hegemony over the multiple civil rights movements which spring up sporadically find the venerated NAACP blocking the takeover and they devote a great deal of their time and energies trying to destroy the image of the parent organization in the erroneous belief that they will emerge on top by default.

* * *

LAST YEAR the bleats of the ramhorns were touched off by the speech of Roy Wilkins when he called for a halt to the wholesale jailings of youthful demonstrators in the Southland on the grounds that CORE, without proper financial preparation, was packing youthful demonstrators in prison and bleeding the treasury of the NAACP to get them out.

* * *

will have to be worked out at the conference table and not by creating a commotion in the public streets.

Let us examine the ugly facts. It matters not how impatient everybody may be and not without justification we cannot alter the lives of millions of people by waving a magic wand matters not how many boycotts we stage.

WHAT NEW YORK needs is a workable plan and so far nobody has the wit to come up with anything beyond the emotional stupidity of bussing several thousand children back and forth across one of the busiest urban centers in the world.

We wonder how supposedly sensible people could even entertain such an idiotic idea for a moment.

They have got to conceive something better than that. But that requires brains and it's much easier to raise false hopes by staging silly boycotts. I am opposed to this because I resent wise guys playing flim-flam games with the colored masses who deserve something better from their alleged leaders.

* * *

WILKINS KNEW, as the other civil righters probably did not, or did not give a darn, that Southern police, judges and bail bondsmen were reaping a financial whirlwing and filling their coffers at the expense of the NAACP.

* * *

THIS YEAR the "Let's get Wilkins drive" stems from refusal to commit the prestige of the NAACP to the second superfical and foggy school boycott staged by the power hungry Rev. Milton Galamison aided and abetted by such opportunists as Adam Powell and Malcolm X.

These worthles immediately announced that they were now the new Civil Rights power structure in Harlem and gleefully predicted that both the NAACP and Roy Wilkins are through.

Before the week was up the congressman had renounced his alliance with Malcolm X for his proposal about establishing Rifle Clubs. Is this leadership worth anybody taking seriously?

* * *

UPON WHAT premise was this eulogy based? The critics claim that although the NAACP and other established civil rights groups refused to join, the boycott was a huge success.

Success is, of course, a relative term.

By success do they mean that a large number of kids were kept out of schools. We can empty the school houses with a brass band and two elephants, but this would not necessarily improve the school system.

I thought we were trying to get better education for our children, not stage a popularity contest for civil rights prima donnas.

IN THE final analysis this

* * *

I CANNOT read Roy Wilkins mind, but I assume that he recognizes the futility of this scheme which nobody really wants. But realizing that he is dealing with mass stupidity he refuses to come out point blank and renounce it for fear the charlatans will use the slightest flirtation with common sense as a gimmick to destroy the NAACP.

I sympathize with him, but I believe that there comes a time when even he must eventually stop retreating before the howls of the jackals and dare to take his stand on the side of reason. I believe he will be supported.

THOSE WHO believe in the honesty and integrity of the NAACP which has brought us thus far on our way must rededicate themselves to the principles for which we stand and cease making marriages of convenience with every screwball innovation which some rabble rousers dream up.

The NAACP either has a sound program based on experience in dealing with social change or it hasn't. That program should be spelled out and we should not try to ad lib every situation which comes along.

We have to pitch our tents some place believing in the justice of our cause and if we fail let's pay the price. We cannot continue to run with the hares and chase with the hounds, altering our course with each changing wind. We have the brains, we have the prestige we have kept the faith.

We are not obliged to fall in line behind everything which comes along. If they are going our way let them join us. We will be damned if we'll join them.

We will not always be popular, but for God's sake let us try to be right. Let's stop apologizing and get on with the task according to our own lights—and leave the verdict to history.

THE TRIUMPH OF THE CROSS

SCRIPTURE -- Hebrew -- 2:9-18

HYMN No. 148 -- "When I Survey The Wondrous Cross"
1 - 4 Stanzas

READER: There was much on that central cross. There was forgiveness. Even as Christ endured the torture of the nails being hammered through his quivering hands and feet, he cried, "Father, forgive them." They are hirelings and do not know what they do." Love triumphed over hatred.

There was consciousness of God. Once that consciousness seemed clouded but the sense of the Father's presence eveloped him. There was perfect understanding.
There was moral courage. Hard-boiled Roman soldiers admired it. "Never man spake so," they said.

There was a sense of victory. Though dying, when one of his fellow sufferers prays, "Jesus, remember me when thou comest to thy kingdom." Without hesitation and with a royal ring in his voice, Jesus replies; Verily, I said unto - that is I pledge you my word, Today, thou shalt be with me in paradise."

His life went out in a shout of triumph "Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit. Then as one who had completed a great mission, he said, "It is finished."

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A STORY FROM A CITY WINDOW -- "But He Rose Again" -- Mrs. Rae Moore

I was going down a street in Chicago when in a store window I saw a very beautiful picture of the crucifixion. As I gazed, spellbound, at the vividly pictured story, I suddenly became conscious that at my side stood a street Arab. He too was gazing, and his tense expression made me know that "The Crucifixion" had really gripped his eager little soul. Touching him on the shoulder, I said:

"Sonny, what does it mean?"

"Doncha know?" he answered, his face full of marvel at my ignorance, "that there man is Jesus, and them others is Roman soldiers, and the woman what's cryin' is His mother, and---" he added, "they killed Him."

I was loath to leave that window, but I might not tarry always at the world's tragedy, and so I turned away and walked quietly down the street. In a moment, I heard pattering footsteps at my heels, and there stood my little street Arab.

"Say, mister," he breathlessly announced, "I forgot to tell you, but He rose again."

--- Selected

COAHOMA BRANCH N. A. A. C. P.

APR 13 1964

Office of The CRYER
429 Yazoo
Clarksdale, Miss
38614
April 12, 1964

Dear Friend of Freedom:

The Freedom Movement in Coahoma County, Miss has been greatly encouraged by the interest of people, such as yourself, in every part of the nation. We have sought to keep them informed about our progress and frustrations through our News-Letter -- reciently re-christened The Coahoma County CRYER.

However, our mailing list has grown steadily larger and consequently more expensive. As we have not heard from many of our readers for some time, we feel that it is necessary now to prune our list back.

We will be pleased to continue sending The CRYER to you without charge if you still want it. Please let us know before April 26.

Yours for FREEDOM NOW

Aaron E. Henry
"Gov." Aaron E Henry
Branch President

Cleo Jackson
Mr. Cleo Jackson,
Publicity Chairman

Gordon L Harris
Gordon L Harris,
Worker

If you still desire to receive The CRYER, fill out and return before April 26.

Name: _____

Street: _____

City: _____

State and Zip Code : _____

THE Coahoma County Branch CRYER

"A VOICE CRYING IN THE WILDERNESS"

AARON E HENRY, Branch President — 429 Yazoo Clarksdale, Miss. — CLEO JACKSON, Publicity Chair.

APRIL 12, FREEDOM NOW EDITION 1964

WS
BW
RTB

This week's Wed night

FREEDOM MEETING at

Mt Moriah CME

Let's All Meet Our Neighbors There

N.
A.
A.
C.
P.

Quotation for the week:

"I have stoped praying with my mouth.
Now I will pray with my heart,
My hands, and
My feet."

HARRIET TUBMAN

DOES ANYBODY KNOW THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE THIRD SUNDAY IN MAY, May 17, AND WHY IT IS ESPECIALLY SIGNIFICANT THIS YEAR?

What event happened on this day that was so important to all of us that it has been called "The Second Emancipation"?

For the first 1,000 correct answers, we will award a free subscription to The CRYER. If you don't know, we'll bet your children do.

THE SUMMER FREEDOM PROGRAM IS ALMOST UPON US.

We request the cooperation of all, Negro and white alike, to make this program one of which we all can be proud.

If the city police will exhibit even a slight degree of integrity, there will be no problems.

The smothness of the summer program is predicated on the reaction of the Clarksdale Police Department. Everyone else sometimes seems able to act with a little intelligence.

MORE THAN 70 FAMILIES, a total of some 350 people, WERE AIDED LAST WEEK BY THE EMERGENCY WELFARE AND RELIEF COMMITTEE.

Supplies continue to come in from all over the nation. A large shipment from Texas came in last week, due to the effective assistance of our N.A.A.C.P. State Field Secretary, Mr Charles Evers. We are grateful to him for the help.

We are also grateful to the many persons who have helped their community by generously giving of their time to help unload the trucks when they come in, sort the food and clothing, and distribute the material.

THE MOST DISAPPOINTED MAN IN CLARKSDALE THIS PAST WEEK was probobly the man known affectionately to his many friends as "Uncle" Ben, the people's Friend.

One can easily imagine what might have happened.

Tuesday last, a bus load of young Negroes (well dressed) crossed the no-man's-land that is Mississippi and entered the territory of our long suffering, patient Police Chief — without asking permission. Sure that any such outside group could only have the mission to breach the quiet peace of his happy home, "Uncle" Ben must have been greatly upset. Why, his Toms had told him that the "outsiders" would not be arriving until June — and, of course, Toms don't lie — and here they were and he wasn't even ready. Our informer at the police station reported that sweet ol' "Uncle" Ben was almost ready to swear, but only said "Gee, they just don't play fair".

One can almost see the busy preperation of the city's guest rooms for these visitors while car loads of HIS men were sent out to extend the traditionally warm Southern Hospitality.

(Continued on p 2)

Roscoe Eagleson

DISAPPOINTED MAN (cont.)

The bus was located parked in front of Haven Methodist Church — a notorious meeting place for inside and outside agitators and other Christians — but the young people were all inside in a "secret" meeting. What were "Uncle"Ben's brave, hard working boys to do? Well, they "surrounded" the "fort" by circleing the block again and again, etc. Finally, one of the more intelligent had the inspiration to go in and ask.

As those of you who are not policemen probobly already have guessed, it was only the choir from Rust College in town to give a concert. What a disappointment! Our informant tells us that "Uncle" Ben was so put out by all this that he even decided not to attend the concert. No one can fool him and get away with it. It's really too bad — the music might have soothed his troubled mind.

We have much sympathy for this good man; he tries so hard. We can only encourage him by saying "Don't worry, "Uncle" Ben, we'll give you another chance."

Many of us feel that the requirements for Negroes to register and vote are too stiff. Therefore, we in C.O.F.O. have developed another registration system that we will seek endorsement for by the Justice Department.

We will show how many more people can register by our new system than could by the old which was designed to keep us from registering. We are calling on, begging, asking, or whatever phrase applies to YOU, for EVERY Nego over the age of 21 to fill out a FREEDOM REGISTRATION FORM. You may secure these forms from Freedom House, any leader in the Movement, or the pastor of your church.

We MUST have a minimum of 20,000 Freedom Registers in Coahoma County immediately, if not sooner. All civic, fraternity, and church organizations are asked to help in this far-reaching step toward FREEDOM.

THE CAMPAIGN TO GET PEOPLE TO FOLLOW THEIR MINISTERS TO THE COURT HOUSE TO REGISTER IS READY TO BEGIN ITS SECOND WEEK. THIS WEEK SEVERAL MORE CHURCHES AND MINISTERS WILL PARTICIPATE.

Mon. April 12	The Congregation of First Baptist
Tues. April 13	The Congregation of King's Temple

For the program for the rest of the week, call Mrs Vera Pigee to see whether YOUR pastor has agreed to help you gain your birthright. The effort of everybody is appreciated. Mr Minister: if you have not made arraingements with us by now, perhaps you had better do it now before the people who pay your salary begin to ask questions.

IT IS IMPORTANT FOR EVERYONE TO GO TO THE COURT HOUSE AND FILL OUT A FREEDOM REGISTRATION. Please cooperate with a willingness to try when the Voter Registration Worker calls on you.

(Note to the Riverton Section of Clarksdale: you have not been forgotten. The worker for your community has been engaged in another very important engagement for a few days but will be back with you soon.)

WE NOTICED A LETTER IN THE CLARKSDALE PRESS REGISTER THIS WEEK CONDEMMING THE CIVIL RIGHTS BILL.

We call upon the Editor of the paper to rise above the level of criticism and begin to advocate ways and means through which the Bill can be implemented without violence in addition to printing one sided views. You know as well as we do that the Bill is going to pass without the loss of even a comma. Who are you trying to fool.

It will be impimented peacefully if possible, but it will be implimented.

Col. Eng.
5-26-64

$500,000 Is Donated To NAACP

NEW YORK (UPI) — More dollars and lawyers will be thrown into the "long, hot summer" on the civil rights scene, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) announced.

An unnamed donor has given $500,000 — "the largest single contribution to any organization in civil rights history"—to the NAACP legal defense fund, NAACP aide Jack Greenberg announced.

Greenberg said the donor had given the money in anticipating that "tens of thousands, who will presumably be arrested in future non-violent demonstrations, will need legal representation."

It is also anticipated that passage of a civil rights bill will "generate massive resistance to its enforcement, giving rise to continued demonstrations and to a great volume of litigation," Greenberg quoted the donor as saying.

Greenberg said the legal defense budget was being increased from an annual figure of less than $1 million to $1.5 million for 1964 and 1965, and $2 million for 1966.

Greenberg is director-counsel of the defense fund. Constance Baker Motley, associate counsel, said that she expected "thousands of arrests" in the South this summer.

HERE ARE

NAACP Agenda

Supreme Court Strikes Down NAACP Ord

Selma Times Journ. 6-1-64

WASHINGTON (AP) Supreme Court struck day an Alabama cour barring the National tion for the Advancement of Colored People from operating in that state.

Justice John M. Harlan delivered the unanimous decision.

In litigation that began in 1956, the Montgomery County (Ala.) Circuit Court on Dec. 29, 1961 permanently enjoined NAACP from conducting intrastate business in the state. The ban was on the ground the NAACP had failed to register as a foreign—out-of-state—corporation.

Alabama's Supreme Court on Feb. 28, 1963 affirmed the Circuit Court order, without considering the merits of the case. The State Supreme Court said this was necessary because the NAACP had failed to satisfy rules as to the manner in which law briefs should raise assignments of error.

The NAACP appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court, contending it had been deprived of constitutional freedom of association, and due process and equal protection or law.

The state in reply said the NAACP had been given full opportunity to be heard in Alabama courts and now presented nothing of a federal natute for action by the U.S. Supreme Court.

In upholding the NAACP contentions, Harlan said, "The judgment below must be reversed."

He noted that, in view of the long history of the case, the Supreme Court had been asked to formulate a decree for entry in the Alabama courts to assure the NAACP's right to conduct activities in Alabama without further delay.

Harlan said such a course was within the power of the Supreme Court, but that the high tribunal's justices preferred to follow usual practice and send the case back to the Alabama Supreme Court for entry of a prompt decree.

This decree, said Harlan, must vacate "in all respects the permanent injunction order issued by the Circuit Court of Montgomery County, Ala., and permit the association to take all steps necessary to qualify it to do business in Alabama."

"Should we unhappily be mistaken in our belief that the Supreme Court of Alabama will promptly implement this disposition, leave is given the association to apply to this court for further appropriate relief," Harlan added.

Harlan said that Alabama's attorney general had cited no case, and the Supreme Court had not been able to find a case, in which a foreign—out-of-state—corporation was ousted from Alabama for failing to comply with the registration statute.

LATE BULLETIN

WASHINGTON (AP) — The Supreme Court struck down today two Washington state laws requiring that all state employes take loyalty oaths.

Justice Byron R. White, delivering the court's decision, said the laws were "unconstitutionally vague."

Justice Tom Clark wrote a dissenting opinion, in which Justice John M. Harlan joined. The court's vote thus was 7-2.

LATE DECISION

WASHINGTON (AP)— The Supreme Court overturned today a Florida court decision that upheld Bible reading and recitation of the Lord's Prayer in Miami public schools.

The tribunal cited its 1963 decision in a similar case from Abington Township in Pennsylvania.

In the Abington case, and also in a case from Maryland, the Supreme Court, last year, held that required Bible reading and prayer exercises are unconstitutional.

NAACP - Agency

Court Lifts State's Ban On NAACP

Ch. Eng. 6-2-64

WASHINGTON (AP) — The Supreme Court told Alabama in firm language Monday to act promptly in letting the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People operate in the state.

The NAACP has been barred from such operation since 1956 on grounds it had failed to register as an out-of-state corporation. And it was blocked by injunction from taking steps to qualify.

Noting that the high tribunal had the question before it for the fourth time, Justice John A. Harlan, speaking for a unanimous court, said:

"Should we unhappily be mistaken in our belief that the Supreme Court of Alabama will promptly implement this disposition, leave is given the association to apply to this court for further appropriate relief."

Wants Prompt Action

Harland said the Supreme Court of Alabama should act promptly to vacate "in all respects the permanent injunction order issued by the Circuit Court of Montgomery County in 1961.

This case, Harlan said, "involves not the privileges of a corporation to do business in a state, but rather the freedom of individuals to associate for the collective advocacy of ideas." He added:

"This court has repeatedly held that a government purpose to control or prevent activities constitutionally subject to state regulation may not be achieved by means which sweep unnecessarily broadly and thereby invade the areas of protected freedoms."

In Montgomery, Alabama's Atty. Gen. Richmond Flowers said he was not surprised at the decision, but he commented "our future position or action will not be determined until we have had a chance to read the opinion in full."

"In Business Again"

In Atlanta for a Negro conference, Orzel Billinglsley Jr., a Birmingham lawyer said "it looks like we're in business again." He said the fact that NAACP would again operate "will speed up integration in the state."

The U.S. Supreme Court twice reversed contempt convictions imposed on the NAACP for refusal to produce its records, including membership lists, for

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 3)

Court—

(Continued from Page 1)

Alabama. In a third appeal, the high court forced the Montgomery Circuit Court to hold a hearing on the merits of the case in 1961. The hearing resulted in a five-year-old temporary injunction being made permanent.

The Alabama Supreme Court, on Feb. 8, 1963, affirmed the 1961 circuit court order without considering the merits of the case. The court said this was necessary because the NAACP had failed to satisfy rules as to the manner in which law briefs should raise assignment of errors.

The NAACP told the U.S. Supreme Court it had been deprived of constitutional freedom of association, and due process and equal protection of law.

The state, replying, said the NAACP had been given full opportunity to be heard in Alabama's courts, and now presented nothing of a federal nature for the highest court to consider.

Harlan said Monday, "We find this position wholly unacceptable."

NAACP

Return Of The NAACP

Burn. Hld., 6-3-64

The United States Supreme Court has paved the way for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to return to action in Alabama. This is good news for freedom lovers and bad news for the obstructionists of liberty, light and decency.

The return of the NAACP to the freedom struggle in Alabama is heartening. It needs to get back into action immediately and try to make up for those years of absence.

naacp

Voter Registration Operation Planned

ANNAPOLIS, Md. (AP) — Some 150 Negro leaders made plans Saturday for the July 6 launching of "Operation Doorbell," a statewide voter registration campaign in Maryland.

"Don't overlook anybody," advised W. C. Patton of Memphis, Tenn., associate director of voter registration for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

The aim is a large Negro turnout or the presidential election in November.

Juanita Jackson Mitchell of Baltimore, president of the Maryland conference of NAACP branches, described the campaign as a "house-to-house canvass in rural as well as urban areas, to register the unregistered and to educate the registered voters on the issues."

Among the officials attending a NAACP meeting was Daisy Mae Bates of Little Rock, Ark., who helped escort Negro students past picket lines into Central High School during racial troubles of 1957.

Selma T.-J.
6-24-64

NAACP

OUR BATTLE CRY IN '64 . . .

"VOTE THE RASCALS OUT"

This cry will alert a 1 1 NAACP branches to campaign actively to defeat any United States Senator or Congressman who obstructed, watered down or voted against a meaningful civil rights bill.

This is in accordance with the NAACP Resolution on Civil Rights No.1, adopted by the National Board of Directors, September 9, 1963. The Board's action confirms the action taken at the 54th Annual NAACP Convention held in Chicago July 1963.

"VOTE THE RASCALS OUT"

National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
Voter Registration Committee
301 East Clay Street
Richmond, Virginia, 23219

Additional copies may be
secured from the above address

BW
WB

IN BLUNT FRANK TERMS

There cannot be any compromise or allegiance to party loyalty to any incumbent senator or congressman who is against a strong civil rights bill.

Professional campaign workers may tell you, "He didn't vote for the civil rights bill, but (there is always a but) give him time, he will have a change of heart."

RIDICULOUS -If the following events (which happened in 1963) didn't change his views on the need for a strong civil rights bill, he won't change. VOTE THE RASCAL OUT!!

NA.A.C.P.'s Crusade For Voters

HIGHLIGHTS OF MURDERS IN 1963

...WILLIAM E. MOORE, white male, killed for walking peacefully through Alabama in protest against discrimination.

...MEDGAR EVERS, Negro male, NAACP Field Secretary, assassinated in Mississippi because he believed in real American democracy.

...NEGRO CHILDREN killed and maimed in Birmingham because they went to church to attend Sunday School. This church was bombed by segregationists intent upon keeping Negroes in their place.

...PRESIDENT JOHN F. KENNEDY, white male, assassinated in Texas because he like Medgar Evers, believed in real American democracy.

...AND SOME CONGRESSMEN AND SENATORS HAVE THE NERVE TO SAY, "AMERICA DOES NOT NEED A STRONG CIVIL RIGHTS BILL."

ATTENTION NAACP MEMBERS (400,000 Strong) AND ALLIES

Start today carrying the NAACP's political action program for 1964 to the lay leaders and grass root people of your community. In every community voters should be heard saying, "PARTY LINES BE HANGED IN '64, we are going to vote against any congressman or senator who obstructed the passage of a strong civil rights bill."

This may mean that in some areas we will have to hold our noses and vote for a rank segregationist. It is better to elect to office a rank segregationist with no committee powers than to keep in office a 95% segregationist incumbent with great committee power and seniority. IF WE CAN VOTE A RANK SEGREGATIONIST IN, WE CAN VOTE HIM OUT if he does not change. Politicians understand this kind of language.

In your community, let our battle cry be heard

"VOTE

THE

RASCALS

OUT"

ATTENTION ALL BRANCHES

In 1964, all branches will organize their communities to give grass root voting support to:

1. The Civil Rights Resolution passed by our National Board September 9, 1963.
2. The speeches of Roy Wilkins, Executive Secretary and John A. Morsell, Assistant to the Executive Secretary; i.e., Roy Wilkins' "Fight Segregation with Ballots" Orangeburg, S. C. November 13, 1963: "If you want to get rid of Strom Thurmond, (U. S. Senator from South Carolina) and other segregationists you have to do it at the ballot box not at the 'cussin' box," the NAACP leader said. When the enthusiastic audience booed mention of the Senator's anti-civil rights record, Mr. Wilkins reminded the crowd that "voting is better than booing."

   John Morsell's "After the March On Washington - What Now?" Fredericksburg, Virginia October 11, 1963: "The Negro Americans and allies are looking for a strong civil rights bill, and that is the basis upon which they will make their reckoning when election day 1964 comes around."
3. Memorandum September 24, 1963: to NAACP branches RE: Action Required on Civil Rights Bill, from Gloster B. Current, Director of Branches.
4. Mrs. Medgar Evers at Kennedy Memorial in Chicago, JET, December 12, 1963: "Declaring, 'I know exactly how Mrs. Jacqueline Kennedy, the First Lady of our country, feels,'

Mrs. Myrlie Evers compared the death of her husband to the death of President Kennedy because 'they were similar in so many ways.'

"Mrs. Evers told the crowd, 'my heart goes out to Mrs. Kennedy. I know exactly what she is going through...I know what it is to hold a dead husband in your arms...' With her voice almost breaking, Mrs. Evers cried, 'she heard the shot and held her husband's blood-stained head in her arms...I heard the shot that killed my husband and held his head, too...'

Mrs. Evers said the President's death showed 'that no one is safe in this country and those people who keep quiet about civil rights and refuse to speak out are not safe either. I can't help feeling,' she added, 'that if the politicians --maybe I should not name them because we all know who they are--but if they had not been allowed to go as far as they did this murder of the President would not have happened.'

"She further stated, 'The only difference was that one was black and one was white...Both dedicated to helping all mankind. Medgar died for helping his people and the President died for helping his country.'"

Read this entire brochure aloud in ALL private and public meetings.

IS YOUR NAME IN THIS BOOK?

A LIST OF

REGISTERED NEGRO VOTERS

IN

CLARENDON COUNTY, SOUTH CAROLINA

Courtesy of:
NAACP VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT

1-agencies-naacp

REGISTERED NEGRO VOTERS IN CLARENDON COUNTY, SOUTH CAROLINA

Alcolu Precinct

Byrd, Ethel Route 1, Box 1 Alcolu, South Carolina	2538
Colclough, Harry P. Route 1 Alcolu, South Carolina	558
Davis, Willie Route 1, Box 259 Alcolu, South Carolina	1435
Frierson, Solomon T. Route 1 Alcolu, South Carolina	557
Gibson, Hezekiar Route 1, Box 5 Alcolu, South Carolina	531-T
James, Ben, Jr. Route 1 Alcolu, South Carolina	581-T
Sharpe, Harry Route 1, Box 33 Alcolu, South Carolina	899-T

New Zion Precinct

Reardon, Ernest Route 1 New Zion, South Carolina	1005-T

Bloomville Precinct

Dukes, Morgan Route 4 Manning, South Carolina	336-T
Dukes, Christalee B. Route 3, Box 243 Manning, South Carolina	863
Dixon, Joe Route 4 Manning, South Carolina	542
Dukes, Nealy Route 3 Manning, South Carolina	2392

Bloomville Precinct (continued)

Hilton, Frank Route 3, Box 213 Manning, South Carolina	453-T
Lemon, Julia Route 3 Manning, South Carolina	2016
Witherspoon, Weston Route 3, Box 278 Manning, South Carolina	1023-T
Witherspoon, Willie Mae Route 3, Box 278 Manning, South Carolina	3853

Calvary Precinct

Boyd, Edward J. Route 2, Box 155 Pinewood, South Carolina	323-T
Boyd, Luther Route 2, Box 70 Pinewood, South Carolina	771-T
Cantey, Aaron Route 1 Pinewood, South Carolina	419-T
Cantey, Willie P. Route 2, Box 69 Pinewood, South Carolina	454-T
Cantey, Ida Mae Route 2, Box 69 Pinewood, South Carolina	713
Cantey, John Route 2, Box 188 Pinewood, South Carolina	544-T
Hampton, Ransom Route 2, Box 71 Pinewood, South Carolina	475-T
Jenkinson, Delores H. Route 2, Box 199 Pinewood, South Carolina	39
James, Lucy C. Route 2, Box 84 Pinewood, South Carolina	515-T

Calvary Precinct (continued)

James, Dorothy C. 853
Route 2, Box 84
Pinewood, South Carolina

James, Willey 712-T
Rimini, South Carolina

James, Simon Lee 765-T
Route 1
Rimini, South Carolina

James, Sam, Jr. 460
Rimini, South Carolina

Martin, Delcena 3009
Rimini, South Carolina

Montgomery, Willie 3350
Route 2, Box 72
Pinewood, South Carolina

Montgomery, Maggie 3351
Route 2, Box 72
Pinewood, South Carolina

McKnight, Lorena 821-T
Route 1, Box 152
Rimini, South Carolina

Rhame, Allie, Sr. 243-T
Route 2
Pinewood, South Carolina

Robinson, Minnie L. 321-T
Route 2, Box 72
Pinewood, South Carolina

Robinson, David 322-T
Route 2, Box 72
Pinewood, South Carolina

Rivers, Lawrence B. 543-T
Route 1, Box 154
Rimini, South Carolina

Rivers, Daisy L. 1155
Route 1, Box 154
Rimini, South Carolina

Singleton, Moultrie, Jr. 112-T
Rimini, South Carolina

Stukes, Harrison 544
Route 2, Box 157
Pinewood, South Carolina

Calvery Precinct (continued)

White, Henrietta 32-T
Route 1, Box 160
Pinewood, South Carolina

White, Ransom E. 522
Route 1
Pinewood, South Carolina

Warley, Carrie Green 1154
Route 2, Box 90
Pinewood, South Carolina

White, Thelma 3010
Rimini, South Carolina

Clarendon Precinct

Boyd, John S. 135-T
109 East Boyce Street
Manning, South Carolina

Bracey, Ezekiel 319
115 Dickson Street
Manning, South Carolina

Blackwell, Majorie B. 1321
310 West Boyce Street
Manning, South Carolina

Crawford, Beulah W. 1315
Route 3, Box 164
Manning, South Carolina

Conyers, Willie M. 1316
Route 2, Box 24
Manning, South Carolina

DeLaine, Louis 4-T
RFD
Manning, South Carolina

Dingle, Rhodia 349
Route 4
Manning, South Carolina

DeLaine, Claudia B. 1996
N. Church Street
Manning, South Carolina

Harwin, George W. 114-T
Route 5, Box 8A
Manning, South Carolina

Harwin, George 705-T
Route 5
Manning, South Carolina

Clarendon Precinct (continued)

Hart, Bessie 2476
Route 1
Manning, South Carolina

Johnson, William 477-T
202 Memorial Street
Manning, South Carolina

Kieth, Evelyn N. 1046
11 South Boundary Street
Manning, South Carolina

Mallett, Jessie 1747
Route 2, Box 23
Manning, South Carolina

Mallett, Josephine C. 1946
Route 2, Box 23
Manning, South Carolina

Nelson, Clotelle H. 439
Route 1, Box 8
Manning, South Carolina

Nelson, Willie J. 2451
Route 5, Box 8
Manning, South Carolina

Pringle, Thelma D. 624
Manning, South Carolina

Pearson, Willie E. 478-T
Route 3, Box 48B
Manning, South Carolina

Pearson, Louise A. 743
Route 3, Box 40
Manning, South Carolina

Pugh, George (Left town) 1332
Route 3, Box 41
Manning, South Carolina

Richburg, Viola R. 721
Route 3
Manning, South Carolina

Thompson, Melvin L. (Left town) 2235
108 North Church Street
Manning, South Carolina

Walker, Gordon E. 548
Route 4, Box 1
Manning, South Carolina

Clarendon Precinct (continued)

Witherspoon, Celestine 1317
Route 3, Box 258
Manning, South Carolina

Davis Station Precinct

Adger, Janie G. 278-T
Route 5, Box 43B
Manning, South Carolina

Burgess, Willie C. 2183
Route 5
Manning, South Carolina

Cain, Janie M. 402
Route 1, Box 71
Davis Station, South Carolina

Carter, Alreda 3714
P.O.
Davis Station, South Carolina

DeLaine, Leo 776-T
Route 1, Box 120
Summerton, South Carolina

Felder, Ramanel 277-T
Route 1, Box 101
Summerton, South Carolina

Harwin, Sue Ethel 405
Route 5, Box 28
Manning, South Carolina

Harwin, Sadie Bell 406
Route 5, Box 28
Manning, South Carolina

Hammett, Calvin M. 282-T
Route 1, Box 91A
Summerton, South Carolina

House, Elease 437
Route 2
Summerton, South Carolina

Harwin, Lottie 1876
Route 5
Manning, South Carolina

Harwin, George Felix 1922
Route 5
Manning, South Carolina

Davis Station Precinct (continued)

Hilton, Annie Daniel 2445
P.O.
Davis Station, South Carolina

Jones, Plummer 3224
Route 1, Box 76
Summerton, South Carolina

Jones, Sarah 3384
Route 1, Box 76
Summerton, South Carolina

Lemon, Charlie 468-T
Route 1, Box 90
Summerton, South Carolina

Lemon, Lizzie 725
Route 1, Box 90
Summerton, South Carolina

Lemon, Lula McK. 3317
Route 1, Box 108
Summerton, South Carolina

Lemon, James 3318
Route 1, Box 108
Summerton, South Carolina

Martin, Alma 535
Route 5, Box 100
Manning, South Carolina

Martin, Annie B. 2454
Route 5, Box 81
Manning, South Carolina

Nelson, Juanita C. 403
P.O.
Davis Station, South Carolina

Nelson, Daisy H. 1449
P.O.
Davis Station, South Carolina

Pearson, Hammett 434-T
Route 5, Box 28
Manning, South Carolina

Pearson, Charlotte 2056
Route 5, Box 28
Manning, South Carolina

Pearson, James 3136
Route 4, Box 106
Manning, South Carolina

Davis Station Precinct (continued)

Pearson, Willie N. 3237
Route 4, Box 106
Manning, South Carolina

Pearson, Levi 3402
Route 4, Box 106
Manning, South Carolina

Richburg, Margie Ruth 773-T
Route 5, Box 62
Manning, South Carolina

Richburg, John H. 886-T
P.O.
Davis Station, South Carolina

Richburg, Hessie 3029
P.O.
Davis Station, South Carolina

Stukes, Katie F. 440
P.O.
Davis Station, South Carolina

Stukes, Floyd M. 1789
P.O.
Davis Station, South Carolina

Enterprise Precinct

White, H. W. 608-T
Route 1
Alcolu, South Carolina

Farmers Precinct

Britt, Leon (Left Manning) 2921
N. Church Street
Manning, South Carolina

Blanding, Serena 1024-T
Route 3, Box 235
Manning, South Carolina

Baker, Trussie L. 1025-T
Route 2, Box 232A
Manning, South Carolina

Carter, Rev. John Westley 86-T
Route 5
Manning, South Carolina

Farmers Precinct (continued)

Cochran, Dollie B. Dinkins Street Manning, South Carolina	1823
Carter, Mae Route 5 Manning, South Carolina	1955
DeLaine, Robert 67 Second Street Manning, South Carolina	586-T
DuRant, Julian Route 1, Box 43 Manning, South Carolina	697-T
DuPree, Amelia Boyce Street Manning, South Carolina	1835
DeLaine, David E. N. Church Street Manning, South Carolina	1976
DeLaine, Lillian F. 502 West Boyce Street Manning, South Carolina	861-T
DeLaine, Albert N. Church Street Manning, South Carolina	3420
DuPree, Lawrence Route 3 Manning, South Carolina	3756
DuPree, Harold Route 3 Manning, South Carolina	3757
Fleming, Billie S. 502 West Boyce Street Manning, South Carolina	137-T
Fleming, Annie R. W. Boyce Street Manning, South Carolina	3760
Gamble, Jacob 21 Dinkins Street Manning, South Carolina	1977
Gillard, Cora L. Route 3 Manning, South Carolina	739-T

Farmers Precinct (continued)

Greene, Wilma R. Route 3 Manning, South Carolina	2030
Greene, James S. Route 3 Manning, South Carolina	2947
Hamilton, Willie L. 106 N. Church Street Manning, South Carolina	828
Hamilton, Lucille B. 106 N. Church Street Manning, South Carolina	862
Hamilton, Minnie Belle Route 3, Box 55 Manning, South Carolina	2923
Hamilton, Dewey C. Route 3, Box 55 Manning, South Carolina	873-T
June, Lawson Route 1, Box 43 Manning, South Carolina	87-T
Johnson, Anna Route 3, Box 40 Manning, South Carolina	1821
June, Furman Route 1, Box 43 Manning, South Carolina	829-T
Jenkins, Bennie B. Boundry Street Manning, South Carolina	3727
Keene, Ernest V. 109 East Boyce Street Manning, South Carolina	157
Lee, Allen Route 3, Box 41 Manning, South Carolina	319-T
Lee, Richard, Jr. Route 2 Manning, South Carolina	3762
Mallett, Gracie Route 2, Box 19 Manning, South Carolina	255

Farmers Precinct (continued)

Mazyck, Mary Belle (Moved) 1165
204 Memorial Street
Manning, South Carolina

Mallett, Issac E. 562-T
Route 3
Manning, South Carolina

Martin, James P. 1016-T
Route 3, Box 44A
Manning, South Carolina

Mallett, Mabel D. 3738
Route 3, Box 294
Manning, South Carolina

Mallett, Frank 1017-T
Route 3, Box 294
Manning, South Carolina

McDuffie, Holmes 833-T
Route 1
Manning, South Carolina

Redgill, Manzie 253-T
Route 1, Box 40
Manning, South Carolina

Rease, Lillie Davis 1166
204 Memorial Street
Manning, South Carolina

Redgill, Nelson 853-T
Route 1, Box 44
Manning, South Carolina

Ragin, Rufus 3780
Third Avenue
Manning, South Carolina

Rantin, Hessie Williams 570
General Delivery
Manning, South Carolina

Simon, Austin P. 567-T
Reardon Street
Manning, South Carolina

Spry, Janie G. 1448
Route 1, Box 33B
Manning, South Carolina

Thompson, Itlean S. 127
600 West Boyce Street
Manning, South Carolina

Farmers Precinct (continued)

Thames, Furman 689-T
Route 1
Manning, South Carolina

Thames, Daniel K. 734-T
Route 5
Manning, South Carolina

Thompson, Alphonza 878-T
325 Lincoln Park
Manning, South Carolina

Taylor, Edna Mae 3733
106 Dixon Street
Manning, South Carolina

Walker, Milton M. 2068
18 Barfield Street
Manning, South Carolina

Walker, Narcissus 3734
16 Barfield Street
Manning, South Carolina

Witherspoon, Mamie H. 3761
Route 3, Box 301
Manning, South Carolina

Forreston Precinct

Cooper, Durant 371-T
Route 1
Forreston, South Carolina

Cooper, Rebecca 3430
Route 1
Forreston, South Carolina

Dixon, James J. 318-T
Route 1, Box 44
Forreston, South Carolina

Dixon, Mary J. 529
Route 1, Box 44
Forreston, South Carolina

Hilton, Emma L. 526
Route 1, Box 44
Manning, South Carolina

Houston, Simon, Jr. 354-T
Forreston, South Carolina

Forreston Precinct (continued)

Housten, Lottie S. 656
RFD
Forreston, South Carolina

Housten, Leo 801-T
Route 1, Box 26
Forreston, South Carolina

Jones, Everlena 3401
Route 1
Manning, South Carolina

King, Henry W. 480-T
RFD
Forreston, South Carolina

Murray, Elliot 1026-T
Route 2, Box 114
Manning, South Carolina

Rompey, Richard 3386
Route 1, Box 121
Greelyville, South Carolina

Reid, Charlie 394
Route 2, Box 106
Manning, South Carolina

Reid, Levi 855-T
Route 2
Manning, South Carolina

Reid, Ellen M. 2791
Route 2, Box 106
Manning, South Carolina

Reid, Charlotte 3431
Route 1, Box 122
Greelyville, South Carolina

Simon, Annie 3383
Route 1, Box 113C
Greelyville, South Carolina

Harmony Precinct

Abraham, Thomas B. 405-T
Route 1, Box 96
Alcolu, South Carolina

Oliver, Rowena 701
Route 2, Box 183
Manning, South Carolina

Harmony Precinct (continued)

Richburg, Edythe G. O. 700
Route 2, Box 183
Manning, South Carolina

Wilson, Joe 614-T
Route 1, Box 68
Alcolu, South Carolina

Jordon Precinct

Benbow, Hallie Q. 889-T
Route 4, Box 213
Manning, South Carolina

Bennett, Virginia 3076
Route 4, Box 201
Manning, South Carolina

Cooper, Walter 506
Route 5, Box 21
Manning, South Carolina

Conyers, Ethel 1235
Route 5, Box 81
Manning, South Carolina

Cooper, Alene 2129
Route 5
Manning, South Carolina

Clark, Louise (Moved) 3068
Route 4, Box 216
Manning, South Carolina

Cain, Mamie 3407
Route 3, Box 202
Manning, South Carolina

Cain, Perry 903-T
Route 3, Box 202
Manning, South Carolina

Davis, Elizabeth 2882
Route 5
Manning, South Carolina

Gibson, Thelma (Moved) 3082
Route 4, Box 176
Manning, South Carolina

Hilton, Wheeler H. 759-T
Route 5
Manning, South Carolina

Jordon Precinct (continued)

Lemon, Joseph Route 5 Manning, South Carolina	509-T
Levy, Pearl Route 5, Box 39 Manning, South Carolina	2064
Levy, Moses Route 4 Manning, South Carolina	3058
Levy, Isaac, Jr. Route 3, Box 200 Manning, South Carolina	3065
Levy, Phosia Route 4 Manning, South Carolina	3059
Levy, Inez Route 3, Box 200 Manning, South Carolina	3066
Levy, Ernest Route 5, Box 232 Manning, South Carolina	891-T
Miller, James L., Sr. Route 5, Box 666 Manning, South Carolina	2536
Martin, Peter Route 4, Box 97 Manning, South Carolina	2968
Pearson, Ferdinand Route 5, Box 311 Manning, South Carolina	1464
Pringle, Joe Route 5, Box 123 Manning, South Carolina	880-T
Rantin, Hester Route 5 Manning, South Carolina	2133
Rantin, Richard Allen Route 5 Manning, South Carolina	569

Manning Precinct

Burke, Loretta W. Silver Road Manning, South Carolina	720
Brooks, Odessa F. 300 Dickson Street Manning, South Carolina	1363
Berry, Louise M. 308 West Boyce Street Manning, South Carolina	1493
Burke, Robert Silver Road Manning, South Carolina	1957
Blackwell, Robert 310 West Boyce Street Manning, South Carolina	2082
Berry, William 308 West Boyce Street Manning, South Carolina	2730
Butler, Grace B. 513 West Boyce Street Manning, South Carolina	3390
Campbell, Bernice (Moved) 208 Dickson Street Manning, South Carolina	831
DeLaine, Lula M. Route 2, Box 211 Manning, South Carolina	206
DeLaine, Almeta 12 North Church Street Manning, South Carolina	508-T
Ellerby, Jewell M. Route 2, Box 24 Manning, South Carolina	254
Frazier, Charity Lee Dixon Street Manning, South Carolina	375
Felder, Hannah A. 302 Bradham Street Manning, South Carolina	625
Gerald, Hugene Depot Street Manning, South Carolina	2348

Manning Precinct (continued)

Givens, Hardy F. W. Boyce Street Manning, South Carolina	3327
Harrison, William R. Dinkins Street Manning, South Carolina	865
Hart, Florence W. 200 Dickson Street Manning, South Carolina	1167
Harrison, Catherine Dinkins Street Manning, South Carolina	1361
Jenkins, Stella W. S. Boundary Street Manning, South Carolina	782-T
Jackson, Sarah B. Church Street Manning, South Carolina	2929
Jenkins, Robert A. 101 S. Boundary Street Manning, South Carolina	3054
James, Ruby (Moved) 207 Depot Street Manning, South Carolina	3365
Mallett, Inez G. Route 3, Box 171 Manning, South Carolina	1239
Mallett, Dalia B. Route 3, Box 171 Manning, South Carolina	1249
Mallett, Ida Blanche Route 3, Box 171 Manning, South Carolina	1263
Miller, Richard Route 1 Manning, South Carolina	716-T
Monzon, Neta (Moved) 207 Depot Street Manning, South Carolina	3366
Martin, Lee Ann Route 3 Manning, South Carolina	3715

Manning Precinct (continued)

McDuffie, Leola P.O. Box 496 Manning, South Carolina	843
Parker, William M. 523 West Boyce Street Manning, South Carolina	103-T
Parker, Belwa Bacon 523 West Boyce Street Manning, South Carolina	223
Parker, Phil E. 523 West Boyce Street Manning, South Carolina	224
Samuels, LaNelle J. N. Church Street Manning, South Carolina	729
White, Murdock A. 105 S. Boundary Street Manning, South Carolina	218
Walker, Daisy E. Route 3, Box 1 Manning, South Carolina	710
Walker, James A. Route 3, Box 1 Manning, South Carolina	711
Walker, William H. 18 Barfield Street Manning, South Carolina	1045
White, Ronewa St. 105 S. Boundary Street Manning, South Carolina	1320
Woods, Thelma M. 205 Johnson Street Manning, South Carolina	1362
White, Mary Alice G. 310 Mills Street Manning, South Carolina	1453
White, Wilford G., Jr. 310 Mills Street Manning, South Carolina	1454

New Zion Precinct

Bartley, Ervin S. 3363
Route 1, Box 40
New Zion, South Carolina

Fleming, Abraham 2661
Route 1
New Zion, South Carolina

Fleming, Mary Jane 2685
Route 1, Box 270
New Zion, South Carolina

Fleming, Willie B. 847-T
Route 1, Box 256
New Zion, South Carolina

Fleming, Bertha M. 2703
Route 1
New Zion, South Carolina

Fleming, Willie B. 897-T
Route 1, Box 273
New Zion, South Carolina

Gamble, Charlie J. 758-T
Route 1
New Zion, South Carolina

Gamble, Eva 872-T
Route 1, Box 287
New Zion, South Carolina

Howard, Eugene F. 730-T
Route 1
New Zion, South Carolina

Montgomery, Murray 2996
Route 1, Box 286
New Zion, South Carolina

Montgomery, Janie Mae 2720
Route 1, Box 286
New Zion, South Carolina

McFadden, Henry 752-T
Route 2
Sardenia, South Carolina

Wheeler, Joseph E. 65-T
Route 1, Box 270
New Zion, South Carolina

Walker, Silas, Sr. 724-T
Route 1, Box 286
New Zion, South Carolina

New Zion Precinct (continued)

Walker, Carrie L. 2686
Route 1
New Zion, South Carolina

Williams, J. O. 3064
Route 1, Box 119
Turbeville, South Carolina

Walker, William T. 3321
Route 1
New Zion, South Carolina

Panola Precinct

Boyd, Ezekiel 463-T
Route 2, Box 153
Pinewood, South Carolina

Glover, Parmes R. 3709
Route 1, Box 154
Rimini, South Carolina

Harwin, William J. 3095
Route 2, Box 75
Pinewood, South Carolina

Hatcher, Frank 3332
Route 1
Rimini, South Carolina

James, Sam A., Jr. 461
Route 1
Rimini, South Carolina

Willis, Enoch 3653
Route 1
Rimini, South Carolina

Roxville Precinct

Brunson, Warren 686-T
Route 1
Manning, South Carolina

Bethune, Thelmer 92-T
Route 2, Box 95
Pinewood, South Carolina

Brailsford, Pearl 210
Route 2
Pinewood, South Carolina

Roxville Precinct (continued)

Conyers, John Route 1 Manning, South Carolina	152-T
Conyers, Levester Route 1, Box 190 Manning, South Carolina	891-T
Clark, Reuben B. Route 2, Box 123 Pinewood, South Carolina	900-T
Clark, Edith Route 2, Box 123 Pinewood, South Carolina	3262
Davis, Willis Route 2 Pinewood, South Carolina	59-T
DuRant, McCurnell Route 2 Pinewood, South Carolina	600-T
DuRant, Ida R. Route 2, Box 92 Pinewood, South Carolina	1422
Holladay, Alice R. Route 1 Manning, South Carolina	3747
Miller, Lee Route 2 Pinewood, South Carolina	595-T
Miller, Clyde H. Route 2 Pinewood, South Carolina	1391
McFadden, Ruther Mae Route 3, Box 75 Manning, South Carolina	2174
Ragin, Joe Route 1 Manning, South Carolina	720-T
Ragin, Mary Route 2 Pinewood, South Carolina	908-T
Stokes, B. J. Route 1, Box 94 Manning, South Carolina	3330

Sardenia-Gable Precinct

Burgess, Lucretia M. Route 1 New Zion, South Carolina	2759
Burgess, Bertie Mae P.O. Sardenia, South Carolina	3050
Burgess, Drucilla P.O. Sardenia, South Carolina	3098
Bine, Eliza P.O. Gable, South Carolina	3435
Cooper, Jessie Lee Route 1, Box 81 Gable, South Carolina	1298
Cooper, Marie P.O. Sardenia, South Carolina	3469
Fulton, Susie Mae Route 1, Box 35 New Zion, South Carolina	1455
Johnson, Rubye Lee P.O. Sardenia, South Carolina	1952
Johnson, Robert Campbell P.O. Sardenia, South Carolina	2778
Jones, Selina P.O. Sardenia, South Carolina	3399
Kennedy, Marie F. P.O. Sardenia, South Carolina	1456
Muldro, Ada B. Route 1, Box 50 Gable, South Carolina	580
Muldro, Melvin, Sr. Route 1, Box 50 Gable, South Carolina	351-T
McDuffie, Beatrice B. Route 1 Gable, South Carolina	

Sardenia-Gable Precinct (continued)

McFadden, Waldo 2855
P.O.
Sardenia, South Carolina

McFadden, Fannie L. 2856
P.O.
Sardenia, South Carolina

McCants, Milroy 2871
Route 1, Box 22
New Zion, South Carolina

Nelson, Annie S. 2425
Route 1, Box 20A
Gable, South Carolina

Rhodes, Hayward 300-T
Route 1, Box 24
Gable, South Carolina

Rhodes, Leola J. 475
Route 1
Gable, South Carolina

Wilson, Ella P. 1300
Route 1, Box 31
Gable, South Carolina

Wheeler, Sarah D. 3049
Route 1, Box 32
Gable, South Carolina

Wheeler, Mary B. 3114
Route 1
Gable, South Carolina

Summerton Precinct

Briggs, Eliza 1050
P.O. Box 464
Summerton, South Carolina

Blackwell, Minnie 1262
Route 3, Box 11
Summerton, South Carolina

Blackwell, Charles D. 630-T
Route 2, Box 125X
Manning, South Carolina

Blackwell, Rosa B. 2539
Route 2, Box 125X
Manning, South Carolina

Summerton Precinct (continued)

Brailsford, Willie F. 887-T
Route 1, Box 19
Summerton, South Carolina

Bennett, Sarah 3400
Route 1, Box 20
Summerton, South Carolina

Burley, Fletcher 3514
Route 3
Summerton, South Carolina

Conyers, Robert 355-T
Route 1, Box 67
Summerton, South Carolina

Fleming, Allen 205
W. Main Street
Summerton, South Carolina

Felder, Azalea H. 438
Route 1, Box 101
Summerton, South Carolina

Fludd, Julianne 3692
Route 3, Box 12B
Summerton, South Carolina

Gegory, Celestine N. 825-T
Route 2, Box 53B
Summerton, South Carolina

Gest, Juanita 3356
Route 1
Summerton, South Carolina

House, Bessie R. 537
Route 2, Box 45
Summerton, South Carolina

Hilton, Sue Esther 1246
Route 2
Summerton, South Carolina

House, Wilbur 462-T
Route 2, Box 45
Summerton, South Carolina

Hilton, William 1247
Route 2
Summerton, South Carolina

Hilton, Gussie 651-T
Route 2
Summerton, South Carolina

Summerton Precinct (continued)

Hilton, Gladys D. Route 2 Summerton, South Carolina	1589
Hilton, Roosevelt Route 2 Summerton, South Carolina	1682
Hanberry, John M. V. Route 2 Summerton, South Carolina	1684
Hammett, Romell Route 2 Summerton, South Carolina	1703
Hanberry, Annie D. Route 2 Summerton, South Carolina	1715
Isaac, J. R. Route 2 Summerton, South Carolina	641-T
Johnson, Inez Jones Route 1, Box 28 Summerton, South Carolina	597
Jones, Mary J. O. Route 1 Summerton, South Carolina	563-T
Jones, Thomas S. Box 339 Summerton, South Carolina	576-T
Johnson, Blanche E. Route 1 Summerton, South Carolina	1704
Johnson, Bessie Route 1 Summerton, South Carolina	1741
King, Mary West Route 1 Summerton, South Carolina	1691
King, Daniel L., Jr. Box 350 Summerton, South Carolina	3112
Lawson, John Q. Route 1, Box 105 Summerton, South Carolina	258-T

Summerton Precinct (continued)

Lawson, Moses Route 2 Summerton, South Carolina	642-T
Lawson, Simon N. Route 2 Summerton, South Carolina	662-T
Lawson, Alice Route 2 Summerton, South Carolina	1560
Lawson, Mary Gertrude Route 2 Summerton, South Carolina	1721
Lawson, Henry Route 3 Summerton, South Carolina	1723
Middleton, Alonzo Route 1, Box 57 Summerton, South Carolina	164
Marion, Sally Route 3, Box 101D Summerton, South Carolina	207
Morrow, Kay Blackwell Route 3, Box 11 Summerton, South Carolina	506-T
Mitchell, Samuel, Jr. Route 3 Summerton, South Carolina	1590
Morris, Edna Route 3 Summerton, South Carolina	2455
Mitchell, Sarah Route 3 Summerton, South Carolina	2774
Mivens, Dorothy P.O. Box 452 Summerton, South Carolina	3285
McFadden, James Napoleon Route 1, Box 11 Summerton, South Carolina	496
McFadden, J. D. Route 1 Summerton, South Carolina	530

Summerton Precinct (continued)

McFadden, Hattie S. 723
Route 1, Box 11
Summerton, South Carolina

McDonald, John 561-T
Route 3
Summerton, South Carolina

McDonald, Henry 575-T
Route 3, Box 8
Summerton, South Carolina

McDonald, Annie Mae 1308
Route 3, Box 8
Summerton, South Carolina

McDonald, Shirley 1336
Route 3, Box 8
Summerton, South Carolina

McDonald, Mary 1338
Route 3, Box 8
Summerton, South Carolina

McBride, Sarah 1635
Route 3
Summerton, South Carolina

McBride, Hessie 2805
Route 2, Box 124A
Summerton, South Carolina

Nelson, Lucille J. 596
Route 1, Box 117
Summerton, South Carolina

Neal, Naomi Adger 737
P.O. Box 465
Summerton, South Carolina

Nelson, J. Barl 1330
P.O. Box 473
Summerton, South Carolina

Nelson, Hazel R. 2733
Route 1
Summerton, South Carolina

Oliver, Robert Grant 451-T
Route 1
Summerton, South Carolina

Oliver, Nancy June 1693
Route 1
Summerton, South Carolina

Summerton Precinct (continued)

Oliver, Janie R. 1709
Route 1
Summerton, South Carolina

Oliver, Leon 741-T
Route 1, Box 41A
Summerton, South Carolina

Parson, Plummie 697
Route 3, Box 130
Summerton, South Carolina

Palmer, Plummie 3242
Route 3, Box 111
Summerton, South Carolina

Richburg, Lillian W. 445
Route 1, Box 60
Summerton, South Carolina

Richburg, Frank A. 449
Route 1, Box 60
Summerton, South Carolina

Richburg, Rev. E. E. 316-T
Route 1, Box 60
Summerton, South Carolina

Richburg, Helen Annie 519
Route 3, Box 9
Summerton, South Carolina

Ragin, Thelma M. 724
P.O. Box 474
Summerton, South Carolina

Ragin, William M. 631-T
Route 3
Summerton, South Carolina

Ragin, Edward E. 640-T
Route 2
Summerton, South Carolina

Rogers, Amy Tindal 1697
Route 2
Summerton, South Carolina

Ragin, Hattie 1777
Route 3
Summerton, South Carolina

Richburg, Grace 2160
Route 2, Box 60
Summerton, South Carolina

Summerton Precinct (continued)

Ragin, William L. 892-T
Route 2, Box 4
Summerton, South Carolina

Richburg, Myrtle Marie 3273
P.O. Box 324
Summerton, South Carolina

Richardson, Thomas 901-T
Route 1, Box 107
Summerton, South Carolina

Richburg, George Ashly 3423
Route 2
Summerton, South Carolina

Richardson, Thomas, Jr. 1013-T
Route 1
Summerton, South Carolina

Richburg, Josie E. 3689
Route 2
Summerton, South Carolina

Richardson, Ida W. 3691
Route 1
Summerton, South Carolina

Richardson, Lucretia 3694
Route 1
Summerton, South Carolina

Robinson, Moses, Sr. 1014-T
Route 2
Summerton, South Carolina

Richardson, Elliot 1015-T
Route 1
Summerton, South Carolina

Ragin, Sarah 3702
Route 3
Summerton, South Carolina

Solomon, Maizie 696
Route 1, Box 11½
Summerton, South Carolina

Seals, James W. 2453
Route 5, Box 42
Summerton, South Carolina

Smith, George W. 881-T
Route 1
Summerton, South Carolina

Summerton Precinct (continued)

Smith, Daisy R. 3659
Route 1
Summerton, South Carolina

Spry, Carrie Lee 3661
Box 494
Summerton, South Carolina

Smythe, Mary E. 3673
Route 1, Box 15
Summerton, South Carolina

Sabb, Sue Esther 3677
Route 1
Summerton, South Carolina

Smith, Hanlean 3695
Route 1
Summerton, South Carolina

Smith, Abraham 3696
Route 1
Summerton, South Carolina

Soloman, Floridell 3703
Route 1, Box 11½
Summerton, South Carolina

Tindal, Lawrence 424-T
Route 2, Box 45A
Summerton, South Carolina

Tindal, Annie S. 460-T
Route 1
Summerton, South Carolina

Tindal, Benjamin 862-T
Route 3
Summerton, South Carolina

Turner, Rev. James H. 1012-T
Route 3
Summerton, South Carolina

Turner, Sophia E. 3656
P.O.
Summerton, South Carolina

Williams, Joe E. 53-T
Route 1
Summerton, South Carolina

Williams, Fannie Bell 119
Route 1, Box 44
Summerton, South Carolina

Summerton Precinct (continued)

Williams, Mamie E. 120
Route 1, Box 44
Summerton, South Carolina

Wells, Mary Louise 1692
General Delivery
Summerton, South Carolina

Wells, Arnett W. 1722
Box 391
Summerton, South Carolina

White, Stella 2486
P.O.
Summerton, South Carolina

Washington, Robert 1004-T
Route 1
Summerton, South Carolina

Turbeville Precinct

Dickey, Roberta 3595
Route 1
Turbeville, South Carolina

Garland, Ruthie 3115
Route 1
Turbeville, South Carolina

Garland, Fred Jr. 3117
Route 1
Turbeville, South Carolina

Johnson, Alexander 1005
Route 1
Turbeville, South Carolina

Johnson, Gladys M. 816-T
Route 1, Box 188
Turbeville, South Carolina

Johnson, Andrew 2402
Route 1
Turbeville, South Carolina

Johnson, Pearlie 2638
Route 1
Turbeville, South Carolina

Wilson Mill Precinct

Green, Champie 560-T
Route 4
Manning, South Carolina

Ragin, Russell 885-T
Wilson Mill

Ragin, Bertha Mae 2969
Wilson Mill

1961

MEMORANDUM ON STRUCTURE AND ACTIVITIES
OF NAACP IN VOTER REGISTRATION

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People operates in every Southern state except Alabama where it is excluded through a temporary injunction secured without a hearing June 1, 1956.

The Southern states and the number of local branches: Florida 32; Georgia 16; Mississippi 21; North Carolina 88; South Carolina 31; Tennessee 12; Arkansas 12; Louisiana 13 (crippled by on-again, off-again injunction but now free to operate); Oklahoma 20; Texas 39; Maryland 16; Virginia 73; Kentucky 19.

The activity of the NAACP designed to stimulate an increase in the number of registered Negro voters goes back practically to the day of its organization. The first legal case in which the Association figured before the U. S. Supreme Court was in 1915 and involved the validity of the so-called Grandfather Cause method of disfranchising Negro voters.

In 1921 the NAACP set up voters' training classes through its branches in Alabama, Georgia, Kentucky, Oklahoma, Virginia and a number of Northern states to inform colored women to take advantage of the new 19th Amendment. The printed annual reports of the Association record activity on registration and voting throughout the life of the Association.

The 1957 Yearbook of the Journal of Negro Education is devoted completely to the subject "The Negro Voter in the South", and contains a state-by-state review of registration activities. It is significant that the NAACP is mentioned in practically every state report as the one organization which has carried out a voter registration campaign consistently over the years.

The voter registration campaigns took on new importance after the dramatic, all-night debate on the civil rights plank at the 1948 Democratic National Convention in Philadelphia. Prior to that event the Supreme Court decision in 1944 outlawed the White Primary as unconstitutional

and stimulated increased registration of Negro voters in the Southern states. Some of this increase was noticeable in the 1948 election, but the real fire was lighted by the debate in Philadelphia.

The NAACP was active in voter registration for state and national elections each year after 1948 and was assisted by a small grant from an individual interested in this phase of our program.

In 1957 the NAACP convened a conference in Atlanta of its state officials in 14 Southern states. Out of that came a South-wide voter registration committee with Kelly M. Alexander of Charlotte, North Carolina as chairman. Mr. Alexander is the president of the North Carolina State NAACP and is also a member of the National Board of Directors. A director of the campaign, John Brooks of Richmond, Virginia, was selected and an office opened in Richmond in February 1958. Mr. Brooks had been doing registration work for the Virginia State organization of the NAACP. W. C. Patton, a field secretary of the Association who had been assigned to Alabama but who was without an assignment in the face of the Alabama injunction, became a field secretary-at-large for voter registration.

Messrs. Brooks and Patton have devoted their full time to this work continuously since the beginning of 1958. It was agreed in the beginning that because of our limited resources and personnel we would work in selected urban centers only, where volunteer groups could be set up and where the return for the effort would be likely to be larger. The NAACP had an outstanding success in Memphis, Tennessee where the organization setup succeeded in adding more than 14,000 names to the rolls. It worked in other towns and cities in Florida, South Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, Louisiana, Arkansas and Texas.

All this time the Baltimore, Maryland branch of the NAACP was conducting its own voter registration campaign through a tie with the churches of that city. In a two-year period more than 100,000 new names were added in Baltimore.

Although only two men are fully engaged in voter registration, the NAACP has field secretaries in a number of Southern states and part of their work is the stimulation of registration drives by the branches in their states. Field secretaries employed by and under the direction of the National Office, function in North Carolina, South Carolina, Florida, Georgia, Arkansas, Texas-Louisiana, Mississippi. In addition a state-employed secretary who works closely with the National Office functions in Virginia.

The NAACP also has a regional office in Atlanta and another in Dallas, Texas with still a third in San Francisco.

This means that the Association has the structure and the personnel to insure that voter registration campaigns are launched and carried forward. Obviously the structure is not ideal for obtaining maximum results, but it does guarantee that the voter registration phase of the NAACP program receives attention in local communities.

Newsweek estimated last fall just prior to the Presidential election that Negro registration in the South had been increased by about 15 per cent.

The NAACP has not confined its voter registration work in the Southern states, but has stimulated its branches in Northern areas to this kind of activity in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, Illinois, Missouri, Minnesota, Colorado, California, New York and the New England states. Our state organization in Ohio completed an effective voter registration campaign in 1960 over the entire state.

Attached are samples of some of the material used by us over the past five years, including a cartoon book "The Street Where You Live" of which a quarter of a million copies were distributed.

FUTURE ACTIVITIES

The NAACP intends to continue its voter-registration program in the North as well as in the South. To that end

we have already announced a continuing campaign through the 1964 election and inquiries are being received from a goodly number of non-Southern branches who state that they have set up voter registration committees.

In the South a campaign is presently in progress in seven urban areas in Mississippi and will be pushed in the coming months. Renewed activity is underway in Louisiana and new efforts will be made in Texas this winter prior to the poll tax deadline of January 31, 1962.

Arthur Krock gave the NAACP credit in his New York Times column of July 9, 1961, for spearheading the campaigns which have brought the total of Negro registered voters in Virginia from about 83,000 to 125,000. Mr. Krock was interested in the possible effect of this block of voters in a tight struggle involving the reign of the Byrd machine.

With additional funds the NAACP could add to its field staff so that its branches in the various states would have the benefit of closer guidance in staging local campaigns.

Classes and clinics could be conducted where needed.

Badly-needed educational materials could be prepared to demonstrate the tie between general advancement and voting power. Spot surveys have indicated that the most popular excuse for failure to register and vote is the belief that voting has little or no bearing upon the disabilities presently suffered. Education is required.

With additional funds it would be possible to carry out a project concentrated in one state or in two or three key centers in a state, the political complexion of which would determine the political complexion of the state. If the required factors were present, such a concentrated campaign might be carried into one Congressional district. These efforts, if successful, would dramatize the whole campaign and thus stimulate areas where intensive work, perhaps, could not be carried out.

The NAACP is prepared to plug away at this unspectacular, but necessary task, allotting as much of its total budget as it can to the campaign. Because we have considerable staff in the field (in addition to the South, outlined above, we have two west of Pennsylvania and east of Denver, one in the Northeast and three on the West Coast) and a substantial number of active volunteers locally, our program produces better results than might be expected from a casual survey.

If we had more money we could do a better job. Modestly, we cite an editorial reference in the Providence, Rhode Island Journal, of July 16, 1961: "There are many areas — first and always, voter registration and resistance to infringement of Negro voting rights -- where only the NAACP has the organization, the talent and the experience to do the job."

Submitted to the Taconic Foundation

RW/eb

/mh

On October 8th, 1962, NAACP received a grant of $22,000 to conduct voter registration drives in certain specified areas. A list of the areas went along with the grant, including the amounts of money which could be spent by NAACP in each state. The letter of transmittal clearly stated the conditions under which the money could be spent and specified our expectations: "we will require thetotal amount of the grant...to be spent entirely within the respective states for which the grants are being allocated. No funds allocated to a particular state should be diverted to another area without the approval, in writing, of the Voter Education Project....we leave it to your discretion as to hou much of the funds allocated for any particular state should be spent in any single area within that state; however, we do expect NAACP to conduct a reasonable registration program in each of the assigned areas within the particular state....

"You are not necessarily expected to start programs all at once in all of the assigned counties, and it may well be that you would prefer to defer beginning your program in some counties until the second half of the six month period. Whatever you decide in this regard you should by all means, inform us in writing sothat we will always know just when programs are to be conducted in the areas assigned to you....

"NAAcP is authorized to conduct a registration program in Clarendon County (S.C.) if it cares to but without the benefit of any VEP funds. You are also at liberty to conduct you registration efforts in the city of Baton Rouge, Louisiana, which has been assigned to CORE, but again we cannot authorize the use of any VEP funds for this area. You may also continue your work in Shreveport, but under the same conditions,as this area has been assigned to SCLC.

"All expenditures should be supported by voucher and proper records covering all phases of your activity under this program should be kept up to date and made available to the VEP staff at all reasonable

times upon request....

"We are enclosing a carbon copy of this eletter and you are requested to acknowledge receipt of the original of this letter, the check in k the amount of $11,000, and your understanding of the condition of this grant, by signing the carbon copy of the letter and returning it to this office". The letter was receipted by John Morsell on October 9th, 1962.

On October 8th, along with the check and transmittal letter, the standard research letter wentto NAACP. Under separate cover a suppoly of VEP 1 and 2 were sent. The research letter said, in part: "If you have any questons about the use of either of thses forms jplease do not hesitate to inquir. It is absolutely essentil for our sresearch purposes that these forms be properly filled out and mailed to us not later than the tenth of each month." In addtion to the information reqired on the forms, four questions were included in the letter, on which we asked for a brief narrative repo t for each reporting period.

Thus, at the time the NAACP grant was implemented, we made every effort to ensure that NAACP understood what its repponsibility would be under the grant, and we did what we thojght would be effective in presenting to NAACP our reqsirements in the matter of financial and progress reporting. We expected to receive, before the 10th of each month, beginning in November, detailed financial and progress reporting which would keep us advised at all times just what NAACP was doing with the VEP grant, what jproblems were being met with, and what progress was being made.

Between October 8th and November 23rd, 1962, we received no report of any kind from NAACP. During this period the matter of reporting

was discussed with NAACP staff both by telephone and by perosnal contact, WAB representing to NAACP that its deficiencies must be remedied.

On November 23d we received a long letter from John Morsell. The letter stated that "no actual registration of voters could take place in most places for the thrity-day period immediately preceding the November election day, although preliminary and organizational work was begun in some localities". We needed to know, specifically, the names of the places for which NAACP had accepted VEP funds where registration of voters was impossible for this reason; furthermore, we needed to know the precise nature of the "preliminary and organizational work" and the names of the places in which it was taking place.

The letter stated that "work is under way" in Orlando, St. Petersburg, Clearwater, Panama City and Pensacola, and that "campaigning" would be undertaken in the remaining assigned Florida cities after December 25th. Clearly, "work is under way" is such a general statement that it leads to speculation about whether or not Dr. Morsell actually had any specific knowledge about what was going on in Florida. Certainly VEP did not as a result of the letter.

The letter stated that "In North Carolina, working is going on in Charlotte". What kind of work, involving how many people, doing what specific things, for what specific reasons, for what anticipated period with what specific results ? Plans for Wilmington and Rocky Mount were "a bit uncertain" because of difficulty finding out when registration books would be open. What attempt had been made to find out these particulars and what obstacles presented themselves to obtaining such information. Who, representing NAACP, had talked to whom, representing the registrars, and when, in order to get this information, and what were the general attitudes of the registrars and any other offic-

ials who may have been party to such discussions and negotiations ? Is it possible that here are delaying tactics on the part of registrars designed to obstruct the progress of voter registration ?

The letter stated that "particular emphasis" was being put upon Prince Edward County in Virginia "for obvious reasons". Particular emphasis does not describe an activity and we are uncomfortable with the assumption of NaaCP that the reasons behind its strategy are obvious. We should prefer that those reasons be spelled out. The letter further noted that poll tax payment in Virginia was being "stressed". Again, "stress" does not describe an activity.

The letter stated that "Louisiana activyt" was contemplated for the second half of the grant period. It noted that one report indicated that "nearly 1,0000 Negroes were registered in Ouchita Parish during "the late summer and early fall". How they were registered, what obstacles they met with, etc., is all unreported. What specific period of time is meant by "late summer and early fall"/?

The letter stated that "campaigns are in process" in Fayette, Haywood, Montgomery, Lauderdale, Tipton and Hardeman Counties, Tennessee. That is all that was said about registration work in Tennessee, except that "Knoxville and Memphis will resume after the first of the year". With "resumption" in Knoxville and Memphis. NAACP Will have worked in all Counties to which it was assigned in Tennessee

Dr. Morsell "expected" that an "interim" report on progress in at least some of the above areas would be available within two weeks. Dr. Morsell was "keeping my fingers crossed on the matter of the reports which we are telling our campaign workers must be furnished".

On October 8th Dr. Morsell signified that he understood the conditions of the VEP grant and that he would comply with them. Two weeks after the date upon which the first financial and progress

reporting was due, Dr. Morsell, judging by his letter, had little if any specific information about how the money was being spent or about what was being done in the areas for which he and NAACP had assumed responsibility. We had, at this time, received no financial reporting of any kind.

Dr. Morsell's letter mentioned that "work" in Columbia would not be "fully" underway until after the first of year, and that campaigns were in the making in various Mississippi places.

His letter suggested that VEP make additional grants to NaaCP work registration work of an unspecified nature in East Texas.

Thus, as a result of NAACP's first progress report we knew nothing of the techniques being employed by NAACP, we knew nothing about progress in the various places, we knew nothing about the expenditure of VEP funds, we knew nothing about the difficulties being met with. We had received no comment from NAACP about the suitability or unsuitability of the reporting forms we had sent for their use. WE did know that the froms were not being used and that the information we were asking for apparently wasnot being compiled by NAACP.

On December 1, WAB saw and talked with Dr. Morsell in Washington and tried to impress upon him the necessity for considering the reporting and accounting responsibilities of the VEP grant more seriously. WAB felt that Dr. Morsell now understood and would cooperate. Morsell agreed to send whatever he had on hadn in the way of reports both progress and financial from Brooks and Patton. Insert #1

On December 3 we received a letter from Dr. Morsell with which he enclosed Patton's budget estimates supporting a

request for $6,780 for registration work in specified counties in East Texas. He closed the letter by saying that he would "get the other things we talked about to you sometime tomorrow".

Insert # 1.

WAB brought back with him for photostating, a report from Brooks sto Morsell dated November 27, 1962. It was titled "NAACP Voter Education Project Progress Report, November 1-24, 1962, Virigina The report stated that a state-wide poll tax drive had been"kicked off" on November 1, 1962 and that the poll tax drives was to be used as a springboard for the state-wide voter registration program which would continue through May 5, 1963. ~~The report showed a totla of $900 having been given to various local chapters in sumes of $150 and $100 in eight Virginia communities.~~ Two of the communities, getting $100 each, were not a part of the NAACP assignment--they were a part of the SCLC assignment. The report included no information whatsoever on what the local chapters may have spent this money for nor any information on how the poll tax drives were conducted nor what their success had been nor what obstacles they had met.

insert #2

The report stated that Prince Edward County was "our best organized area". It listed the names of two individuals who were "working" in the area.

The report stated that, because of the views of the NAACP branch president, NAACP would be late organizing in Isle of Wight County. The branch president was also a member of the Virginia Voters League and felt that the League should conduct the registration program. Brooks stated that the Leauge was a"paper organizaton" thathad been very weak in Isle of Wight County. He said he thought "we can conduct an NAACP voter registration program in this area in the very near future". He did not indicate how he proposed to remove the local president, or how

he jproposed to by=pass him or, indeed, if ~~he considered the recalcitrance~~ some kind of compromise had been worked out. Here was an intro-organizational conflict of grate importance for our research program upon which we had no useful information at all, jother than knowledge, simpley of its existence.

The report stated that, in Sussex and Buckingham Counties, "we are in the process of organ7izing". It further stated that this process was being slowed by very weak NAACP branch leadership in these two counties.

The report stated that a planning meeting was scheduled for November 27 in Roanoke and in Portsomouth for around ~~the~~ December 1. The report noted that the money for these cities would be wasted unless "we can convince both cities to go all out in providing manpower and fianance to promote voter registration." The implication appaared to be that there was considerably lees than totoal committment to voter registration as a desirable goal by NAACP leqdership in these two areas. Here again, we jcould only drqw shadowy inferences about the these very important factors, because of the sketchiness and generality of the information provided.

The report ~~stated that~~ criticized (with, perhaps, some justification) VEP for having failed to provide funds for a local group in Norfolk which included some NAACP leaders and which had applied for a direct grant from VEP. The report said that Brooks had told these local folk that if they had not tried to get a direct grant, that their community would probably have been included in the overall NAACP registration programfor Virigina. ~~He called it bypassing~~ His phraseology was interesting: "We also reminded them (NAACP branch leaders) that their NAACP branch would probably have been included in our overall voter registration grant for Virginia if a few of their leaders had not tried to bypass the NAACP Virginia State Conference's Voter Registration

Committee". This appears to be a reflection of the empire-building of the NAACP which may interefere with the effective functioning of local branches in voter registration. We need a great deal more specific information o n this kind of thing which we can only get by requiring more detailed and comprehensive reporting from NaaCP. If we had the kind of thing from Brooks that we are getting from SNCC in SW Georgia, it would be extremely valuable. It is perhaps instructive to note that the report devotes more space to Norfolk and provides more information about Norfolk than any other area with which it deals. Norfolk was not assigned to NAACP.

The report stated that "we are planning to kick off South Carolina's program around the first of January". It listed target areas as Columbia Orangeburg, Spartanburg, Charleston and Clarendon County. Columbia is the only one of these areas included in the NAACP assignment for South Carolina.

WAB also brought back from the Washington meeting the first financial report we received on this grant from NAACP. It was dated November 27, 1962 and was in the form of a memo from Brooks to Wilkins and Morsell. The financial report listed disbursements of $2,391.16 by Brooks from VEP funds provided him by NAACP. Of the $2,391.16, $1,300 was listed as lump sum grants to local NAACP chapters for poll tax drives. insert #2 Apparently Brooks does not require that the local chapters receving such grants account to him in any formal way in expending it. If this practice is continued by Brooks, it means that we are going to have a considerable sum of money in unvouchered expedditures made by such local chapters.

+++++++++end of insert #1

On December 5 WAB wrote Morsell, returning the reports he had brought from Washingtion for photocopying. WAB suggested in his letter that Brooks and Patton supply VEP with copies of all reports they submit to NAACP on their voter registration activities. WAB noted that we had reeently clipped from newspapers stories telling of Patton's announcements about his registration activities in Florida, Mississippi, Louisiana and TExas and telling of a release from Moon's office about a six-week registration drive in five Tennessee counties as well as projects in Texas and Mississippil WAB pointed out that VEP had no information about these happenings until we clipped the newstorys. In this letter WAB authorized the diversion of the $3,400 allocated to North Carolina for work in Virginia at NAACP's discretion. However he asked that NAACP inform VEP of such diversion.

On December 12 WAB wrote Morsell reminding him of his committment of December 3,:"I'll get the other things we talked about to you sometime tomorrow".

On Debember 14 we received a letter from Morsell, dated December 12th, in which were enclsoed the "other things". Morsell agreed with WAB's statement in his DEcember5 letter that VEP should be informed of what is going on to such an extent that press releases would not be the only source of information about NAACP's VEP activities. The "other things" included reports which, he said,"came in today" form Patton covering voter registration activity in Clearwater and Pensacola,Florida and Pascagoula, Mississippi, and expense records pertaining to these as well as to a number of other localities.He also enclosed a list of the names and addresses of persons who were heading up drives in Patton's territories; Patton's budget proposals for four South Mississippi locations; copies of some reports stemming from NAACP

activity in Baton Rouge during the past summer; and a list of some of the local NAACP leaders in key areas. Morsell closed by reminding WAB of Patton's persistence in trying to get financial help for his East Texas ambitions.

The reports on registration in two Florida locations and one Mississippi location were as follows: (the Mississippi location was not in the original allocation of territory--the two Florida locations were) In Clearwarter Florida 854 persons were contacted between November 11 and November 20 by door-to-door canvass and other means. Of these, 2 persons were reproted as refusing to participate, 169 made the attempt to register and all succeeded. The financial report showed expedditures in Clearwater through December 1st totaling for religious reasons. $49.00

In Pensacola, Florida 725 persons were contacted between November 25 and December 7 by door-to-door canvass and other means. Of these, 28 were reported as refusing to participate, for 6 made the attempt to register and 3 succeeded. The financial report showed expenditures in Pensacola through December 1st totalling $36.94. religious reasons, lack of interest, insufficient residence.

In Pascagoula, Mississippi 237 persons were contacted by door-to-door and other means between December 3rd and December 8. Of these 21 made the attempt to register and all succeeded. 1 "group", size unspecified, refused to participate for religious reasons. There was no financial report for the Pascagoula operation. NAACP was not authorized to spend VEP funds in Mississippi.

The financial reports on the Tennessee included the following counties: Haywood, Shelby, Tipton, Lauderdale, Hardeman, Fayette Haywood, $23.87, Shelby, 554.33, Tipton-$1387, Lauderdale-13.88, Hardeman-$13.87, Fayette-$13.87. The funds in all but Haywood and Sehlby were spent for Office Supplies and Printing Supplies. Considering the similarity of the amounts for each county, it appears that a quantify of material has beendivided between these

and each of them charged with an equal proportion of the cost. Haywood county was charged with the same amount as the others for these items, plus and additional $10.00 for "transportation". All of these Tennessee Counties are in the origianl NAACP allocation. The only counties in that allocation which were not mentioned in this report were Knox and Montgomery.

Finally, the financial reports showed the following expenditures in Florida counties for which no progress was reported: Pinellas (St. Petersburg)-$10.10; Bay (Panama City)-$5.35;Orange (Orlando) $26.35.

On December 17 we received a letter from Dr. Morsell (dated December 14) with which he enclosed a copy of the Brooks financial report already mentioned above (dated November 27) along with supporting vouchers. The vouchers included one supporting a disbursement of $100.00 to the Roanoke chapter for a "voter registration drive". The voucher was dated December 5. Thisdisbursement was not included in the summary statement of November 27. Thus, through December 5th, Brooks had disbursed $1,400 to local chapters. We have no information of any kind as to how this $14,000 was spent by the local chapters.

Morsell also enclosed a summary statement of expenditures by Patton through December 1, along with supporting vouchers. The summary statement and vouchers were identical with the the Patton financial reports Morsell sent us with his December 12 letter, with one exception. The statement and vouchers included the disbursement of 92.00 in eight East Texas communities. The dates of these vouchers were November 17, 1962. The first we had heard about Patton's East

Texas projects had been in Morsell's letter of December 3. The budget estimates he enclosed with that letter were dated November 5, 1962. Thus, it appears that Patton had expended VEP funds in the East Texas projects some 16 days before we were ever notified that NAACP was even thinking about working in East Texas. This appears to have been a direct violation of one specific condition of the NAACP grant. Quoting from your letter of October 8th: "Nofunds allocated to a particular state should be diverted to another area without the approval, in writing, of the Voter Education Project". (NAACP did not receive approval in writing until December 19, 1962, in your letter to Dr. Morsell. Even that approval was conditioned upon NAACP's sending us "a request in writing stating the areas from which you wish to divert the use of funds, the amount involved, and the area in which you plan to use the diverted funds". Our files do not contain such a request, as of this date.) Morsell's letter and enclosures of December 14th were the last written communication we received from NAACP during 1962. Since we had specifically required financial and progress reproting monthly after October 8th, 1962, on NAACP's VEP participation, it is appropriate here to summarize the information we had received from NAACP as of December 31, 1962, 83 days after the grant was made and the conditions of the grant accepted by Morsell for NAACP. We had the vague and general comments about NAACP activities in Florida, North Carolina, Virginia, Tennessee, and South Carolina contained in Dr. Morsell's letter of November 23. We had the similarly vague and general Brooks-to-Morsell Memorandum dated November 27. We had the Brooks financial report dated November 27 showing expenditures of $2,391.16, $1,300 of which [redacted] was in lump sum grants to local chapters.

We had the December 12 progress xx reports from Patton showing that 1,579 persons had been contacted about registration in Pensacola and Clearwater Florida, that 172 persons of these had been registered, that three had failed of registration and that 28 had refused to participate. insert #3 We had the Patton summary financial statement and vouchers dated December 1st which supported expenditures of $852.43 of VEP funds. Thus we knew, as of December 31, 1962 that $4x $3,243.59 of VEP funds had been expended by NAACP. We had vouchersxforx suitable vouchers for $28 1843.59 of this amount. and We knew that some activity registration activity had taken place in two counties in Florida to which NAACP had been assigned resel resulting in 172 new registered voters and that 21 persons had been registered in Pascagoula, Mississippi as a result of NAACPefforts.

Insert #3--This batch of reports also indicated that 237 persons had been contacted in Pascagoula, Mississippi and that 21 of these had successfullyxregis attempted registration and had succeeded.

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kWe also knew that Patton had expended funds 92.00 in East Texas in direct violation of the conditions of the grant and there was reason to suspect he was doing the same thing in coastal Mississippi.

On December 28, 1962, WAB sent to Dr. Morsell a letter requesting information required for the VEP report to the Bureau of Internal REvenue. Ttme Amongx Besides the financial information requ ested, WAB asked for: "The number of new registrants resulting from your efforts under the VEP program, by county, as of December 31, 1962" and "A brief narrative report of the methods and techniques used in conducting your VEP program and the geographic areas in which such methods and techniques were used, together with a statement of the problems and difficulties encountered in your registration efforts by county. The information for these counties may be grouped together

where the same methods and techniques were used or similar problems were encountered, provided that you list all of the counties in which the similar information is appropriate."

On January 16 we received a letter, with enclosures, from Morsell in reply to the above request. The enclosures included "canvasser reports from voter campaigns in East Texas, Florida, Mississippi and Virginia." and financial reports from Brooks and Patton. Morsell noted that not all campaigns in progress or completed were included and that he expected reports on campaigns in South Carolina, Louisiana and Tennessee with "the next three or four weeks".

The canvasser reports for Mississippi showed activity between December 3 and December 29 in Pascagoula and between December 10 and 17 in Biloxi. All of the Pascagoula reports were submitted by the same person, Mary Delores Thomas. Three of them listed the organization conducting the drive as the "First Class Citizens League". The other report, the latest, listed the organization as the "Pascagoula Branch of Naacp". No explanation was provided for this change in organizational designation but it is interesting in the light of Patton's comments about coordination and cooperation in the VEP office 2-21-62 (see memo of RTB and JM to WAB of that date). The Pascagoula reports indicate that 725 persons were contacted by door-to-door canvassing and 281 by telephone. Of these instruction either at home, or in clinics or meetings, was given to 603 persons. 121 persons attempted to register and the results were, so far as the reporter could be certain, 15 registered and 29 denied registration. Those who tried but did not succeed reported that their major difficulty was in interpreting the assigned sections of the Mississippi constitution 25 persons refused to participate in the project. The reasons they gave centered around lack of interest, previous failures, lack

confidence that voting would do any good, illiteracy and religious conviction. The reporter's remarks indicate that compiling of information about the results of contacts and of attempted registration is not at all complete. At one point she writes "The public seems to want this when presented, but refuse to follow thru wholeheartedly", suggesting that organized effort is lacking. Patton's financial report, also enclosed with the Morsell letter of Jan. 15 shows $100.00 of VEP funds expended in Pascagoula. The expenditure was for four weeks" salary for Mary Delorez Thomas. Thus, the suspicions raised by previous reporting that VEP funds were being expended in Mississippi without fulfillment of the requirements of the grant is confirmed.

The Biloxi canvasser reports show activity in that city between December 10 and December 17, 1962. The report indicates that 307 persons were contacted by door-to-door canvass and 196 by some other, unspecified, means. Of the totla number contacted 37 were given intsturction. Of thosecontacted, 89 attempted registration with only 6 reported as succeeding. 2 persons refused to participate because they were simply not interested. The reporter, Mrs. Ruby Tyler indicates that she has some, presumably volunteer, help in the making of contacts. No such indication appears on the Pascagoula reports. The Biloxi financial report shows expenditures of $120.00 for salary for Mrs. Ruby Tyler

The Florida canvasser reports showed activity in Pensacola and Clearwater (Escambia and Pinellas counties). The reporters for Pensacola were Mrs. Dorothy DaValt and Diane C. Davis. The reports showed activity between November 25 and December 14, 1962, a period of 19 days. 406 persons were contacted by door-to-door canvass during this 19 day period and 93 by unspecified means, for a total of 499 persons contacted. Of these 47 applied for registration,

and 28 were successfully registered. The reports state that no persons were denied registration during the period, leaving it more or less a mystery what happened to the 19 persons who applied but did not succeed. During the 19 day period 20 persons refused to participate in the program for reasons such as; lack of interest, "I didn't have to discuss voting", insufficient residence, and religious conviction. The financial report for Pensacola showed a total of $150 spent--$75 for professional salary and $75 for clerical salary. The reports show a total of 8 mass meetings held during the period with instruction being given either there or at the home of Mrs. Devault to 540 persons. Three hundred ninety three persons were instructed at home. The report indicates that no clinic program was conducted during the period.

Leonard Shivers reported on activity in Clearwater between November 11 and November 20, 1962. One hundred sixty-five persons were contacted by door-to-door canvass and 420 persons by other means, largely it seems, at the headquarters of the registration drive. 169 persons attempted registration and all succeeded. Two persons refused to participate because of their advanced age. Fifty-five persons were instructed at home, 75 at clinics and 114 at "night clubs, churches, organizations and regular NAACP meetings". We received no financial report indicating the amount of money spent during the period inClearwater.

Rev. Robert H. Hester reported on activity in Tyler (Smith County) Texas between December 11 and December 23, 1962. Ninety persons were contacted by door-to-door canvass and 850 by other, unspecified means. (The reports mention considerable publicity activity using radio, TV and newpapers; I suspect this is regarded as contact). 575 persons are reported to have registered as a result of this program, with none having been refused registration. Hester states that

eight special poll tax deputies were appointed in certain sections of the county and that these deputies concentrated in precincts heavily populated by Negroes. This seems to indicate a considerable degree of cooperation on the part ofthe local officials. The financial report indicates that a total of $54.13 was spent on this project during the period--$4.13 on printing supplies and $50.00 on salaries.

Mrs. Molly Gooch reported on adtivity in Marshall (Harrison) Texas between December 1 and December 21, 1962. The report shows door-to-door contacts numbering 675 with 47 persons instructed at home, and 221 at clinics and 4 at other unspecified places. 327 persons applied for registration. There is no indication that any of these persons were denied so, presumably, they all registered successfully. One mass meeting was held on December 9 and another on December 15, with a total attendance reported at 2,599. The financial report indicates a total of $104.12 spent as follows: $75 for professional salaries, $25 for clerical salaries and $4.12 for printing and supplies. No persons are reported as refusing to participate.

Rev. Simon Snell reported on activity in Texarkana (Bowie) Texas between December 17 and December 30, 1962. The report shows door-to-door contacts numbering 850 with 275 persons instructed at home, 240 at clinics and 500 at other places (schools, PTA's, churches, women's clubs, and the Ministers Association). 2,000 persons attended mass meetings during the period. 1,040 attempted registration during the period. 620 registered successfully. The report states that none were denied; there is no apparent explanation for this discrepancy. One person refused to participate because of "occupational hazard", meaning, apparently, fear of loss of his job.

The financial report shows $79.13 spent during this period; $75 for professional salary and $4.13 for printing supplies.

Mrs. Fannie Shaw reported on activities in Longview (Gregg) Texas for the period December 1, to December 21. The report indicates that 800 persons were contacted by door-to-door canvass and 500 were contacted by other means (unspecified). Of this 1300 persons who were contacted, 950 attemtped to register and 390 succeeded. Here again, no denials are listed and the discrepancy remains unexplained. Seven hundred persons were instructed at home, 375 at clinics and 900 at various churches. No persons are listed as refusing to participate. The financial report shows a totla of 104.10 spent, 100 for professional salary and 4.12 for printing and supplies.

In connection with these Texas programs we do not know precisely what kind of instruction might be administered, since no registration o f any kind takes place outside the paying of poll tax. We can speculate that "instruction" in such a case comprises exhortation etc., about the necessity for paying poll tax, the utility of the vote, etc. We need to confirm this. We suppose the similarity in amounts spent for printing and supplies in each of these texas projects reflects a lump sum expenditure for some kind of promotional material the cost of which was proportioned among the various projects.

The reports from Mississippi and Texas are on mimeographed forms which were apparently fashioned after VEP 2. The reports from Virginia are not the same form, and do not contain the same kinds of information.

William F. Reidreports on December 7, 1962, from Richmond, Va. The report indicates that during a ninety day period, supposedly ending on December 7, 23,000 Negroes were urged to pay poll tax. This urgning, apparently, was effect through a 15,000-piece mailing and the distribution of 30,000 leaflets to churches, and the purchase

radio ~~tiam~~ time. The report did not give nay indication of how many Negroes had actually paid their poll tax during this ninety-day period. It did state that $5,000 had been spent on the program. The reason for the reluctance of Negroes to pay poll tax was listed as the fact that whend a person pays poll tax he is assessed as to the value of his personal property and is then required to pay a personal property tax. Teh report states that the techniques used were "Wide distribution of the Negro polll tax list in public places, voter eduction workshops for the training of block workers in16 predominantly Negro precincts and block registration parties".

R.L. Scales repsorted from Cumberland County. His report was dated December 14, and it also appeared to cover a 90-day period.

WE'RE TOO YOUNG TO REGISTER...

designed & illustrated by Read & Barnett

TO REGISTER...

...WHAT'S YOUR EXCUSE?

NAACP VOTER REGISTRATION CAMPAIGN

FIELD TRAVEL AND EXPENSE ACCOUNT

NO._____ OF _____ PAGES

DATE _____

NAME OF EMPLOYEE _____

PERIOD COVERED BY THIS REPORT _____ TO _____ (INCL.)

DATES	TRIP RECORD	AIR CARD	RECORD OF EXPENDITURES: TRANSPORTATION: RAIL-ROAD	TRANSPORTATION: Auto NO. MILES / AMT.	CABS, LIMOUSINES, LOCAL TRANSIT	LODGING	MEALS	TELE-PHONE: WIRES	MISC. INCL. TIPS	TOTAL
	TRAVEL (FROM/TO)									
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	TRAVEL (FROM/TO)									
					TOTALS		THIS		PAGE	

Sample form used by field staff for NAACP

NOTES

1. ATTACH ALL AVAILABLE VOUCHERS, RECEIPTED BILLS, TICKET STUBS, ETC.
2. INDICATE USE OF AIR TRAVEL CARD BY ''AC''

(OVER)

4-agencies — NAACP

CUMULATIVE RECORD OF EMPLOYEE'S TRAVEL AND EXPENSE ACCOUNT

Total advance funds on hand at start of period (incl. any balance of unexpended travel funds carried over from prior statements): $ _____

Additional funds advanced by National Office $ _____

Additional funds advanced by Branches or others $ _____

$ _____

TOTAL $ _____ (A)

TOTAL TRAVEL EXPENSES: $ _____
(taken from extreme right-hand column total on reverse side of sheet)

OTHER EXPENSES:
(Itemize, as stationery and supplies, stenographic, etc.)

_____ $ _____

_____ $ _____

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_____ $ _____

_____ $ _____

_____ $ _____

_____ $ _____

_____ $ _____

TOTAL OTHER EXPENSES: $ _____

TOTAL TRAVEL AND OTHER EXPENSES COVERED BY THIS REPORT: $ _____ (B)

BALANCE TO CREDIT OF: Employee
National Office

(Circle whichever one applies, as determined by subtracting Line (A) from Line (B), or vice versa, depending on which is larger)

SIGNATURE OF EMPLOYEE _____

COAHOMA COUNTY BRANCH NAACP

The Community of Greenwood, Mississippi still commands the attention and labor of most of the Civil Rights Workers of the Coahoma County Area. In fact, local citizens both for and against the freedom movement in Greenwood are observed constantly. In Greenwood the racial lines are drawn tightly; the Negroes for the movement, and the Whites agianst the movement.

It should be well understood that at the time the Voter Registration Campaign was begun in Greenwood, campaigns in Clarksdale, Ruleville, Cleveland, Leland, Hattiesburg, Vicksburg, and Holly Springs were begun the same time. This joint effort is under the auspices of the Mississippi Council of Federated Organizations commonly known as COFO which involves the Mississippi based forces of NAACP, CORE, SCLC, and SNCC. The majority of the workers are on loan from SNCC, but by no means is the Voter Registration Movement in Greenwood and any other community exclusively a SNCC activity. These "SNICK KIDS", as they are affectionately called, are not alone, and without the cooperation and the protection of all the other major Civil Rights Organizations. The decision of those arrested in Greenwood to remain in jail without bail was their personal decision. The NAACP legal staff was ready, willing, and able to secure their release, legally, at anytime they decide. CORE is willing, and so is SCLC to divert any amount of workers and finance to the Greenwood Movement. Never think that the younsters that are bearing the burnt of the attack of violence and intimindation are without the support of freedom loving organizations and people everywhere. Neither are they without the admiration and appreciation from us all.

The big difference with the Greenwood Community is that in no other community had there been the violent reaction against the Voter Registration Campaign. In Ruleville there was one shooting incident; there was also an arrest of persons passing out handbills. In Clarksdale, there have been arrests and fines. In one instance in Clarksdale, several persons had charges dismissed against them by the request of the City Attorney. But in Greenwood there were at least three shootings, one near murder as James Travis had what has been reported as a machine gun slug removed from dangerously close to his spine. The last shooting incident was into the home of the parents of Dewey Green. How much abuse did the power structure of Greenwood expect the Negroes to take before making some kind of demonstration against it.

Probably without realizing it the lunatic fringe that is responsible for these acts of violence are being encouraged by statements coming from some of the responsible citizens of Greenwood such as "the shooting of Travis was a put up job", "Sam Block shot up his own car," the fire at the Voter Registration Office was self-started," and finally, "Rev. Tucker was not bitten by the dog; he is faking". It just so happened that the president of the local branch of the NAACP had just completed a visit to Robert Moses and the other workers in the Greenwood jail, and was traveling on Market near Howard, and witnessed the attack by the dog on Rev. D. L. Tucker. It was Aaron Henry and Rev. J. D. Rayford that carried Rev. Tucker to the hospital for treatment, where he was treated by Dr. Howard Nelson, a white doctor on the Greenwood Hospital Staff. Rev. Tucker was first given emergency treatment by another Greenwood doctor, Dr. Mable Garner.

Yes it appears that Greenwood, by its action, has elected itself to be the testing ground for democracy, and all the forces for good will and especially those forces of NAACP, CORE, SCLC, and SNCC, and we hope the Federal Government are ready,willing, and able to put them to the test on this crucial question of the right to register and vote. Any community that conducts itself as has the Greenwood community must be willing to undergo the same experience.

The powers of Greenwood try to make it appear that Greenwood Negroes are not anxious to be free. What they don't tell is that when they make an arrest, and find out it is a Greenwood Negro, they turn him loose to make it appear no Greenwood Negroes are involved. No movement of this magnitude is possible without the support of the people. DON'T BE FOOLED.

The Emergency Welfare and Relief Committee made food and clothing available to some one thousand people in the delta area last week. In Coahoma County alone more than 300 were served.

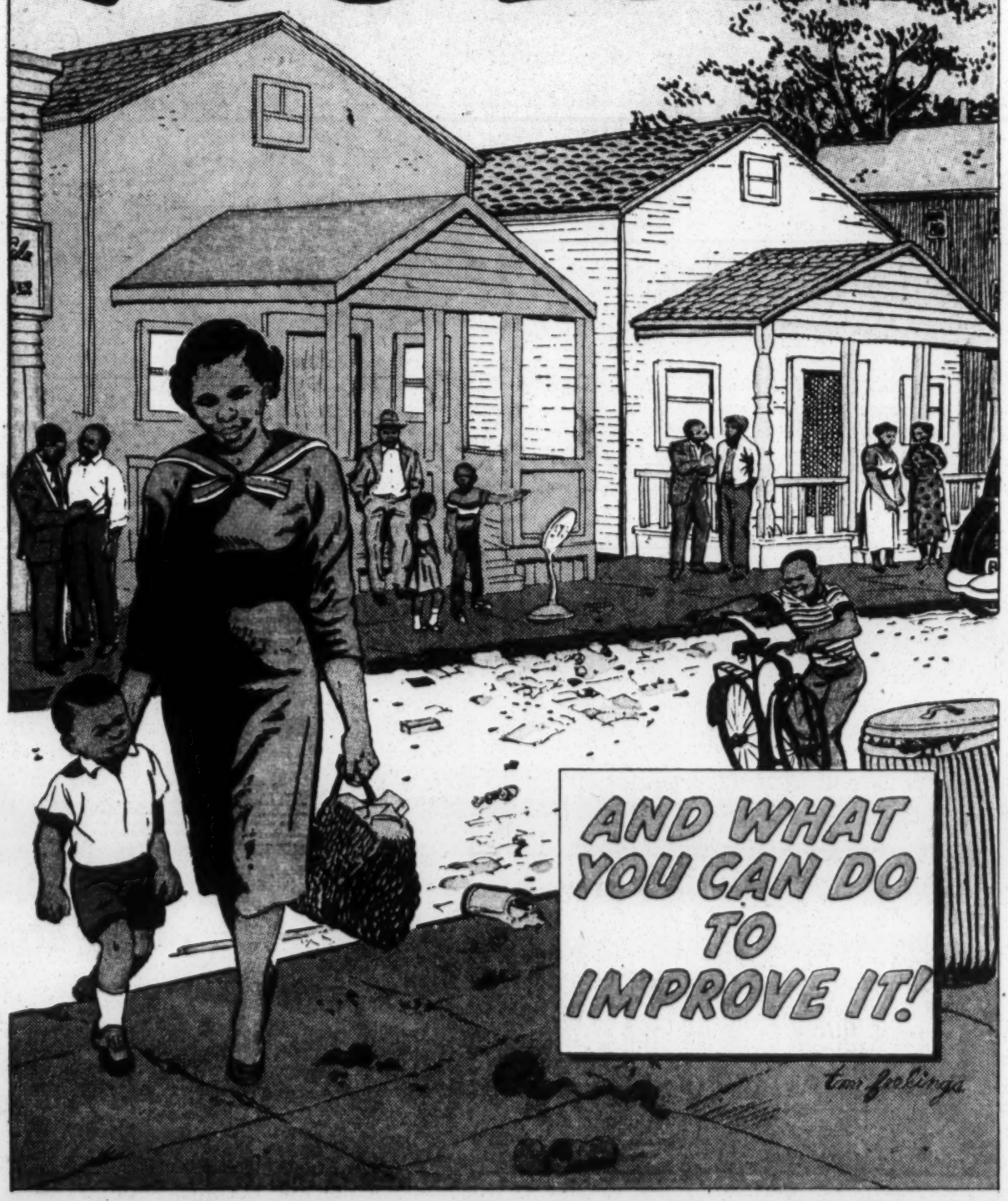
The political action of the local NAACP reports twenty-eight persons made application for registration to vote in Coahoma County.

!!!!! A call just in from Dick Gregory indicates that he will accept an invitation to make an appearance in Greenwood, Mississippi, on Monday Night, April 1, 1963. He will be asked to make a repeat appearance in Clarksdale Tuesday Night, April 2, 1963. Time and Place to be announced later.

The boycott against the downtown merchants including 5th. Street Grocery continues to roll. When and where you want to shop-please let it be known; transportation is being provided. Freedom Meeting, this week-Centennial Baptist Church-Wed. Night.

THE STREET WHERE YOU LIVE

10¢



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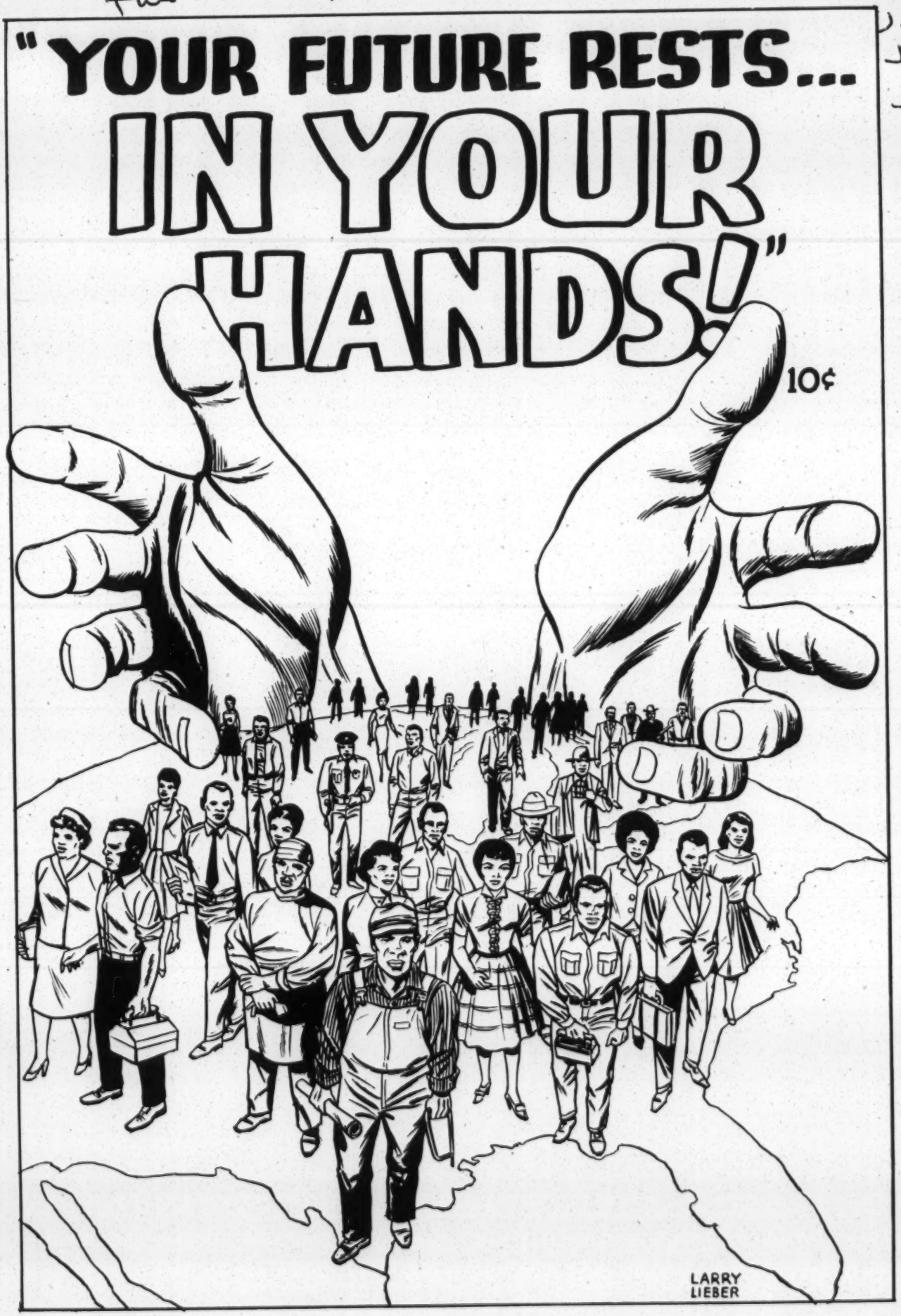

February 23, 1962

Mr. Jack Greenberg
NAACP Legal Defense and
Educational Fund, Inc.
10 Columbus Circle, Suite 1790
New York 19, New York

Dear Jack:

In our telephone conversation a few days ago I gave you our office telephone number here in Atlanta from memory, and there has always been some doubt in my mind as to whether I gave it to you correctly. Please note the correct phone number and mailing address above.

I have just talked with Don Hollowell on the phone and informed him of my intention to remain in the Atlanta area for the next couple of years, and of my willingness to work with him in any way that I can in civil rights matters.

As you know, I will be speaking for the NAACP Regional Conference in Jackson, Mississippi on Saturday, February 24, and if you happen to get down there I will see you at that meeting.

Harold Anderson and I have a conference with the President of the University of Arkansas and some of his staff members on Monday, February 26, in Fayetteville regarding the matter of segregation in university housing. The dormitories were desegregated prior to September, 1957, but university officials started the practice of removing Negro students from university housing after the Little Rock incident in an effort to appease the governor and legislature. They promise to reinstate a policy of integration in housing "as soon as things cool down." We feel that there is no practical reason for delaying integrated housing any longer, and we have threatened legal action if the university is not willing to admit Negro students to the dormitories. They are most anxious for a conference in an effort to avoid litigation.

We have called upon Harold Anderson to assist us in several matters, including the representation of Negro students and their parents in all of the hearings for reassignment before the Little Rock School Board. Harold is also serving as counsel for an indigent defendant in a capital case in the federal court (Clarence Stewart vs. the State of Arkansas), and of course he is serving without fee. Under the circumstances, I think that some kind of fee should be mailed to Harold; and I would suggest a fee in the neighborhood of $500 with a notation that it is for legal services to date. It might very well be charged against the Little Rock school suit.

Sincerely yours,

Wiley A. Branton
Project Director

Dictated by Mr. Branton February 22; transcribed and signed in his absence.

WAB/mr

EDWIN BOND

MAR 2 1962

N. A. A. C. P. LEGAL DEFENSE AND EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC.

10 Columbus Circle, New York 19, N. Y.

JUdson 6-8397

March 1, 1962

Wiley A. Branton, Esq.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Room 206
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Wiley:

I have taken care of the $500.00 matter for Harold Anderson. I look forward to seeing you in Atlanta sometime to discuss the matter of handling such litigation as may stem from the operation of the Voter Education Project.

Sincerely yours,

Jack

Jack Greenberg
Director-Counsel

JG:arw

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under the sponsorship of

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JACK GREENBERG

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and Educational Fund, Inc.
will introduce

DICK GREGORY

who will examine racial segregation and
discrimination in the United States with
the help of

WILEY A. BRANTON

Arkansas Civil Rights Lawyer and Director
Atlanta Voter Education Project

HUBERT A. EATON, M.D.

Fighter against discrimination in medicine
Wilmington, North Carolina

ROBERT P. MOSES

Leader, Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee and Director,
Greenwood, Mississippi voter registration campaign

THE TERRACE, HOTEL PLAZA

April the thirtieth

1963

1- agencies
NAACP Leg. Def & E. Fund

58 Fo
401 Sup

Marc Connelly

Ralph Ellison

Mrs. Oscar Hammerstein II

Lorraine Hansberry

Geoffrey Holder

and

the Board of Directors

of the NAACP Legal Defense Fund

invite you to attend

a Dinner

to hear

DICK GREGORY

Tuesday Evening
April the 30th
at 7 o'clock

Terrace Room
Hotel Plaza
Fifth Avenue and 58th Street
New York, N. Y.

The N.A.A.C.P. Legal Defense and Educational Fund

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DICK GREGORY

will present to our guests
a Cast of Three
all playing leading roles in America's struggle
for equal treatment under law

ANONYMOUS

a leader in the student group aiding registration of
Negro voters under armed attack in Mississippi

WILEY A. BRANTON

civil rights attorney in the Little Rock school case;
Director, Voter Education Project of Atlanta

DR. HUBERT EATON

North Carolina physician, who is challenging in the courts exclusion of
Negro physicians and patients from publicly supported hospitals

Few of those who admire the brilliant satire of Dick Gregory know that he gives generously of his time and money to the civil rights movement and has personally aided countless victims of violence and economic reprisal in Mississippi.

The N.A.A.C.P. Legal Defense and Educational Fund welcomes Mr. Gregory as a new member of its Board of Directors.

The NAACP Legal Defense
and Educational Fund, Inc.
is dedicated to the
achievement
of
Equality and
Justice
for
all Americans
through action
in the courts

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10 Columbus Circle
New York 19, New York

May 9, 1963

Mrs. Anna C. Frank
NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc.
10 Columbus Circle
New York 19, N.Y.

Dear Anna:

Thank you for your very nice letter of May 2. I was happy to come to New York and participate in the fund-raising program. I am pleased to know that it was a success.

You inquired about an account of my expenses. I charged my air travel to the Legal Defense Fund on my air travel card and since I looked after other matters while in the area I will charge my other expenses to other agencies benefiting from the trip.

Sincerely yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:jl
cc: Mr. Jack Greenberg

1- agencies
NAACP Legal Defense & Educational Fund

N. A. A. C. P. LEGAL DEFENSE AND EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC.

10 Columbus Circle, New York 19, N. Y.

JUdson 6-8397

MAY 4 1963

May 2, 1963

Mr. Wiley A. Branton, Project Director
Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Room 206
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Wiley:

May the Lord smite the tongue that said to Wiley Branton he must speak only five to seven minutes!

It is impossible to detract from Dick Gregory -- the two of you could occupy prime evening time and run the television star with the highest rating out of business.

Thank you for your forebearance with me. The evening was a tremendous success and has already netted us important support. More important, it will pay off in the future.

Our serious supporters were excited to have the report on the Voter Education Project as well as the Mississippi report and Dr. Eaton's sober presentation.

I trust you will send us an account of your expenses. I hope we can get a share of your time in the future -- possibly in some of the cities where Gus Henningburg is building new committees.

If the Branton tribe gets to Connecticut this summer, Karl and I would be delighted to show them our simple countryside. I have been counting beds and think we can manage, though it will be without the elegance of the Branton establishment.

Sincerely,

Anna C. Frank

ACF:kp

Contributions are deductible for U. S. Income Tax Purposes

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The "Committee of 100," a voluntary cooperative group of individuals headed by Dr. Allan Knight Chalmers has sponsored the appeal of the N.A.A.C.P. Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc. since 1943 to enable the Fund to put into operation a program designed to make desegregation a reality throughout the United States.

Letters to The Times

NY Times 6-18-63

Fighters for Civil Rights

N.A.A.C.P. Legal Defense Fund's Court Record Praised

The writers of the following letter are three distinguished members of the bar.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

Every morning's newspaper proclaims the increased tempo of the struggle to obtain some semblance of equality for the citizens of the United States who are Negroes. In recent months, direct nonviolent action has emerged as a significant tactic in this struggle.

We recognize the important effect which this kind of action has had on the consciousness and conscience of all Americans of goodwill. It captures headlines, and serves to awaken public recognition of the problem. But in order to obtain any lasting benefits from the courageous acts of those men and women—white and black—on the streets of Jackson or in the lunchrooms of Birmingham, it will always be necessary ultimately to resort to the courts of law.

We feel that the public should more clearly recognize that permanent progress in civil rights has been the realization of justice under law and by the processes of the law. Too little known is the fact that this recent progress under law has been very largely the work of a private, voluntary organization—the N.A.A.C.P. Legal Defense and Educational Fund.

Involvement in Cases

The fund has been involved in virtually every major civil rights case of the past generation. In the past 100 days alone its record in the courts has been nothing short of fantastic. This legal aid organization, formerly directed by Judge Thurgood Marshall and now under the direction of Jack Greenberg, its chief counsel, and Mrs. Constance Motley, its associate counsel, has during this brief period of a little over three months achieved the following:

A decision in the United States Supreme Court invalidating the arrest of "sit-ins" for trespass in stores which are required to segregate by city ordinance or public pronouncement of high municipal officials.

A decision in the United States Supreme Court declaring that the right of equal access to public recreational facilities is an immediate one; and that the "deliberate speed" doctrine applicable to schools does not apply to public parks.

A decision in the Circuit Court of Appeals securing reinstatement of 1,100 students expelled from Birmingham elementary and high schools during the recent demonstrations there.

A decision in the United States District Court for the Northern District of Alabama requiring admission of Negroes to the University of Alabama.

A decision in the United States Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit requiring the admission of Negroes to the public schools of Savannah, Ga.

A decision in the United States District Court for the Southern District of Mississippi directing the admission of Cleve McDowell, a second Negro student, to the University of Mississippi Law School.

Two decisions in the United States Supreme Court, June 3, 1963, further tightening the standards of Brown v. Board of Education.

The filing of a suit to reduce the number of Congressmen from states which discriminate against Negroes South had not been so successfully using the processes of the courts, relying on the Constitution of the United States to bring about equality for all Americans.

BRUCE BROMLEY,
BETHUEL M. WEBSTER,
SAMUEL I. ROSENMAN.

New York, June 14, 1963.

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Birmingham Arrests

In addition, the fund has pending more than 120 cases, including protest demonstration cases involving well over 6,000 defendants, among them every one of 2,500 Negro citizens arrested in Birmingham.

This unprecedented recent record calls to mind the major milestones of successes in court which it has obtained in the last 20 years:

1944—Supreme Court decision holding that Negroes cannot be excluded from voting in primaries;

1948—Supreme Court decision outlawing racial restrictive covenants in deeds of real estate;

1954—Supreme Court decision directing desegregation of public schools in the United States;

1962—Decision of the Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit directing the University of Mississippi to admit James Meredith, a Negro;

1946, 1956—Supreme Court decisions securing the right to travel without discrimination in interstate and intrastate travel respectively.

It is difficult to picture what race relations in the United States would be today if this modest organization of nine lawyers working with eighty cooperating attorneys in the

N.A.A.C.P. LEGAL DEFENSE AND EDUCATIONAL FUND

DOCKET REPORT

June, 1963

N.A.A.C.P. LEGAL DEFENSE AND EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC.

DOCKET REPORT

FOR JUNE, 1963

I

CASES IN WHICH THE LEGAL DEFENSE FUND IS A PARTY

1. Arkansas ex rel. Bennett v. NAACP Legal Defense Fund, No. 44679 (Cir. Ct., Pulaski County)

This cause has been pending since December 1958 on cross motions for judgment on the pleadings and depositions filed in State Attorney General's action to recover statutory penalty for "doing business" without complying with foreign corporations' registration statute.

2. Arkansas ex rel. Bennett v. NAACP Legal Defense Fund, No. 45183 (Cir. Ct., Pulaski County)

Cause has been pending since July 1958 on defendant's objection to interrogatories propounded by Attorney General in connection with action to enjoin Fund for alleged violation of state statute prohibiting corporate practice of law.

3. NAACP Legal Defense Fund v. Gray, Civ. No. 2436 (E.D. Va.)

This case is still pending in the United States District Court awaiting the outcome of a suit in the Virginia State Courts for construction of Virginia's barratry statute and two registration laws which may apply to organizations advocating racial integration (see NAACP Legal Defense Fund v. Gray, infra).

Running and capping statute, held by Virginia's highest court to be valid and applicable to both the Fund and the NAACP, was declared invalid as applied by the Supreme Court of the United States on January 14, 1963 (NAACP v. Button).

4. Virginia ex rel. Virginia State Bar v. NAACP Legal Defense Fund No. 503 (Ch. Ct., City of Richmond)

Action filed in 1959 to enjoin the Defense Fund from engaging in the unauthorized practice of law. Pre-trial discovery proceedings are continuing. A motion for additional information from the Legal Defense Fund has been filed by the State of Virginia.

5. In The Matter of Investigation By Committee On Offenses Against The Administration Of Justice (Hustings Ct., City of Richmond)

Legislative committee's interrogatories seek names of Virginia residents who contributed to Fund during 1958-60. Motion to quash denied and answers ordered June 1962. Stay pending appeal granted. Petition for Writ of Error to Supreme Court of Appeals has been granted, and Fund's brief was filed May 9, 1963.

II

FREEDOM RIDER CASES

1. Abernathy, et al. v. Alabama, No. 101, et seq. (Supreme Court of Alabama)

"Yale Freedom Riders." Eleven defendants were convicted in Circuit Court of disturbing the peace and unlawful assembly. Defendants' convictions were upheld by the Alabama Court of Appeals on October 23, 1962. A petition for rehearing was denied, and petition for certiorari to Alabama Supreme Court has been filed.

2. Jackson Freedom Rider Cases (Circuit Court, Hinds County)

In November, 1961, the Legal Defense Fund agreed to take over the cases of 303 Freedom Riders. They were all charged with breach of the peace.

These cases have been tried in City Court. All were convicted. All received trials de novo in County Court at rate of two per day,

through May 1962. Briefs for 48 persons convicted in County Court were submitted on appeal to the Circuit Court.

The Circuit Court, to date, has affirmed the convictions in about 20 of the 48 cases, and appeals to the Supreme Court of Miss. are being prepared.

A brief is due April 27, 1963 in the Mississippi Supreme Court for one of the Freedom Riders. This will be the first of the Freedom Rider Cases to reach that court. A motion will also be made to consolidate all of the cases, on appeal since they involve the same factual and legal issues.

3. Shuttlesworth v. City of Birmingham, No.____ (S.C.U.S.)

Defendant, one of a group of Freedom Riders, arrested for interfering with police officer in the performance of his duty. He stood in front of him. Conviction affirmed by Ala. Court of Appeals on ground that an assault conviction would have been supported by the evidence. Ala. Supreme Court struck petition for certiorari because it was not on transcript paper. Petition for certiorari filed in U.S. Supreme Court in May 1963.

III

OTHER PUBLIC FACILITIES

1. Adams v. City of New Orleans, Civ. No. 6436 (E.D. La.)

Suit to desegregate dining facilities at New Orleans airport. All pleadings were filed, and plaintiffs' motion for summary judgment was denied on March 2, 1962. Plaintiffs then moved for a preliminary injunction which was granted on August 2, 1962, the order being signed on August 13. The Court of Appeals rejected defendants' motion for a stay pending appeal. Plaintiff-appellee's motion to dismiss the lessee's appeal for failure to file a brief was granted. Argument on the appeal of the City of New Orleans has been held, and a decision is pending.

2. Avent v. North Carolina, No. 943 (U.S. Sup. Ct.)

Defendants were convicted of trespass for "sitting-in" at a lunch counter in a Kress' store. The convictions were affirmed by the North Carolina Supreme Court. On writ of certiorari, the U.S. Supreme Court reversed the convictions on May 20, 1963.

3. Bailey, et al. v. Patterson, et al., Civ. No.____ (S.D. Miss.)

This class suit sought to enjoin state officials and police officers of Jackson from enforcing laws or customs requiring or permitting segregation in bus, railroad, or airline terminal facilities. The injunction was denied in November 1961 by a three-judge court on the ground that the federal court should abstain. The United States Supreme Court vacated the three-judge court's order, holding abstention inappropriate. However, plaintiffs were held not to have standing as they themselves had not been arrested or threatened with arrest.

On remand, a single judge dismissed on May 1, 1962, but held plaintiffs have a right to unsegregated transportation service and that state statutes requiring segregation are unconstitutional. Jurisdiction was retained.

Plaintiffs filed motions for relief in accordance with Supreme Court mandate for amended findings of fact and (based on affidavits showing continuing discrimination by defendants) a motion for further relief. Meanwhile, various defendants filed affidavits indicating either that they had ceased discriminatory policies or that racial signs still being maintained are to facilitate voluntary segregation.

Court ruled that racial signs in airport terminal must be removed in one week but no injunctive relief was granted. Plaintiffs have filed notice of appeal. Record on appeal is now ready. Plaintiffs brief filed on April 6.

4. Bates v. Sheraton Corporation of America, Civ. No. 12,940 (M.D. La

Suit was filed in November 1962 to declare unconstitutional a Louisiana statute requiring segregation of hotels and to desegregate two New Orleans hotels. Three-judge court declared statutes invalid in May 1963.

5. Bell v. Maryland, No. 167 (U.S. Sup. Ct.)

Trespass conviction of twelve students who sat in a public restaurant in Baltimore, Maryland. Petition for writ of certiorari, filed in the Supreme Court on June 8, 1962, is still pending.

6. Briggs v. State, No. 4992 (Ark. Sup. Ct.)

This appeal involving 13 of the Little Rock "sit-in" defendants (who were convicted under state statutes which make penal any act creating a disturbance in a public place of business and refusal to leave a business establishment after request) was argued during January 1961. In May 1963, Supreme Court of Arkansas reversed convictions for creating a disturbance. In two cases, (Lupper, et al. v. State), however, convictions for refusal to leave were affirmed. As to those, petitions for certiorari to the U.S. Supreme Court are being prepared.

7. Brown v. South Carolina State Forestry Commission, Civ. No. AC-774 (E.D. S.C.)

This is a class suit to enjoin enforcement of segregation in the use of public park facilities of South Carolina. Answer filed. Defendant has taken depositions. Plaintiffs have moved to limit inquiry to the pending suit. Hearing on motions held April 18, 1963. Briefs are in.

8. Charleston (City of) v. Mitchell, et al., No. 846 (U.S. Sup. Ct.)

Defendants were convicted of trespass under a state statute and for interfering with an officer in the discharge of his duties under a city ordinance. Defendants were engaged in a "sit-in" at Kress Variety Store in Charleston. The Circuit Court and the Supreme Court of South Carolina affirmed the conviction. A petition for certiorari to the Supreme Court was filed on April 8, 1962.

9. Columbia (City of) v. Barr, No. 847 (U.S. Sup. Ct.)

The Circuit Court and the State Supreme Court affirmed the defendants' convictions of trespass, after warning for a "sit-in" in Drug and Variety Store in Columbia, S. C. in March, 1960. Petition for certiorari was filed with the Supreme Court on April 8, 1962, and a brief in opposition was filed on May 5, 1962.

10. Columbia (City of) v. Bouie, et al., No. 1015 (U.S. Sup. Ct.)

The Circuit Court affirmed defendants' convictions of trespass after warning for "sit-in" at Drug Store on the same date as the defendants in the Barr case. The Supreme Court of South Carolina affirmed. Petition for Writ of Certiorari filed June 6, 1962, is pending.

11. Edwards v. Abercrombie Enterprises, Civ. No. ____ (M.D. N.C.)

Suit to desegregate the movie theatre in Durham, North Carolina. The theatre is located on property leased from the City. Trial was held on April 15. Plaintiff's brief is in. Argument due in June 1963.

12. Fields, et al. v. South Carolina, No. ____ (U.S. Sup. Ct.)

Three hundred and eighty-eight Negroes were convicted of breach of the peace for protest marches against segregation. The Supreme Court of South Carolina sustained the convictions and a petition for certiorari was filed with the U.S. Supreme Court. A brief in opposition was also filed. On March 18, the Supreme Court reversed and remanded the case in light of Edwards v. South Carolina. Subsequently the Supreme Court of South Carolina again affirmed the convictions. Petition for certiorari is being prepared.

13. Ford v. State of Tennessee, et al., No. 397 (U.S. Sup. Ct.)

Eight Negroes were convicted for disturbance of a religious assembly when they attempted to attend a youth rally at a public place. The Supreme Court of Tennessee upheld the convictions and a petition for certiorari was filed in the U.S. Supreme Court. A brief in opposition has been filed.

14. Gober, et al. v. State of Alabama, No. 694 (U.S. Sup. Ct.)

Ten defendants were convicted of trespass after warning. Defendants "sat-in" at lunch counters in stores which were otherwise open to them. Birmingham has an ordinance against the members of both races eating together. State Supreme Court affirmed convictions and denied rehearing. On certiorari, the Supreme Court of the United States reversed the convictions.

15. Griffin v. Maryland, No. 287 (U.S. Sup. Ct.)

Petitioners seek to overturn their convictions for trespassing in a privately owned and operated amusement park in Maryland. Certiorari was granted and the case was argued in November. On May 20, 1963 the Supreme Court ordered reargument at the October Term 1963. Person who arrested defendants was a deputy sheriff hired by park's owner as a guard.

16. Hamm v. City of Rock Hill (Recorder's Court, City of Rock Hill, South Carolina)

The U.S. Supreme Court will be asked to review the trespass conviction of Hamm who was arrested, with Rev. C. A. Ivory, on June 7, 1960 while sitting at a lunch counter in McCrory's store. Rev. Ivory has since died. Petition for certiorari filed in April, 1963.

17. Henry v. City of Rock Hill, No. 954 (U.S. Sup. Ct.)

A petition for certiorari was filed in April, 1963 asking the Supreme Court to review the convictions of sixty-five Negro students arrested on March 15, 1960 while protesting racial discrimination in front of the City Hall of Rock Hill, South Carolina.

18. Huntsville Sit-Ins

Fourteen Negro students from Alabama A & M College were arrested for participation in sit-in demonstrations in Huntsville, Alabama in early January 1962. The sit-ins took place in a Walgreen Agency Department Store. The students were all tried and convicted for trespass in the Recorder's Court and each sentenced to three months in prison and a $100 fine. One defendant was convicted of assault and battery in conjunction with the charge of trespass. On appeal to the first court of record, the Circuit Court of Madison County, all convictions were affirmed. Briefs on appeal to the Court of Appeals of Alabama were submitted on February 8, 1963.

19. Johnson v. Virginia, No. ____ (S.C. U.S.)

Contempt citation for refusing to leave white section of segregated courtroom reversed by Supreme Court.

20. King (and Embry) v. City of Montgomery, Ala., No. 8229 (Cir. Ct. of Montgomery County)

Defendants were convicted in 1960 of trespass for sitting in dining room of hotel at which one defendant (white) was a registered guest. Case has been tried several times, often being reversed on minor state issues. Following the most recent conviction, appeal is being taken to Alabama Court of Appeals. Appellants' brief is in. A petition for extraordinary relief is being readied so that adjudication of the constitutional issue can be obtained without further delay.

21. Patterson v. MacLean, Civ. No. 1321 (S.D. Ga.)

Suit to desegregate the public recreation facilities of Savannah, Ga. Defendants have not answered but have filed several motions including a motion to dismiss. Motions taken under advisement. The City, in response to plaintiff's request for admissions, set forth that all recreational facilities except swimming pools are now open on a nondiscriminatory basis. Test of these facilities by Negro plaintiffs support the admissions. Negotiations are under way as to the swimming pool, with plans to obtain court relief if talks are broken off.

22. Peterson v. City of Greenville, S. C., No. 71 (U.S. Sup. Ct.)

Sit-in cases arising from trespass convictions at lunch counter. Convictions affirmed in South Carolina courts. United States Supreme Court granted certiorari, and on May 20, 1962 reversed the convictions.

23. Randolph v. Commonwealth of Virginia, No. 248 (U.S. Sup. Ct.)

Petition for certiorari filed on July 22, 1962. Petitioners were convicted of "trespass-after-warning" for a "sit-in" demonstration at Thalhimer's Department Store in downtown Richmond. State filed Brief in Opposition June 5, 1962, at the request of the court.

24. Smith v. Holiday Inns of America, (M.D. Tenn.)

A suit was filed on February 11, 1963 to desegregate a motel in Nashville, Tennessee. Motel was built in urban redevelopment project sponsored by federal, state and local agencies. Trial held April 29, 30. Briefs and proposed findings and conclusions submitted June 4, 1963.

25. Thompson v. Commonwealth of Virginia, No. 655 (U.S. Sup. Ct.)

Defendant was convicted of trespass after warning after "sit-in" in drug store licensed by the City of Lynchburg. Writ of Error denied by Supreme Court of Appeals of Virginia on October 2, 1961. Petition for certiorari filed with the United States Supreme Court on January 10, 1962, and is still pending.

26. Walker v. Shaw, Civ. No. 2983 (W.D. S.C.)

Suit to desegregate the parks and skating rinks of Greenville, S. C. Depositions have been filed. A hearing was held on the motion

for preliminary injunction. While the motion was pending, defendants moved to dismiss for mootness, since the facilities had been officially closed. Motion to dismiss granted October 17, 1962. Plaintiffs, on October 26, filed motion for new trial and motion for additional findings of fact.

27. Walker, et al. v. City of Richmond, Kentucky, No. 238 (E.D. Ky.)

Complaint filed in March 1962 to desegregate recreational facilities in the City of Richmond, Ky. Defendants filed memorandum in support of motion on May 14, 1962, and plaintiffs filed memorandum in opposition also in May. Case will be decided on motions for summary judgment without oral argument.

28. Watson v. City of Memphis, No. 424 (U.S. Sup. Ct.)

The District Court denied a permanent injunction to desegregate the public park and playground facilities of Memphis and adopted a gradual desegregation plan. The Court of Appeals affirmed the District Court decision. On certiorari, Supreme Court reversed, disapproving delay in desegregating these facilities, and calling for faster school desegregation (May 27, 1963).

29. Wright, et al. v. State of Georgia, No. 729 (U.S. Sup. Ct.)

Defendants were convicted of unlawful assembly to disturb the peace when they attempted to play basketball in an area of a municipal park usually reserved for whites. The Supreme Court of Georgia affirmed the conviction. On may 20, 1963, Supreme Court of United States reversed unanimously.

IV

MEDICAL CASES

1. Bell v. Fulton DeKalb Hospital Authority (N.D. Ga.)

Argument on all preliminary motions was heard on September 13, 1962, in this suit attacking discriminatory practices at the Fulton DeKalb Hospital in Atlanta, Ga. and discriminatory admission policies of four medical and dental societies. Court has denied motion to sever but indicates separate trials appropriate. Plaintiffs are going ahead with discovery. Pre-trial conference held February 11. The judge dismissed the complaint as to the Fulton DeKalb Medical Society on grounds they had desegregated. Plaintiffs were allowed to amend their complaint in order to show more clearly the violations of which each plaintiff and class of plaintiffs complained. The defendants filed a motion to strike and a brief supporting it. Plaintiffs have filed a brief in opposition to the motion. Defendants have filed answer.

2. Eaton, et al. v. Grubbs, Civ. No. 932 (E.D. N.C.)

A new complaint has been filed on behalf of Negro doctors and some of their patients of Wilmington, N. C., who are renewing their efforts to gain admittance to the James Walker Memorial Hospital in Wilmington. An earlier action was dismissed for lack of jurisdiction (164 F. Supp. 191, aff'd 261 F.2d 521, cert. den. 359 U.S. 984) on the ground that plaintiffs had failed to show that the hospital was a public hospital whose action could fairly be said to be that of the state. The new complaint has firmed up the allegations of state action. Motion to Dismiss granted. Appeal to Fourth Circuit is being perfected.

3. Hawkins v. North Carolina Dental Society, Civ. No. 1505

Civil action against state dental society and component district society for injunction to prohibit exclusion of Negro dentists. Constitutional claims founded in part on statute which delegated to the society the right to elect certain state officers. District Court denied motion to dismiss in December 1961. An answer was filed. New parties substituted. Statute which gave Dental Society right to elect

State Board of Dental Examiners was repealed. Defendants' motion to file supplemental pleadings granted. Plaintiff took depositions in April and defendants were given sixty days in which to complete their discovery procedures. Defendants have filed a motion to dismiss. A supplemental complaint and answer have been filed. Trial date is set for September 1963.

4. Rackley, et al. v. Orangeburg Hospital, No. ____ (E.D. S.C.)

Complaint filed on March 24, 1962, to desegregate county-owned hospital in Orangeburg, S. C. The District Court denied Motion for Preliminary Injunction. Court of Appeals affirmed denial of preliminary injunction, reversed order striking certain parts of complaint, and remanded for hearing. Plaintiffs seeking hearing on permanent injunction in trial court.

5. Simkins, et al. v. Moses H. Cone Memorial Hospital, No. C-57-G-62 (M.D. N.C.)

Suit to desegregate two nonprofit hospitals in Greensboro, N. C. and have the "separate-but-equal" provisions of the Hill-Burton Act declared unconstitutional. The United States intervened in support of plaintiffs' position. On December 6, 1962, District Court ruled that the hospitals were private. Plaintiffs are appealing to Fourth Circuit. Brief was filed February 19. Argument was held on April 1, 1963.

V

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION CASES

1. Anderson v. Dougherty County Board of Education, Civ. No.____ (M.D. Ga.)

Suit to desegregate the public schools of Albany, Ga. Complaint filed April 5, 1963. Motion for preliminary injunction filed May 2, 1963. Depositions taken May 20, 1963.

2. Armstrong v. Board of Education of Birmingham, Ala., Civ. No. 9678 (N.D. Ala.)

Suit to desegregate school system. Trial completed October 25, 1962. Brief of plaintiff was submitted in District Court December 17, 1962. Briefs of all defendants have been received. On May 28, 1963, District Court refused injunction. Swift appeal to Fifth Circuit in process.

3. Augustus v. Board of Public Instruction of Escambia County, Civ. No. 1064 (N.D. Fla.)

Action to desegregate the Pensacola public school system. The District Court ordered the Board to submit a plan which would afford the plaintiffs "a reasonable and conscious opportunity" to seek admission or to transfer "without regard to race or color." The Board's plan was adopted with minor changes over plaintiffs' objections. Plaintiffs appealed to the Fifth Circuit, which reversed and called for a more adequate plan. Following a hearing, the District Court on November 29, 1962, ordered that grades one and two be desegregated in September, 1963 and at least one grade a year thereafter. The School Board has filed an answer to the portion of the complaint dealing with administrative and teacher segregation.

4. Belo v. Randolph County Board of Education, Civ. No. 209-G-62 (M.D. N.C.)

Suits to desegregate schools filed in October 1962. The defendants have answered. Negotiation proceeding. Interrogatories were filed on March 18, 1963. A settlement offer prepared by plaintiffs appears to have been rejected. Answers to interrogatories have been received.

5. Blackwell v. County School Board of Fairfax County, Civ. No. 1967 (E.D. Va)

Though the District Court on September 22, 1960, rejected the defendant's desegregation plan and ordered the admission of the majority of the plaintiffs, it refused to enter a general order enjoining segregation and consequently dismissed the action. Thereafter, plaintiffs moved for a new trial and other relief. Decision on this motion is still pending. All plaintiffs who applied for admission this year were accepted except one who applied after the deadline.

6. Boson v. Rippy, Civ. No. 6165 (N.D. Tex.)

Dallas school desegregation case. Some desegregation began in September 1961. Jurisdiction has been retained by the District Court.

7. Boyce v. County Board of Education of Humphreys County, Tenn., Civ. No. 3130 (M.D. Tenn.)

On December 21, 1961, an order was entered admitting the plaintiffs to the first five grades by January 1962, and to all grades by September 1962. The issue of teacher segregation has been reserved pending decision of cases now in the higher courts.

8. Bradley, et al. v. School Board of City of Richmond, Va., Civ. No. 3353 (E.D. Va.)

This action to desegregate the public schools of Richmond was commenced in September 1961. The District Judge ordered the admission of plaintiffs to the schools, but did not grant plaintiffs' request that the school board be required to submit a plan of desegregation. From the latter half of this judgment plaintiffs appealed. The Fourth Circuit reversed on May 10, 1963, and plaintiffs have moved to have the Court's mandate issued forthwith so a plan can be formulated this summer.

9. Braxton v. Board of Public Instruction of Duval County, Civ. No. 4598 (S.D. Fla.)

Representative suit for injunctive relief to desegregate the Jacksonville public school system. On August 21, 1962, the District Court enjoined defendants from "applying the criteria of the Florida Pupil Assignment Law" in order to foster racial discrimination. The defendants were also directed to submit a comprehensive plan to abolish (a) compulsory biracial schools in Duval County; (b) dual

schemes and patterns of attendance based on race or color; (c) the use of budgets, employment contracts, and construction programs to perpetuate a racially structured school system; and (d) the assignment of school personnel on the basis of race. Plan as submitted provided for racial option and grade-a-year integration. Plaintiffs' counter-plan filed on November 14, 1962. Defendants are appealing. On May 8, 1963 District Court approved plan and rejected counter-plan.

10. Brown v. Charleston, S. C. School District #20, Civ. No. 7747 (E.D. S.C.)

Suit for school desegregation. The defendants filed a motion to dismiss or in the alternative a motion to strike all the plaintiffs except one. Hearing on the motion was delayed because of the judge's death. Interrogatories were served on defendants in November 1962. Objections to interrogatories have been filed by defendants.

11. Brown v. County School Board of Frederick County, Civ. No. ____ (W.D. Va.)

Action to desegregate county school system. Complaint filed October 1962. A motion for interlocutory injunction has also been made.

12. Brunson v. Board of Trustees of School Dist. No. 1 of Clarendon County, S. C., Civ. No. 7210 (E.D. S.C.)

This action was brought to desegregate the public school system of Clarendon County, S. C. The District Judge, ruling that the suit was improperly brought as a class action, struck the names of all plaintiffs but the first. The Fourth Circuit has reversed the decision of the District Court. Certiorari denied May 27, 1963.

13. Bush v. Orleans Parish School Board, Civ. No. 3630 (E.D. La.)

Plaintiffs filed a motion for further relief charging Orleans Parish School Board with using the State's pupil placement plan to deny them their constitutional rights. On April 9, 1962, Judge J. Skelly Wright ordered the school board to desegregate the first six grades in the elementary schools in September 1962. On April 17 the school board moved for a new trial and a vacation of the preliminary injunction. Judge Ellis (Judge Wright's successor) granted a stay of the preliminary injunction pending decision on the granting of a new trial. Hearing on motion was held May 8, 1962. On May 14, plaintiffs filed a motion in the Fifth Circuit for Extraordinary Writ Vacating the Stay of Injunction. On May 23, District Court filed an opinion

withdrawing the order of April 9 and ordering desegregation of only the first grade in September 1962, with one additional grade each year. The court did not change the ruling that the pupil placement law could be used only with a non-segregated system of initial assignment.

On May 31, plaintiffs filed a notice of appeal and motion to advance appeal, and for an injunction pending appeal. On August 25, 1962, the Fifth Circuit modified Judge Ellis' opinion to permit some desegregation of the second and third grades. The Orleans Parish School Board has submitted a long range school plan to which the plaintiffs have filed objections. In May 1963, the board's plan was approved in part. Appeal is under consideration.

14. Cabaniss v. Shelby Board of Education, Civ. No. ____ (W.D. N.C.)

Suit has been filed to desegregate the schools of Shelby, North Carolina. Hearing on motion for preliminary injunction held April 15, 1963.

15. Calhoun v. Latimer, No. 20273 (5th Cir.)

Atlanta school case. Under plans brought in by defendants, 48 Negro students are now attending 7 previously white schools. Issue of teacher segregation has been deferred.

Appeal was taken from the denial of a motion for further relief designed to accelerate the desegregation process. Our brief was filed in the Fifth Circuit on March 1, 1963. Appellants objected to the manner in which the school board's placement plan was being administered. Oral argument held May 1st. Decision is awaited.

16. Conley v. Transylvania County Board of Education, No. 2094 (W.D. N.C.)

Thirty Negro high school children are seeking to attend schools in Transylvania County. The children now attend a segregated school in another county 40 miles from their home. The suit was filed in August and efforts are being made to get an early hearing. Plaintiffs took depositions on November 27, 1962. A hearing on a renewed motion for preliminary injunction was held on December 18. Trial was held on March 11, 1963. Judge Warlick ordered the Negro high school children into desegregated schools but refused to rule on desegregation of elementary schools saying no elementary school plaintiffs were before him. The adult plaintiffs will seek applications for transfers to desegregated schools if they are assigned to Negro schools.

17. Davis v. Board of Commissioners of Mobile County, Civ. No.____ (S.D. Ala.)

Twenty students are seeking to desegregate the schools of Mobile, Alabama. Hearing on preliminary injunction held on April 25, 1962. Court refused to decide immediately. On May 24, 1963, Fifth Circuit denied motion for injunction pending appeal on condition that district court rule in early June.

18. Davis v. Board of Education of Charleston, Mo., No. S62 C51 (E.D. Mo.)

Suit to desegregate high school. Temporary restraining order was issued requiring Board to allow Negroes the same privileges that white have to transfer from other districts into the high school. Following trial the court issued a permanent injunction and ordered defendants to follow his plan of desegregation.

19. Davis v. East Baton Rouge School Board, No. 1662 (E.D. La.)

District Court ordered desegregation of schools in May, 1960, but did not require Board to submit a plan. First part of order has been upheld on appeal. In March 1962, plaintiffs filed a motion for further relief seeking an order requiring submission of a plan. Plaintiffs renewed their motion for further relief on February 11, 1963. A hearing was held on March 1, 1963, after which the School Board was required to submit a desegregation plan by July 5, 1963.

20. Dillard v. School Board of City of Charlottesville, Va., No. 8638 (4th Cir.)

District Court ordered the admission of Negro plaintiffs to high school and Fourth Circuit affirmed. District Court approved defendants' racial transfer plan in elementary schools. Court of Appeals reversed, and defendants' petition for certiorari is pending. Application for stay pending Supreme Court action has been denied.

21. Dowell v. Oklahoma City School Board, No. 9452 (W.D. Okla.)

Plaintiff seeks to enjoin school board policy of making initial school assignments according to race and permitting transfers only where Negroes request courses not offered. The complaint also charged that Negroes in mixed schools are denied the opportunity to participate in extracurricular activities. Following dissolution of

a three-judge court on jurisdictional grounds, the case was remanded to District Court. That court granted plaintiffs' motion for leave to file an amended complaint and to intervene additional plaintiffs. The amended complaint was filed August 22, 1962. Answers to interrogatories have been obtained. Answer to second amended complaint has also been received.

22. Ellis v. Earl Kipp, et al., No. 1215-Orl. Civ. (S.D. Fla.)

Complaint was filed in a class action to desegregate the schools of Orange County in March 1962. Defendants have filed (a) a motion to strike certain sections of the complaints, on several grounds, particularly that insufficient facts were alleged to permit this suit to be maintained as a class action, and (b) a motion to dismiss the complaint on the ground that it fails to state a claim for which relief can be granted. The Court has not yet ruled on these motions. Defendants' answer has been received.

23. Evans v. Brooks, Civ. No. 2803 (S.D. Texas)

On August 5, 1961, a complaint was filed against the Superintendent of Schools of the Texas City Independent School District seeking to desegregate the public schools in Texas City, Texas. Defendant has filed an answer on the merits.

24. Evers v. Jackson, Civ. No. ____ (S.D. Miss.)

Ten students filed suit on March 4, 1963 to desegregate the schools of Jackson, Miss. A motion to dismiss will be heard on April 5. A motion for preliminary injunction will be heard on April 12.

25. Farmer v. Greene County Board of Education, (E.D. N.C.)

Suit has been filed to desegregate the schools of Greene County, North Carolina. A motion for a preliminary injunction has been filed. Hearing was held April 24 and continued to May 29 when the motion for preliminary injunction was denied.

26. Flax v. Potts, Civ. No. 4205 (N.D. Texas)

Suit to desegregate Fort Worth schools. Judgment was rendered on December 14, 1961, ordering defendants to desegregate the schools and to submit a plan to that effect within thirty days. Court retained

jurisdiction to effectuate the judgment. On March 1, 1962, an order was entered overruling defendant's motion for a new trial. Defendants appealed to the Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit. The Fifth Circuit affirmed the judgment of the District Court and stated that a plan of desegregation by the board should be submitted to the District Court within thirty days of the receipt of its mandate in the Ditrict Court. Recently the district court approved a plan of desegregation of one grade the first year, two more the next and one additional grade each thereafter.

27. Ford v. Cumberland County Board of Education (E.D. N.C.)

Suit has been filed to desegregate the schools of Cumberland County, North Carolina. Answer filed April 29, 1963.

28. Gibson v. Board of Public Instruction of Dade County, Florida, No. 6978 (S.D. Fla.)

On August 25, 1962, several Negroes sought intervention in this school desegregation suit which had been decided favorably to the plaintiffs in 1960. Alleging that they were forced to attend segregated schools, the Negroes sought to force their intervention in the suit by petition for Writ of Mandamus to the United States District Court, Southern District of Florida and to Honorable Emmett C. Choate, Judge. The Fifth Circuit denied the petition on December 11, 1962, saying that there was no showing that the judge had refused or would refuse to permit the intervention of these Negroes.

29. Gilmore v. High Point Board of Education (M.D. N.C.)

Seven plaintiffs seek entrance to desegregated schools in High Point. The school board has admitted twenty-three persons since 1959, but has refused to admit plaintiffs. Interrogatories were filed by the plaintiffs in March.

30. Goss v. Board of Education of Knoxville, No. 217 (U.S.S.C.)

The Sixth Circuit affirmed that part of the District Court order approving the School Board's "racial transfer" plan (permitting a student to transfer if his assigned school had previously been run for the other race or if it presently contains a majority of the other race). The Supreme Court held the transfer plan invalid on June 3, 1963.

31. Goss v. Board of Education of Knoxville, Civ. No. 3984

District Court originally approved a 12-year plan of desegregation generally, and as to vocational schools required only that Negroes be offered courses available at white vocational schools. The Sixth

Circuit reversed the ruling on the 12-year plan. On remand, the Board submitted an 11-year plan, on which no hearing has been held so far. Our brief was submitted on December 26, 1962.

32. Green v. Board of Education of City of Roanoke, No. 14,421

Suit was brought to desegregate the schools of Roanoke City. On the basis of a prior District Court judgment approximately thirty Negroes have been admitted to white schools. On May 22, 1962, the Fourth Circuit reversed trial court's judgment that plaintiffs were not entitled to relief against segregated initial assignments made by the Pupil Placement Board. Transfer procedures were held by the Court to have been discriminatory. The defendants have submitted an interim plan which is to function during the present school year, but are to submit a comprehensive plan for the period thereafter. The plan submitted has been approved.

33. Griffith v. Board of Education of Yancey County, Civ. No. 1881 (W.D. N.C.)

The Yancey County school authorities have admitted the plaintiffs who sought admission to the high school. On August 13, 1962, the District Court denied plaintiff's (Griffith) motion to be admitted to the white elementary school. The court, however, reiterated that the school board make a determined study of the situation and that at the beginning of the school year in September 1963 have plans ready to use every available space under its jurisdiction for students' benefit. In addition, the school board's attention was directed to the fact that the two room Oak Crest Elementary School (now colored) has at present only eighteen students and represents a failure to utilize existing facilities. On March 6, 1963, interrogatories were requested on the progress of desegregation plans. The defendants answered on March 22. Answers to interrogatories received March 22, 1963.

34. Hall, et al. v. Board of Public Instruction of Broward County, Fla, No. 10,820 (S.D. Fla.)

An amended complaint was filed to secure the desegregation of the Broward County School system. Defendants filed their answer on March 1, 1962. A pre-trial conference was held on June 26, 1962. Case is still pending.

35. Hall v. St. Helena Parish School Board, Civ. No. 1068 (E.D. La.)

District Court ordered desegregation of schools in May 1960, but did not require Board to submit a plan. First part of order has been upheld on appeal. In March 1962, plaintiffs filed a motion for further relief seeking an order requiring submission of a plan.

No hearing or decision on the motion has been held. Plaintiffs renewed their motion for further relief on March 8, 1963. The case was set down for hearing on April 5, but this hearing has been continued until further notice.

36. Hammond v. University of Tampa, Civ. No. _____ (M.D. Fla.)

Suit to desegregate the University of Tampa. The two plaintiffs are trying to enter the evening division. Defendant's motion to dismiss taken under advisement May 10, 1963. Brief in opposition filed May 20th.

37. Hemon Harris, Jr., et al. v. St. John the Baptist Parish School Board, Civ. No. 13212, (E.D. La.).

Complaint filed March 1, 1963 to compel the school board of St. John the Baptist Parish, a rural parish in Louisiana about 35 miles north of New Orleans to desegregate the public schools of the parish. On March 26, defendants secured ex parte order extending their time to plead to May 27th. In the meantime, interrogatories and requests for admission have been served on the defendants. Defendants' time to answer interrogatories and requests for admissionsand other pleadings extended to July 27, 1963.

38. Hereford v. City of Huntsville, (N.D. Ala.)

A suit to desegregate the schools of Huntsville, Alabama has been filed. Motionsto dismiss have been filed.

39. Hudson v. Leake County School Board, Civ. No. _____ (S.D. Miss.)

Thirty Negroes in Leake County, Mississippi have filed suit to desegregate the schools. A motion to dismiss will be heard on April 5, 1963. A motion for preliminary injunction will be held on April 12, 1963.

40. Jackson v. School Board of City of Lynchburg, Va., Civ. No. 534

Action was brought to enjoin segregation in the Lynchburg public schools. After a hearing on a plan submitted by the School Board the District Court tentatively approved a plan for desegregation of "at least" a grade-a-year. Prior to this the court had already ordered the admission of two plaintiffs to white schools. From the trial court's judgment on the desegregation plan, plaintiffs appealed. In October, 1962, the Fourth Circuit affirmed the order of admission of the two Negroes to white schools and ordered the admission of two other plaintiffs. It reserved decision on the other issues until after the Supreme Court's decision in Dillard v. School Board of the City of Charlottesville, supra.

41. Jeffers v. Whitley, Civ. No. 1079-G (M.D. N.C.)

Action was brought to secure admission of plaintiffs to white schools. Judgment was entered on December 29, 1961, ordering the admission ot two plaintiffs and denying relief as to the others. The appeal was argued in June 1962. For "reasons appearing to the Court", the case was restored to the docket and reargued on July 9 before the Court of Appeals en banc. A decision was rendered on October 12, 1962, by the Fourth Circuit. It affirmed that part of the District Court's order which required admission of some of the plaintiffs to white schools. In addition, the court ordered the admission of all other plaintiffs. The District Court was required to issue an injunctive order to the school board prohibiting further discrimination against Negro pupils. Plaintiffs submitted a proposed order to the District Court. The District Court entered plaintiffs' requested order on January 2, 1963. A motion for further relief was filed March 15 seeking bus transportation for Negro children to white schools and an order enjoining the school board to halt harassment of Negro students and to cease suspending Negro children for trivial matters. On April 11, 1963 court granted relief as to buses but found insufficient evidence of harassment.

42. Koen, et al. v. Knight, Civ. No. 2434 (S.D. Ala.)

Suit to enjoin segregation at the Alabama Vocational Technical School at Mobile, Alabama. Defendants have answered plaintiffs' amended complaint. Pre-trial discovery in process.

43. Lee v. Macon County Board of Education, No. 604E (M.D. Ala.)

A complaint was filed on January 28, 1963 to desegregate the schools of Macon County. A motion to strike and dismiss was made by defendants on February 11, 1963. Plaintiffs noticed the taking of depositions on February 15, 1963, but the taking was stayed until hearing on motion to strike and dismiss. Plaintiffs filed reply to the motion, but on May 1, 1963 the court ordered briefs from both parties on the motion. Defendants' brief filed May 24th. Plaintiffs' brief due June 17, 1963.

44. Mack v. Frankfort, Kentucky Board of Education, Civ. No. 216 (E.D. Ky.)

Action filed in September, 1962 after parents protested segregation by seeking admission of children in white schools and, after rejection, keeping their children out of school. As a result of this protest, the Board initiated a grade-a-year plan and accepted four Negroes at the first grade level. The parents halted the

protest when threatened with prosecution under compulsory attendance school law, but the state attorney general later issued an opinion concluding such laws unenforceable against Negroes who refused to send their children to segregated schools. Pre-trial hearing held January 11, 1963. Trial held February 18. Briefs have been filed on the school board's plan but a decision awaits the Supreme Court ruling in the racial transfer cases (see Goss, supra, and Maxwell, infra).

45. Malone v. Mate, Civ. No. 63-178 (W.D. Ala.)

Suit for admission of three Negroes to University of Alabama. Complaint filed April 1963. On May 17, 1963 the court ordered the case consolidated with the Autherine Lucy case, in which the injunction is still outstanding. The admission of Vivian Malone and Jimmie Hood has been ordered for June 10, 1963.

(In a separate action, the United States has obtained an injunction against interference by the Governor with the implementation of the above orders.)

46. Mannings v. Board of Public Instruction of Hillsborough County, (Civ. No. 3554 (S.D. Fla.)

This is an action to desegregate Tampa schools. On August 21, 1962, the District Court entered an order enjoining immediately the application of the criteria of the Florida Pupil Assignment Law, or any other criteria in such a manner as to promote or maintain racial segregation in the county. Defendants were ordered to submit by October 30 a plan for the elimination of (a) compulsory biracial schools, (b) dual attendance patterns, and (c) the assignment of pupils to schools on a racial basis. The plan has been received; on November 15, plaintiffs filed objections and a counterplan. Supplemental pleadings have put the question of teacher segregation before the court. On May 18, 1963 Court approved plan.

47. Mapp v. Board of Education of Chattanooga, Nos. 15,038 and 15,039 (6th Cir.)

Suit to desegregate public schools in Chattanooga. Defendants submitted a desegregation plan, which the District Court approved on April 20, 1962. Plaintiffs have appealed from the District Court's interlocutory order granting a motion to strike the question of segregated school personnel. Plaintiffs also appeal failure of District Court to require immediate integration in a two-year technical training course given by Chattanooga Technical Institute and in Kirkman Vocational High School. Defendants have appealed from the District Court's disapproval of delay in rezoning and of

racial transfer provisions. Both parties have filed briefs. Argument held February 19.

48. Marsh v. Board of Education of Roanoke County, Civ. No. 1095 (W.D. Va.)

Suit to desegregate the schools of Roanoke County. In October 1961 the cause was dismissed by the District Court after an earlier determination that the plaintiffs have failed to pursue their administrative remedies. The Court of Appeals reversed, holding that the criteria of the Virginia Pupil Placement Law were being unconstitutionally applied. On remand, the District Court approved a plan.

49. Mason v. Jessamine County, Kentucky, Board of Education, Civ. No. 1496 (E.D. Ky.)

Suit to desegregate the schools of Jessamine County, Kentucky. The defendants filed motions to strike and to dismiss as well as answering. Motion to dismiss denied. January 29, 1963, court denied injunction but ordered submission by May 15 of a plan of complete desegregation by September 1963. Plan has been submitted.

50. Maxwell v. County Board of Education of Davidson County, No. 217 (U.S.S.C.)

Appeal was taken from District Court's order denying new trial and other relief to the individual plaintiffs who, under court's order of November 23, 1961, cannot gain admittance to formerly white schools even though a plan of desegregation was ordered into effect. The Court of Appeals decided that plaintiffs were not entitled to relief because to admit them would disrupt the plan (plaintiffs being in grades above those covered by the plan). The court also held the "racial option transfer" plan valid. Petition for certiorari on the question of racial transfer was granted and Supreme Court held transfer plan invalid on June 3, 1963.

51. Mays v. Board of Public Instruction of Sarasota County, Fla., No. 4242-Civ-T. (S.D. Fla.)

An amended complaint was filed in this class action to desegregate the schools of Sarasota County on March 18, 1962, in response to defendants' motion for a more definite statement. Case was tried September 19, 1962. Judge has ruled favorably to plaintiff on most points.

52. McDowell v. Tubb, No. 3425 (S.D. Miss.)

Suit for admission of a Negro to University of Mississippi. Temporary restraining order granted on May 28, 1963. Preliminary injunction granted June 4, 1963. Plaintiff has been admitted and is now attending the Summer Session.

53. McNeese v. Board of Education, District 187, Cahokia, Illinois No. 480 (S.C.U.S.)

School desegregation suit dismissed for failure to file petition (50 signatures) with State Superintendent who has power to recommend suit by State Attorney General. Court of Appeals for Sixth Circuit affirmed United States Supreme Court reversed on June 3, 1963.

54. Meredity v. Fair, No. 19,475 (5th Cir.)

Fifth Circuit ordered plaintiff's admission to the University of Mississippi. Plaintiff seeking District Court order directing that he and his wife be assigned quarters for married students on campus for Summer Session 1963.

55. Monroe v. Board of Education of Jackson, Tenn., Civ. No._____ (W.D. Tenn.)

Suit has been filed to desegregate the schools of Jackson, Tennessee. The defendants answered on February 26, 1963. A hearing on the defendants' motions to dismiss and motion for severance was held on February 15, 1963. The motion to dismiss was treated as a motion for summary judgment, and was denied. The motion for severance was taken under advisement.

56. Northcross v. Board of Education of City of Memphis, No. 14,642 (6th Cir.)

Appeal to the Court of Appeals for the Sixth Circuit challenging the denial of plaintiffs' requested injunction and District Court's ruling that the pupil assignment plan of the defendants is adequate. On March 23, 1962, the Sixth Circuit reversed the lower court, ruling that the Pupil Placement Act was not an adequate desegregation plan and ordering the trial court to require a plan and to retain jurisdiction. Defendants' petition for certiorari denied. On July 18, 1962, defendants were given sixty days to submit a plan to the District Court ending biracial schools in the City of Memphis. A plan was filed on August 30, 1962, and an order putting it into effect with some modifications was handed down on August 31, 1962. Plaintiffs' objections to the plan have been filed. A hearing on the plans was held on May 6, 1963.

57. Scott v. Board of Instruction of St. John's County, Florida, No. 4894 (S.D. Fla. transferred to M.D. Fla.)

A complaint was filed in this class action to desegregate the schools of St. John's County in March, 1962. Defendants' motion to dismiss the complaint was denied on October 5, 1962. Defendants' answer has been filed. Plaintiffs have filed requests for admissions. Pre-trial conference held on May 20, 1963.

58. Stanley v. Darlington County School District, South Carolina, No. 7749 (E.D. S.C.)

Suit was brought to desegregate schools in Darlington County. Trial is pending. Defendants' motion to strike, posing same issue as in Brunson, supra, was filed in June 1962. Plaintiffs have filed interrogatories, and defendants have filed objections thereto.

59. Steele, et al. v. Board of Public Instruction of Leon County, Florida, TCA No. 854 (N.D. Fla.)

A complaint was filed in this class action to desegregate the schools. Defendants filed a motion to strike and dismiss on March 23, 1962. Depositions have been taken. Defendants answered on October 8, 1962. Pre-trial conference was held November 29. Motions to dismiss and strike denied. Trial was held February 28, 1963. The judge ordered the school board to submit a plan which has now been filed. The plan calls for desegregation of one grade a year pupil assignment.

60. Stell v. Savannah-Chatham County Board of Education, Civ. No. (S.D. Ga.)

Suit to enjoin segregated school system filed in January 1962. Motions to strike and dismiss denied. White parents' motion to intervene granted April 1963. Following a hearing, Judge Scarlett on May 13, 1963 denied an injunction on the ground that integration hurts both races. Notice of appeal to the Fifth Circuit was filed and Fifth Circuit granted injunction pending appeal.

61. Brooks (formerly Thompson) v. County School Board of Arlington County, Civ. No. 1314 (E.D. Va.)

On November 16, 1961, the school board asked that the injunction outstanding prohibiting segregation be dissolved as the Board had complied with its terms. The District Court dissolved the injunction and dismissed the case on March 1, 1962. The Fourth Circuit reinstated the injunction pending appeal, but delayed argument until the Supreme Court decides the racial transfer cases.

62. Thomas v. Bowen, C.A. No. 13,850 (S.D. Texas)

Action was brought to effect desegregation in Bryan, Texas. Defendants filed a motion to dismiss which was denied on February 20, 1962.

63. Tillman v. Board of Public Instruction of Volusia County, Florida Civ. No. 4501 (S.D. Fla.)

This was an action to desegregate the schools of Volusia County, Florida. On August 21, Judge Simpson entered an order requiring the defendants to submit to the court by October 30, 1962, a complete plan for the removal of dual attendance zones, for the system-wide

opening of all schools on a nonracial basis, for the elimination system-wide of discriminatory assignment of teachers, principals, supervisory and operating personnel, as well as the elimination of discrimination racially in the construction, designation, budgeting of funds, maintenance and operation of all schools in the system. The court enjoined the application of the criteria of Florida Pupil Placement Law in a discriminatotory manner. A plan was submitted by the school board, and a counterplan was submitted by plaintiffs. Defendants filed notice of appeal, but in January they moved to dismiss their own appeal. On May 8, 1963, court approved board's plan.

64. Vick v. County Board of Education of Obion County, Tenn., No. 3129 (W.D. Tenn.)

On June 4, 1962, the District Court ruled that the desegregation plan submitted by the school board was inadequate. The defendants then submitted a plan providing for (1) compulsory segregation to be abolished as of 1962-63 school year, (2) racial school zones to be established, (3) students to be assigned according to zones, and (4) minimum race transfers permitted.

65. Walker v. Board of Education of Richmond, Ky., No. 241 (E.D. Ky.)

Suit to desegregate schools. Pre-trial conference held January 11, 1963. Trial was held February 19. The defendants have filed a brief with a plan of desegregation amending that found in their answer. The main feature of the plan is a voluntary transfer provision. Plaintiffs have submitted a plan.

66. Weaver v. Board of Public Instruction of Brevard County, Fla., No. 1172-Orlando (S.D. Fla.)

A complaint has been filed in this class action to desegregate the schools in Brevard County. Defendants filed a motion to dismiss, and answered in June 1962. Additional interrogatories in preparation. Answer has been filed.

67. Wheeler v. Durham City Board of Education, No. 8643 (4th Cir.)

On April 11, 1962, the District Court filed an opinion denying all relief and dismissing the case. Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit reversed the District Court's decision on October 12, 1962. It ordered the admission of the plaintiffs to the schools to which they applied for the school year 1962-63. It declared that the North Carolina Pupil Enrollment Act was being unconstitutionally applied and ordered the District Court to issue an injunction against further discrimination in the Durham schools. District Court order entered January 2, 1963. Forty-six Negro pupils have been transferred to white schools.

VI

MISCELLANEOUS

Albany, Georgia Litigation:

1. Asa Kelley v. Page, et al., M.D. Ga., No. 727
2. Anderson, et al. v. City of Albany, M.D. Ga., No. 730
3. Anderson, et al. v. City of Albany, M.D. Ga., No. 731

The first case (No. 727) is a suit by the Mayor and other Albany officials to enjoin demonstrations against racial segregation. A hearing has been held but a decision has not been rendered.

In No. 730 (a suit by Negroes to enjoin racial segregation in public facilities and to enjoin enforcement of certain segregation ordinances), a hearing was also held and at the hearing No. 731 (a suit to enjoin city officials from interfering with peaceful protests against segregation) was consolidated over plaintiffs' objections. The Court indicated that it would also consider the testimony elicited in the hearing on No. 727. To this, plaintiffs also objected.

In addition, the city officials filed a cross-claim in No. 731 which, in substance, was their complaint in No. 727. To this cross-claim, plaintiffs did not respond formally but asked the Court to consider their answer to the complaint in No. 727 as their reply to the cross-claim in No. 731. The court has not ruled.

At present, the parties have agreed that all testimony elicited in the hearings held may be used to decide these three cases. Briefs and Findings of Fact were submitted on November 9, 1962. On February 14, 1963, Judge Elliott dismissed the complaint in No. 730 on the ground that it was not a proper class action. An appeal to the Fifth Circuit is being perfected. Hearing on merits set for June 26, 1963. The other decisions are still pending.

4. Anderson and Belton v. Martin, No. 684 (U.S. Sup. Ct.)

Suit challenging the constitutionality of a Louisiana statute which provides for the designation of the race of each candidate for public office on nominating papers and on ballots. On June 29, plaintiffs' motion for a preliminary injunction restraining the enforcement of this statute was denied by a three-judge court. A motion

by the plaintiffs for leave to file a supplemental complaint was denied. Notice of appeal filed. Jurisdictional statement was filed in United States Supreme Court on December 20, 1962. The Supreme Court noted probable jurisdiction on February 18, 1963 and placed case on the summary calendar.

5. Arkansas v. Howard

This is a state criminal prosecution of the uncle of a Negro girl attending an integrated school in Dollarway, Arkansas. Howard went to the school to pick up his niece, was assaulted and defended himself with a knife. He was charged with carrying a concealed weapon and assault with intent to kill. A petition for removal to a federal district court under 28 U.S.C. 1443 was filed on March 9, 1963, and a brief in support of the petition was filed on April 10th.

6. Colorado Anti-Discrimination Commission v. Continental Air Lines, Inc., No. 146 (State District Court Colorado)

Marlon Green was denied employment as a pilot by Continental Air Lines in 1957. He filed a complaint with the Colorado Anti-Discrimination Commission which ordered him employed. A Colorado District Court set aside the order and its decision was affirmed by the Colorado Supreme Court. The U. S. Supreme Court has ruled that a state anti-discrimination statute applies to the employment practices of an interstate airline. The Legal Defense Fund had filed an amicus brief with the American Jewish Congress and the American Civil Liberties Union.

7. Gaston v. Tobriner, Civ. No. ____ (D.C. D.C.)

Suit has been filed by three Howard University students against the District of Columbia Commissioners and several members of the Police Department for false arrest growing out of the plaintiffs' detention by the police for several hours without charges or evidence against them. The defendants have filed a motion to dismiss.

8. Henry v. Coahoma County Board of Education (N.D. Miss.)

A Negro teacher active in civil rights was denied a teaching contract for the school year 1962-63. A suit for an injunction to reinstate her has been filed. The defendants have answered. Plaintiff filed interrogatories to which defendants objected and the court, which has not yet set a date for a hearing on the preliminary injunction, has requested briefs from both sides.

9. Lampkin v. Hodges, Civ. No. ____ (D.C. D.C.)

Suit for declaratory relief against Secretary of Commerce and Director of Bureau of Census. Plaintiffs are whites in Northern states and Negroes in Southern states who wish to have Section 2 of the 14th Amendment enforced. That provision says the states abridging the right to vote shall have their representation in the House of Representatives reduced proportionally. Suit asks declaration that defendants have duty to gather sufficient data on state abridgement of voting rights and compute an apportionment in conformity with the information.

10. State of Louisiana v. Dion Diamond, No. 42,917 (D.C. La.)

The charges of "criminal anarchy" originally brought against this student were dropped. He was convicted of trespass (having participated in a protest demonstration), fined and sentenced to a prison term. A writ of certiorari, filed with the Supreme Court of Louisiana, has been denied. A petition for certiorari filed in the U. S. Supreme Court has been granted (May 27, 1963).

VII

SUPPLEMENT

A. Birmingham Demonstration Cases, Nos. _____
(Recorders Court of City of Birmingham)

Two thousand four hundred and ninety seven demonstrators have been arrested for parading without a permit, breach of the peace, etc. Several hundred have been tried and convicted. All defendants are out on bail. Efforts are being made to have the untried cases voluntarily dismissed. Appeals are contemplated in all cases where necessary.

B. Birmingham School Suspension Case, No. ____ (D. Ala.)

One thousand Negro school children participating in demonstrations summarily dismissed from public school. District Court denied preliminary injunction in May 29, 1963. On same day, Chief Judge Tuttle issued an injunction pending appeal, in effect assuring the children the opportunity

C. Scott v. Davis, No. _____ (5th Cir.)

Defendant convicted in Louisiana state courts of aggravated rape and sentenced to death. Habeas corpus being sought in federal courts. Argument held before the Fifth Circuit on June 5, 1963. Claims are systematic exclusion from grand and petit juries prejudicial remarks, unfair trial, etc.

D. Walker, et al. v. City of Birmingham, No. _____ (Cir. Ct. of City of Birmingham)

Prominent leaders enjoined by state court from parading without a permit and otherwise conducting demonstrations in Birmingham. Defendants have been held in contempt. Supreme Court of Alabama has granted petition for certiorari and has stayed execution of sentences pending appeal.

E. Zellner, et al. v. Lingo, et al., Civil Action No. 1924-N, (M.D. Ala.)

Suit was filed on May 3rd to enjoin the arrest and prosecution in Alabama of the "freedom walkers" who were attempting to follow the route of William Moore, the Baltimore Postman who was slain on U.S. 11 while enroute to Jackson, Mississippi to deliver a letter to Governor Barnett. An amended and supplemental complaint was later filed adding additional parties and seeking to enjoin enforcement of an injunctive decree issued against the plaintiffs' activities.

Defendants served interrogatories on plaintiff Zellner, a motion for security for costs, and motions to dismiss. The plaintiff was permitted to delay answering the interrogatories until decision on the motions to dismiss. Said motions were submitted without oral argument on June 10, 1963. Decision awaited on the motions.

F. Ziglar v. Reidsville Board of Education, Civ. Action No. C-226-G-62 (M.D. N.C.)

A suit was filed during the fall to desegregate the Reidsville, North Carolina school system. The defendants have answered. Two of the four plaintiffs have been admitted to white schools. Interrogatories have been filed by plaintiffs. Answers to interrogatories received.

August 27, 1964

Mr. Jack Greenberg, Director-Counsel
National Legal Defense and Educational Fund
Suite 2030
10 Columbus Circle
New York 19, New York

Dear Jack:

I am enclosing a statement showing charges which were made by John D. Due, Jr., our Staff Intern, in connection with his activities on behalf of the Legal Defense Fund. The Legal Defense Fund owes VEP the sum of $1005.01 and owes John Due the sum of $47.73. VEP paid his full salary during the time he was working on your project and permitted him to make certain telephone calls on our bill, but we do not ask any contributions to these items.

Very truly yours,

b

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:bs

Encl.

Statement of Expenses Made By John Due On Behalf of the National Legal Defense and Educational Fund (Telephone Charges Omitted):

MAY 28 - JUNE 5, 1964 (Canton & Meridian, Mississippi)		
Flight from Atlanta to Jackson 5/28		$20.00
Cab to Airport		3.00
Hotel		5.50
Affidavits		9.00
Meals 5/28-6/2		24.00
Flight from Jackson to Atlanta		24.89
Hertz Rented Car		323.78
JUNE 8 - JUNE 16 (Meridian, Mississippi)		
Flight to Jackson from Atlanta		30.50
Car Rental		175.04
Flight to Atlanta from Jackson		30.50
JUNE 16 - JUNE 31 (St. Augustine, Florida)		
Automobile to St. Augustine from Atlanta at $.08 per mile (personal car) 300 miles	*$24.00	
Car Rental		14.38
Car Rental		187.00
Flight from Jacksonville to Atlanta		19.43
JULY 5 - JULY 6 (Memphis, Tennessee)		
Flight to Memphis from Atlanta	*$23.73	
Car Rental		17.16
Flight to Atlanta from Memphis		23.73
JULY 26 - AUGUST 2 (Jackson, Mississippi)		
Flight from Tallahassee to Jackson		38.05
Flight from Jackson to Tallahassee		38.05
Meals - $3.00 per diem		21.00
	*$43.73	$1005.01**

* Amount owed John Due by the National Defense Fund
** Amount owed VEP by the National Defense Fund

WAB/JD:bs

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
TWENTY WEST FORTIETH STREET • NEW YORK 18, N. Y. • BRyant 9-1400

October 17, 1961

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

We have received and reviewed the SRC memo of September 13, 1961, on organization and administration of Taconic (and other) funds for the purpose of increasing registration and voting by Negroes in the South. I need not say that we have welcomed its comprehensiveness and the understanding it shows of the complexity of the problems involved. If our reply has taken longer than anticipated, it is only because the memorandum seemed to us to warrant close and careful discussion in all its aspects and needed, in any case, consultation with our Board of Directors at its meeting on October 9 last.

The memorandum was evaluated against our experience over the past three years, during which we have maintained a full-time voter registration department, with two professional staff members working in close conjunction with NAACP field secretaries in nine southern states. In that time, voter registration campaigns have been conducted at least once in over ninety cities and towns according to detailed and carefully worked out plans, resulting in an estimated minimum of 400,000 registrations at a cost of approximately $150,000, including some funds raised locally. (This is not, of course, a net figure, as it takes no account of losses due to death, removal, re-certification, and so forth.)

The following reflects the views of myself and the principal members of my executive staff.

1. The job ahead of us is manifestly huge enough to enlist several hundred times the energies and resources presently engaged, and it is thus clear that no bona fide source of help should be excluded. But it is equally clear that there is a critical premium on existing organized beachheads and on tested and successful ongoing operations. It would, we think, be a disservice to the objective and confusing to the public if the NAACP's cooperative joint listing with other groups, some of which thus far have little more than good intentions to offer, should be taken to imply equality as regards their relative importance and potential in the work to be done.

Recent events have already indicated how voter registration activity can be sidetracked when allied with diversionary efforts, however laudable the latter may be in their own right. It is also vital that the terrain and procedures chosen for registration campaigns be such as not only to provide a prospect of real increases but to be amenable to federal intervention when necessary.

2. There is no intention of minimizing the value of research to evaluate current programs and to define "the best methods for encouraging registration in the various sections of the South." At the same time, we would be interested in an elaboration of the criterion for granting funds to programs "pursued through means that accord with the Project's research findings and objectives." We would urge the necessity of putting maximum funds to work in the expansion of proven programs without waiting for the results of such studies. It seems to us in this connection that the methods the NAACP has developed, while undoubtedly susceptible of improvement, have been productive enough to serve as a guide and standard for the total program until SRC's evaluation yields the anticipated refinements.

3. Allocation of areas of work to the various beneficiaries of funds poses a distinct and peculiar problem for the NAACP. Except in Alabama, we have active local branches through the South, all of which are mandated to give priority attention to voter registration. They are the nuclei of our campaigns under supervision by our voter registration staff. Although these branches are not uniformly effective, it is inconceivable that they would not be directly involved in any voter registration activity in their communities.

We do not see, at this early and unstructured stage of the SRC project, how the NAACP could endorse in advance a territorial commitment which would exclude any of its branches from its own voter registration program.

4. The prospective eligibility of local voters leagues, churches, local ad hoc groups, etc., to receive funds requires thorough understanding. We know a good deal about most of the existing voters leagues and have had many years of experience with them and with other groups and have found that funds advanced to them are not uncommonly of little value unless their projects are closely supervised. We recommend that the SRC make no direct grants to these local groups. Rather let the national or regional constituent agencies aid the local groups they approve out of funds made available to them. In our opinion these agencies should be in a better position than SRC to evaluate particular local groups.

5. SRC funds will be remitted to organizations for programs "when of a nature consistent with SRC's tax exemption charter." Since this is the essence of the whole project, so far as aid to voter registration campaigns is concerned, it is obviously essential to our participation that it be clear that NAACP's Voter Registration Program will receive such funds.

Our staff discussions covered the entire memorandum and the foregoing does not exhaust the areas in which we feel clarification is needed. But any new enterprise starts with a certain number of indeterminate factors and we expect that there will be ample opportunity to deal with them as the work develops.

In conclusion, may I express my own thanks and that of the NAACP, for the Council's willingness to take on so demanding and challenging an assignment.

Very sincerely yours,

Roy Wilkins

Roy Wilkins
Executive Secretary

RW:erb

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Official Organ: The Crisis

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
TWENTY WEST FORTIETH STREET • NEW YORK 18, N. Y. • BRyant 9-1400

January 24, 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Leslie:

I appreciate your telegram on the views of Rev. King. His office also sent me a copy of his letter to you.

We here remain convinced that, while a press conference has certain advantages, the danger that a misinterpretation of the project may be made and circulated before the project can get under way is very real.

It is not possible, once the conference is opened, to confine it to one topic. The project has too much significance for us to expect that reporters would not seek to explore every angle. They will want to know the precise plans for operation, the extent of the activity of each of the organizations, the personnel involved, the budgets, the goals, etc. They will also wish to be thoroughly clarified on the role and relationship of the voter education project of SRC.

It is conceivable that they will want to inquire into the reports that have been made in the press from time to time on differences between the organizations concerned.

Despite our misgivings, if Dr. King and others feel strongly that a conference is desirable, we will not stand upon our objections, although we wish them to be registered.

We do urge that no conference be scheduled for a mere joint announcement. It should not be held until the way has been cleared, funds allocated, plans formulated, and personnel engaged or partially engaged. It is no great news that this or that Negro organization or any combination of them is about to work on voter registration. It will be news if we are able to accompany the announcement with an ability to answer specific questions more or less concretely.

Sincerely,

Roy Wilkins

Roy Wilkins
Executive Secretary

RW/eb
cc: Messrs. James L. Farmer, James Forman, Whitney Young, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

★ ★ ★ TICKER

Confidential: The real reason the NAACP balked on the $250,000 Dixie vote drive is that they oppose the "trickle down" theory of getting money from whites. A predominantly white group, the Southern Regional Council, was named the drive sponsor even though foundation heads know they cannot operate a successful drive without the NAACP, with its far-flung operation and pool of trained workers. Southern Regional Council has little contact with Negroes, has no Dixie grassroots following, and hardly is in position to advise on a suitable way to plot a vote drive course . . . When GOPer **Grant Reynolds** refused to address the American Council on Human Rights seminar in Washington on grounds it is Dem-dominated, he put his foot in his mouth. The prexy of the council, **Mrs. Barrington Parker,** is a registered GOPer. Immediately she complained to the GOP committee that Reynolds attitude is one reason the Party can't win Negro votes . . . Noticeably silent in the **W. W. Law** postal case is the National Postal Alliance. The shabby treatment of Law by the postal officials was protested by the NAACP, and others, but no firm statement from the Alliance.

Mrs. Parker

* * *

No Promotion Contest: If you're an U. S. Government employe and received no promotion in years, join Ticker Tape's nation-wide contest for the "forgotten Negro" on the Federal payroll. The prize: $50 and a review of your case. Send applications to me at 1426 G St. N.W., Washington.

Half Of Route 40 Integrates; CORE Drops Ride

Maryland's Route 40 was fast becoming the high road of integration as 35 restaurants, or nearly half along the way, agreed to desegregate to avoid a massive Veteran's Day Freedom Ride planned by CORE. James L. Farmer, CORE director, said that 1,400 riders had planned to make a tour of 70 Maryland and 15 Delaware establishments. Twelve of the Delaware restaurant owners also capitulated. Farmer said no further rides are planned.

Clear Chicago Doctors In $150,000 Suit

After a Chicago judge dropped heart specialist Dr. David Jones and Roseland Community Hospital as defendants in a $150,000 malpractice suit filed by John H. Kelley, a jury cleared co-defendant Dr. Joseph O. Peterson. Kelley said he was treated at the hospital for a stab wound in the leg and discharged in the presence of Dr. Peterson. Later, he called Dr. Jones, who gave him three pills. When the pain grew worse, Kelley called another doctor and was told gangrene had developed. His leg was amputated.

Yesterday In Negro History

Nov. 20, 1866—Howard Theological Seminary, which was to become Howard University, was founded in Washington, D. C., as the first Negro institution of higher learning to establish undergraduate, graduate and professional schools.

Nov. 21, 1951—Edward O. Gourdin, Harvard University track star, was named a special justice of the Roxbury Dist. Court by Gov. Paul A. Dever and became the first Negro special justice in Massachusetts history.

Nov. 22, 1871—Oscar James Dunn, lieutenant governor of the State of Louisiana, died suddenly under mysterious circumstances in New Orleans. Dunn's successor was P. B. S. Pinchback.

Gourdin

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
TWENTY WEST FORTIETH STREET • NEW YORK 18, N. Y. • BRyant 9-1400

November 22, 1961

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

We appreciate your letter of November 10 which arrived the day of our November Board meeting.

We agree that in joint counsel after the project is underway there will be a better opportunity to arrive at agreements on the matters touched upon in your first numbered paragraph.

It is our opinion that the rest of the letter attends to the items raised in our letter of October 17 at least to the degree that no obstacle remains of an importance sufficient to prevent our participation.

We have our reservations about local voters' leagues, but these do not extend to maintaining that all of them are ineffective. In some areas and under leadership geared to the objective of registration rather than to that of personal or partisan or clique advancement they have been very effective.

We appreciate, naturally, the sentiments expressed about SRC-NAACP relationships. In this office there are no apprehensions about the functioning of SRC in this project, the pure speculation in a recent issue of JET to the contrary.

Certain developments of recent years which seem to have been interpreted by some as a repudiation of groups, methods and accomplishments of the past have made us understandably wary of so-called cooperative activity in which the ostensible target, the common enemy, is sometimes lost sight of.

There is no dispute upon the necessity of a voter education-registration project. We want to address ourselves to it, ironing out minor items as we go along.

Very sincerely yours,

Roy Wilkins

Roy Wilkins
Executive Secretary

RW/eb

November 10, 1961

Mr. Roy Wilkins, Executive Secretary
National Association for the Advancement
of Colored People
Twenty West Fortieth Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Roy:

Enclosed you will find a copy of our formal request for funds to the Taconic Foundation. This, we hope, may get the voter registration effort off the ground.

We read your letter of October 17 with great interest. We are entirely in agreement with you over the desirability of thinking and talking out problems beforehand. Let me try, therefore, to take up the various points of your letter one by one.

1. As you will note from the enclosure, we have made our participation in the registration effort conditional upon yours. This is the measure of our regard for the NAACP. We certainly do not think that a "joint listing" betokens equal importance. It means no more than it is; viz., an indication that several organizations will unite their varying resources and skills in a common endeavor. Your remarks regarding the wisdom of avoiding "sidetracks" and of working where there is the prospect of real increase are well taken. We think through joint counsel there is a better chance than there now is that this thinking will prevail.

2. The Southern Regional Council can, but only under certain clear limitations, accept the administrative responsibility of this undertaking. We are not an action group; neither can we be a mere funnel for funds to groups that are. Consequently, we can enter into voter registration work only if it serves our research interest. I think I can assure you that the research concerns of the Project will not delay your

To: Roy Wilkins
November 10, 1961

programs. We cannot elaborate now on "the best methods for encouraging registration" because, as stated in our letter of September 13, this is to be determined after study and consultation with the Advisory Committee, on which the NAACP will have membership.

3. Of all the agencies involved, the NAACP is the only one with organization that spreads throughout the South (even, we hope, soon again to Alabama) and down to the grass roots. If this Project had the effect of reducing your activities anywhere, it would be a great disservice.

Our own belief is that, as respects the other agencies, there might be a real advantage if some territorial, or other, division of labor could be agreed upon.

This would be an appropriate place to point out also that the proposed grant is not intended to replace the already large funds and efforts you are devoting to registration in the South, but to supplement them. It could be, therefore, that you would wish to make use of Project funds by initiating new activities, or by earmarking these funds for specific expansions of on-going activities in some locales.

4. While we are certain that your familiarity with the local voters leagues is closer than ours, our observation has been that at least some of them have been quite effective, aided and supported, as they usually have been, by NAACP. We think, for instance, of the groups in Atlanta, Durham, Tuskeegee, etc. In short, this may represent the only point in your letter on which we do, in fact, disagree, though I would think it a matter about which, at the worst, we could agree to disagree. It is certainly a matter that should be thoroughly discussed within the Advisory Committee.

5. We know now of no reason why your Voter Registration Program would be inconsistent with our tax exemption charter.

We hope the above comments will help clarify the questions you raised. We shall be most grateful if you could give us the benefit of your further thinking as soon as convenient. If there are questions still to be discussed, we should be glad for you to call, or would be delighted to have you (or Henry Moon) come down. As our letter (enclosed) to Taconic states, definitive action will await your clarified assent.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb
cc: Stephen Currier
John Wheeler

March 14, 1962

Mr. Levy C. Turner, President
Tampa Branch, N.A.A.C.P.
705 East Harrison Street
Tampa, Florida

Dear Mr. Turner:

Your letter of March 2 to Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar has been referred to this office. The Voter Education Project has been set up to handle the survey into the causes for low registration and participation in voting in the southern states.

We are not yet in a position to make any financial grants to cooperating agencies due to the fact that we are trying to clear up some administrative and legal problems to the satisfaction of the Internal Revenue Service and other agencies before any funds will be released by the foundations supporting our project.

We are not in a position to tell you anything at this stage, but we will keep your letter under consideration so that we can take it up just as soon as we get other matters cleared to a point where we can make some commitments. The matter as to how local chapters of N.A.A.C.P. (as well as locals of other organizations) will participate in this program will be governed largely by the policy of your national organization working in conjunction with us on the over-all project.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton
Project Director

Copies to:

Mr. Clarence B. Coleman
National Urban League
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Mr. John M. Brooks
N.A.A.C.P.
404 ½ N. 2nd Street
Richmond, Virginia

Mr. Arthur D. Allen
Tampa Urban League
Tampa, Florida

MAR 5 1962

TAMPA BRANCH

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

705 EAST HARRISON STREET • TAMPA, FLORIDA

WB please reply

March
2nd
1961 ? (2)

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

Our local chapter of the N.A.A.C.P. has been suggested as the logical group of the five cooperating groups working in the current southern Negro voter registration drive. This matter was referred to us for several reasons by the Tampa Urban League.

First, there is an active voter registration drive now in progress in the Tampa community, spearheaded by a local non-partisan voter registration committee, and actively directed by the local N.A.A.C.P. members.

Secondly, the delicate local climate definitely precludes the participation of the Tampa Urban League because of the type of financial support given it by the United Fund.

And, financial support for the current efforts has been of a precarious nature, with many projects being uncertainly supported due to the uncertain finances.

Would you please advise us as to the steps which we need to take in order that we might participate in the current program, as well as its future planning.

Our current activities have included the following methods, projects and techniques:

1. Two voter registration workshops with Dr. Paul A. Douglass as consultant, have been held this year, as in previous years. Dr. Douglass, professor of Political Science and Director of The Center For Practical Politics at Rollins College, Winter Park, Florida, performs under a grant from the Maurice and Laura Falk Foundation.

2. Public forums where citizens are able to talk with local politicians are being held.

3. Block-by-block house-to-house precinct canvassing with weekly reports to the committee are being held.

4. A person is maintained in the County Court House to encourage registration by non-registered citizens as they do their business in the Court House.

5. Plans are under way for the establishment of registration booths in precincts for the convenience of the citizen.

6. Free radio time is available. Presently we have two daily programs and a thirty-minute Sunday program on the air. News releases are carried by the local press.

In view of the ongoing status of our present projects it was felt by our local staff that these efforts could be easily expanded with adequate financial support and the cooperation of the other national organizations interested in this drive.

Any suggestions you may have in regard to this amplification would be well appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

TAMPA BRANCH, N.A.A.C.P.

Levy C. Turner, President
LCT/elw
Carbon Copies: Mr. Clarence D. Coleman
National Urban League
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Mr. John D. Brooks
N.A.A.C.P.
Richmond 19, Virginia

Mr. Arthur D. Allen
Tampa Urban League
Tampa, Florida

March 15, 1962

Mr. Roy Wilkins
Executive Secretary, NAACP
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Roy:

This will confirm our telephone conversation of this date, in which we agreed that Les Dunbar and I would meet with you and some of your staff members in New York on Monday, March 19, 1962, at 5:30 p.m.

I would suggest that we have a dinner conference, and would like for you to suggest the place. If any arrangements are necessary please go ahead and make them at my expense.

We will be arriving in mid-afternoon from separate points of origin and will check at your office by telephone to learn where we are to meet.

Sincerely yours,

Wiley A. Branton
Project Director

WAB/mr

APR 26 1962

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

Voter Registration Committee
404 1/2 North Second Street Richmond 19, Virginia
MIlton 4-5678

YOUR ONE VOTE COUNTS.

April 25, 1962

Memo

To: Mr. Wiley Branton

From: John M. Brooks

Subject: NAACP Voter Registration Programs

We are currently conducting or we will conduct NAACP voter registration programs in the areas listed below. Please keep in mind, we endeavor to keep an NAACP voter registration program alive in every area where NAACP branches are located.

LOUISIANA -- Registration Deadline: June 27
Monroe (Ouachita) — Shreveport (Caddo)
Baton Rouge (E. Baton Rouge) — Lake Charles (Calcasieu)

NORTH CAROLINA -- Registration Deadline: May 12
Durham (Durham) — Rocky Mount - Edgecomb
High Point - Guilford — Edenton (Chowan)
Fayetteville (Cumberland) — Wilmington (New Hanover)

SOUTH CAROLINA
Charleston (Charleston) — Columbia (Richland)
Beaufort (Beaufort) — Greenville (Greenville)

TENNESSEE -- Registration Deadline: July 3
Chattanooga — Clarksville
Haywood County — Jackson
Knoxville — Memphis
Nashville

FLORIDA -- Books re-open after May 29 Run Off Election
Clearwater — Tampa
Jacksonville — Miami
Orlando — West Palm Beach
Fort Myers

We are planning late Fall campaigns in all major cities of Virginia, including the Fourth Congressional District. We will also launch poll tax drives in the major cities of Texas and Arkansas.

VIRGINIA

Richmond
Fredericksburg
Norfolk
Lynchburg
Roanoke
Portsmouth

4th Cong. Dist. (includes Prince Edward Cty.)

NORTH CAROLINA

Raleigh
Durham
Charlotte
Winston-Salem

Eastern Shore (Elizabeth City, Rocky Mt., Edenton, Wilmington)

SOUTH CAROLINA

Columbia
Charleston
Spartanburg
Greenville
Darlington
Clarendon Cty.
Orangeburg

GEORGIA

Savannah
Macon
Augusta
Albany
Atlanta
Columbus
Dawson
Terrell Cty.
Valdosta
Rome

ARKANSAS

Little Rock
Pine Bluff
Fort Smith

FLORIDA

Jacksonville
Daytona
Orlando
Gainesville
Tampa - St. Petersburg
Tallahassee
Panama City
Pensacola
Miami
Ft. Lauderdale
Lake Cty.
Haines City - Winter Haven

TENNESSEE

Chattanooga
Knoxville (Oak Ridge)
Nashville
Memphis
Fayette and Haywood Counties
Jackson
Columbia

MISSISSIPPI

Jackson
Greenville
Meridian
Vicksburg
Laurel
Hattiesburg
Natchez
Pascagoula-Biloxi-Gulfport
McComb
Amite Cty.

LOUISIANA

Baton Rouge
New Orleans
Shreveport
Lafayette
Lake Charles
Monroe
Plaquemines Parish
Opelousas

no 2d

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

TWENTY WEST FORTIETH STREET • NEW YORK 18, N. Y. • BRyant 9-1400

April 5, 1962

Mr. Wiley Branton
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Wiley:

Here is our Voter Registration expansion proposal. Be sure to let us know if there are details which will assist you in your evaluation.

Will be seeing you week after next.

With warm regards, I am

Cordially,

John

John A. Morsell
Assistant to the
Executive Secretary

JAM:crn
Encs.

April 4, 1962

MEMORANDUM TO: Wiley Branton, Director
Voter Education Project

FROM: Roy Wilkins
Executive Secretary, NAACP

SUBJECT: PROPOSAL FOR A ONE-YEAR INTENSIFIED NAACP VOTER REGISTRATION PROGRAM IN THE SOUTH

The period scheduled for this program is May 1, 1962 to April 30, 1963. Work could begin at once, although it would be some weeks before the entire program would be in effect in all the localities to be designated. This would be due in part to the necessity for recruitment and training of personnel and in part to the variability in registration and poll tax deadlines from state to state.

Because at least a third of 1962 will have passed before the program is operative, there cannot be as much effect on the 1962 Congressional elections as was hoped. This leads directly to three subsidiary conclusions:

1) It is important to devote special attention to campaigns to get out the already registered vote in the 1962 primary and (where it matters) general elections;

2) Maximum effort should go immediately to those states with the closest deadlines, even at some risk of waste because of insufficient time for thorough preparation;

3) As far as possible, the work should be planned on the assumption that the intensified drives will continue for a second year, with the 1964 elections a primary target.

The work called for in this program is over and above what would normally be carried on in our branches generally with the assistance of our present two-man voter-registration staff and the field secretaries regularly assigned to the various states. Such work would, of course, continue, although the two staff men would be required to devote the bulk of their time to the special expanded program.

COVERAGE

The program would cover nine southern states: Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee and Virginia. Within these states intensive drivesaveraging ten weeks would be conducted in a minimum of 30 localities, of which about one-third would be hard-core rural or small-town areas. Final selections will be made from the appended list of places, but the list is subject to modification. Each of the listed localities has an NAACP branch.

At present, we contemplate handling Arkansas and Tennessee (or at least Western Tennessee) as a unit. Because of the Florida registration deadline which is April 7, we have already committed previously unscheduled funds for a special last-minute effort there.

ORGANIZATION AND PERSONNEL

Eight full-time state coordinators would be hired for a year. In each of the selected localities a local campaign manager would be hired for the duration of the drive in his locality. This should assure familiarity with the local conditions and avoid loss of time otherwise needed to "break in." The greatly increased volume of administrative work in the office of the Voter Registration Director would necessitate hiring an assistant in that office. Part-time secretarial help for the state coordinators and clerical assistance for the local campaign managers would also have to be provided.

The primary responsibility of the state coordinator would be the detailed planning of the local drives in his state, including the meetings, conferences, explorations, recruitment, etc., needed to launch the drives. In addition, it is probable that the coordinator would serve as local campaign manager for his own locality and conceivably, for others. These would be additions to the minimum of 30.

The program should have considerable flexibility. It is possible that local campaigns in one state might be successive, whereas the periods in another state might overlap or be simultaneous. It is further anticipated that some localities will present opportunities or problems such that it will make sense to assign more than a single coordinator; in these situations, coordinators from other states would be sent in to help with a "saturation" effort.

EVALUATION

Particular attention would be given to procedures which would:

1) Provide reasonably satisfactory judgments as to the number of new registrants;

2) Give useful clues to the reasons for people's failure to register (cf. the questions asked in our Mississippi campaigns last year).

BUDGET

The following presents the estimated costs of the program outlined above. It does not include any amounts for the salary, travel or living expenses of the present voter registration staff.

PERSONNEL	ONE YEAR COST
8 voter registration coordinators @ $5,200	$41,600
30 local Campaign Managers ($60/wk., aver. 10 wks)	18,000
Assistant to Voter Registration Director	6,000
30 clerical assistants to local Mgrs. ($45/wk, 10 wks)	13,500
Secretarial help to Coordinators (part-time)	10,000
EXPENSES	
Office space for local campaigns (aver. $125)	3,750
Travel, Lodging, Meals for Coordinators (aver. $2,000)	16,000
Local exp. (surveys, maps, postage, stationery, entertainment, aver. $200)	6,000
Telephone	1,500
Posters and Printing	15,000
Contingencies	7,500
	$138,850

CAMPAIGN PLANS

Although each local campaign will have its own unique features, "model" plans for the two principal types of campaign - "hard-core" and "urban" - are being drafted in detail by the NAACP Voter Registration staff. They will be submitted to SRC in the hope that they may be of help in guiding and reviewing the overall work. Attached are two samples of material already in use and suggestive of some of the recommended procedures.

RW:crn
attachment

May 4, 1962

Mr. Roy Wilkins, Executive Secretary
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West Fortieth Street
New York 18, New York

Re: VEP 2-6

Dear Mr. Wilkins:

This will confirm my telephone conversation with Dr. John Morsell on May 3, 1962, regarding the immediate participation by NAACP in the voter registration program. Because of the fact that we do not have sufficient funds to enable us to give all of the participating agencies the full amounts which they have requested for their voter registration programs, and the further fact that we are currently negotiating with other foundations for financial assistance to our Project, we have decided to concentrate all of our efforts for the next 90 days in the following six states where registration deadlines have not yet passed: Louisiana (June 27), Tennessee (July 3), Mississippi, South Carolina (May 12), North Carolina (May 12), Virginia (June 9).

We are making a grant to NAACP in the amount of $17,250 to carry on a 90-day program in the following assigned areas:

Louisiana
- Shreveport (in cooperation with SCLC
- Baton Rouge (in cooperation with CORE)
- Lake Charles
- Monroe

Tennessee
- Memphis
- Fayette County
- Haywood County
- Knoxville (in cooperation with SCLC)
- Chattanooga (in cooperation with SCLC)
- Clarksville

North Carolina
High Point
Fayetteville
Charlotte
Rocky Mount
Wilmington
Edenton (in cooperation with SCLC)

South Carolina
Beaufort
Columbia
Greenville
Charleston (in cooperation with SCLC)

Mississippi
Jackson (in cooperation with CORE and SNCC).

We leave it entirely to the discretion of NAACP to determine the manner in which they will work in any of the assigned areas, as well as the amount which will be spent in any particular area. We do request that you work out a cooperative program with CORE in Baton Rouge, with SCLC in Shreveport, Knoxville, Chattanooga, Edenton, and Charleston. Your efforts in Jackson, Mississippi, should be coordinated with CORE and SNCC, since all three of you will be working in the Jackson area. During the next 90 days we will be working on a long range program for the eleven southern states in which we intend to operate, and we will notify you at the earliest possible date as to our decision regarding the participation of your organization in the long range program.

In keeping with certain legal requirements which we are obligated to follow, it will be necessary that the proceeds of this grant be deposited in a separate bank account and all expenditures be supported by vouchers and proper records maintained and available to our staff for auditing at all reasonable times. Within the next few days we will furnish you with a statement of the statistical information which we shall expect you to furnish the Voter Education Project regarding your activities in the voter registration program.

We are enclosing a statement containing the conditions under which this grant has been made to your organization. Please acknowledge receipt of this letter and your understanding of the conditions of the grant as stated on the enclosure by signing the carbon of this letter enclosed herewith and returning the same to us at once.

Our check in the amount of $17,250 is enclosed. $15,000 must be spent on your voter registration program in the areas assigned to you herein, and we have added an additional 15% for your administrative overhead. You are free to use this additional $2,250 in any manner that you deem proper in connection with your total registration efforts.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton
Project Director

Enclosures

WAB/mr

May 31, 1962

Memo to Roy Wilkins

From Wiley Branton

With reference to your letter of May 18, enclosed is a copy of my letter to the Managing Editor of Harper's. I am also enclosing a copy of a letter which Leslie D Dunbar wrote to Harold Fleming prior to the article's publication in Harper's.

WAB/mr

May 31, 1962

Mr. Russell Lynes
Managing Editor
Harper's Magazine
49 East 33rd Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Lynes:

I have read with considerable interest the article "The Kennedys Move in on Dixie," by Louis E. Lomax, which appears in the May 1962 issue of Harper's.

The writer creates the impression that the Voter Project is a program of the Kennedy Administration and that "...it will help rivet the Negroes' loyalty to the Democratic party for a long while to come." For the sake of clarity I would like to emphasize that the Voter Education Project undertaken by the Southern Regional Council is a non-partisan research program in every sense of the word.

Prior to the public announcement of this program, both the Chairman of the Democratic National Committee and the Republican National Committee advised us in writing that they supported the aims of the Project and wished it success.

This Project is operated in a non-partisan manner and is not intended to serve as a program of the Kennedy Administration or as an instrument of any political party.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton
Project Director

bc: Mr. Roy Wilkins
WAB/mr

MAY 21 1962

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

TWENTY WEST FORTIETH STREET • NEW YORK 18, N. Y. • BRyant 9-1400

May 18, 1962

Mr. Wiley A. Branton, Director
Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth St., N. W., Room 206
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Wiley Branton:

You know that the NAACP is a non-partisan organization and that our voter registration activity over the years has been on that basis.

We were disturbed, therefore, by the thesis of an article, "The Kennedys Move in on Dixie," by Louis E. Lomax which appears as a feature of Harper's Magazine for May.

The first sentence of the article asserts, "the Kennedy Administration is now deeply involved in an unprecedented campaign to get hundreds of thousands of Southern Negroes to vote for the first time in their lives."

The second paragraph, in citing the benefits of such a campaign, contains this sentence: "And, not the least important, it will help rivet the Negroes' loyalty to the Democratic party for a long time to come."

Early in the article the author writes: "Listening to the proposal, several Negro leaders became convinced that the sponsors were unofficial emissaries of the White House." Elsewhere, Lomax refers to "the Kennedy voter registration drive."

I do not know where Mr. Lomax secured his information, but as for the NAACP, it never had intimated to it that the voter registration project was an involvement of the White House, except insofar as the Justice Department might proceed (as it did in the Eisenhower Administration) to bring actions under civil rights statutes.

Certainly the NAACP is not participating in the voter registration project for the purpose of helping to "rivet the Negroes' loyalty to the Democratic party." The NAACP wishes to increase the registration and voting of Negro citizens and we are not concerned--in this registration activity--with political parties. How they choose to vote is the business of the Negro citizens, not ours.

Mr. Wiley A. Branton May 18, 1962

We do not choose here to challenge some of the other highly conjectural (as well as plainly inaccurate) flights in the Lomax piece, but we do want to get the record straight as far as the NAACP's participation in the voter registration project: we are not working for the Kennedy Administration or the Democratic party; we are working for our people.

It occurs to us that in the light of certain aspects of the structure and financing of the Voter Education Project you might wish to write the editors of Harper's Magazine clarifying the enthusiastic estimations of Mr. Lomax.

Very sincerely yours,

Roy Wilkins

Roy Wilkins
Executive Secretary

RW/eb

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Official Organ: The Crisis

JUN 1 9 1962

MEMORANDUM

June 11, 1962

TO: WILEY BRANTON, PROJECT DIRECTOR
VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT

FROM: ROY WILKINS,
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY, NAACP

Following are replies to the questions posed in your memorandum of May 31st. In some instances the information is tentative and in some others it is missing. Much of the work in the assigned localities is still entirely in volunteer hands, since it has been impossible, in the approximately four weeks since SRC funds became available and on deposit for use, to line up suitable short-time personnel in every case. We do not hire personnel until the money is in hand to pay them, which limits the engagement of staff for periods longer than a few weeks.

Six of the 21 cities assigned to the NAACP are in North Carolina, whose registration deadline was May 12th in most counties. NAACP voter registration work in those six places did not benefit from the SRC grant. Although Durham was not our assignment, we considered it advisable to wire $200 to our Youth Council there on May 11th in order to finance a crash week-end wind-up, including two days use of a sound truck to supplement the door-to-door canvassing by the Council. Although it is incontestable that the Durham Youth Council contributed heavily in time, organization and effort to the Durham drive, the Council received no financial support from the adult group charged with responsibility for the drive.

1. Project Special Personnel

Louisiana

1. Shreveport: No NAACP personnel hired.

2. Baton Rouge: Charles Siler, P.O. Box 2093, 305 S. 13th St. (NAACP office) Phone 343-6170.

3. Lake Charles: No information.

4. Monroe: Name of person hired not yet available. Voter registration committee of local businessmen at work. Will raise matching fund of $400 to add to $400 given them to finance drive. Books open in this county June 5.

Tennessee

1. Memphis: Mrs. Maxine Smith, 234 Hernando St. (NAACP office) JA 5-6057.

2. Fayette and Haywood Counties: Mrs. Mildred Hay, P.O. Box 242, Brownsville (Home).

3. Clarksville: James Caruth, 127 Tenth St. Phone: 647-3588.

4. Knoxville: L. A. Lee, 716 E. Church Ave. (YMCA) Tel. 527-7148.

5. Chattanooga: Father Robert B. Hunter, 602 E. 9th St., Tel. 267-6180.

South Carolina

For the four assigned cities - Beaufort, Columbia, Greenville, and Charleston, John Edwards has been detailed to South Carolina. His headquarters are in the NAACP State Conference Office, P.O. Box 1204, Columbia. Tel. AL 6-4356. Names of other personnel, if any, engaged to date not available.

Mississippi

Jackson: Rev. Charles A. Jones, 538½ N. Farish St. (Voters League) Tel. 355-3874.

II Cooperative Operations

In Chattanooga, agreement was finally reached with SCLC representative Calhoun after several meetings with representatives of the co-sponsoring local groups (there are said to be 46 of these). Chief problem was the budget, which Patton considered too high, and on which a compromise was reached. No difficulty experienced in Knoxville. Understanding reached that we and SCLC will split budget three ways, with equal shares from both and balance to be raised locally. This formula will not necessarily prevail in all cases.

In Jackson, representatives of NAACP, CORE and SNCC agreed on tentative set-up and Dean Jones of Campbell College was made acting coordinator. Organization called the Hinds County Coordinating Committee for Voter Registration. Patton told us on June 8th that he had learned that the Committee had then proceeded to make its own request for funds from SRC. Situation thus somewhat confused. It is also not clear whether Dean Jones continues or whether he has withdrawn in favor of Rev. Jones.

In Baton Rouge, it was felt that the week-old CORE activity, involving 8 volunteer students and a paid field worker, could merge well into a community-wide drive and this has been done. Four hundred people attended the first meeting on May 22nd and set up a voter registration committee. A second meeting the next day resulted in organization into precinct teams, covering every ward in the city. A full-time temporary coordinator was put on the NAACP payroll. In this case, there was no joint budget, but a coordination on activities by separately-paid people supervising the precinct teams.

There is no way of assessing the strengths and weaknesses of the cooperative activities thus far. The form and procedures have varied and will undoubtedly continue to vary, according to local situations,

available leadership, etc.

III Local Groups

It will take some time to develop a list of all the local groups involved in our voter registration campaigns. As a matter of course, drives conducted by our Voter Registration staff workers operate through the medium of some kind of local sponsorship consisting of churches, fraternal and civic groups. This is judged one of the best ways of reaching people and enlisting broad support. It also avoids both organizational jealousies directed against a single agency and the fear latent in some communities of being openly identified with the NAACP.

For example, in Memphis the NAACP's very successful drives have been carried on under the aegis of the "Citizens Non-Partisan Registration Committee". The joint Chattanooga operation calls itself the "Chattanooga Metropolitan Committee for Voter Registration". And so on.

IV Census Data

This information will require some time to assemble, to the extent that it may be available. As far as I know, few if any places have up-to-date figures on voting age population, percentage of whites and Negroes registered, etc. as of May 5, 1962, the date on which we received the SRC grant.

V Effects of Project

Increases are reported in Memphis, Clarksville, Fayette and Haywood Counties and in Chattanooga. No information on other localities.

VI Methods

Basically, the procedure is use of block canvassers, working from previously prepared lists (card file) where available; otherwise on specified block assignments in predominantly Negro sections. Public meeting or meetings to kick off and arouse public support and as a source of canvassers. Telephone campaigns sometimes useful in recruiting canvassers. Literature distribution, posters, radio spots, sound trucks, provision of transportation to registration center if needed. Church assistance in propaganda and recruitment, as well as in the check-back process to ascertain whether persons have registered.

VII Expenditures

Statement attached. This does not cover all funds allotted to Brooks and Patton on basis of specified budgets or as discretionary allowances. All expenditures of every kind supported by vouchers. For your information, I also append copies of one or two of the budgets currently being applied.

JUN 21 1962

N. A. A. C. P. LEGAL DEFENSE AND EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC.

10 Columbus Circle, New York 19, N. Y.

JUdson 6-8397

June 19, 1962

Wiley A. Branton, Esq.
Project Director
Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Branton:

Will you be kind enough to ask some person of your office to place in the mail for me five sets of the instructions and other literature which your office has designed for use in your Voter Registration Program.

When you clear up this big subject in the south it probably will be necessary for you to take up residence in the north to do a much needed job along the same line.

Let me hear from you.

Sincerely yours,

John W. Davis
Special Director
Teacher Information and Security

JWD/mgf

P.S. You did a splendid job for this organization recently in Houston, Texas. It was good to see you.

Davis

Contributions are deductible for U. S. Income Tax Purposes

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DR. ALLAN KNIGHT CHALMERS

Executive Officers

Director-Counsel
JACK GREENBERG

Associate Counsel
CONSTANCE BAKER MOTLEY

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New York, N. Y.

CHARLES S. ZIMMERMAN
New York, N. Y.

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Albert E. Barnett
Robbins W. Barstow
Viola W. Bernard
Leonard Bernstein
Eugene Carson Blake
Sarah Gibson Blanding
Justice Jane M. Bolin
Van Wyck Brooks
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Kivie Kaplan
Frank Kingdon
Freda Kirchwey
John Howland Lathrop
Bishop W. Appleton Lawrence
Herbert H. Lehman
Henry Smith Leiper
Max Lerner
Alfred Baker Lewis
Archibald MacLeish
Leopold Mannes
Benjamin E. Mays
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William H. Vanderbilt
Bruno Walter
Bradford Young

The "Committee of 100," a voluntary cooperative group of individuals headed by Dr. Allan Knight Chalmers has sponsored the appeal of the N.A.A.C.P. Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc. since 1943 to enable the Fund to put into operation a program designed to make desegregation a reality throughout the United States.

June 21, 1962

Dr. John W. Davis, Special Director
Teacher Information and Security
N. A. A. C. P. Legal Defense and Educational
Fund, Inc.
10 Columbus Circle
New York 19, New York

Dear Dr. Davis:

Pursuant to your request of June 19, we enclose five copies of the Statement of Conditions which we impose upon all recipients of grants from the Voter Education Project. This is the only "form literature" which we have adopted thus far as each project has been considered on a separate basis.

Thank you for your complimentary remarks regarding my participation in Houston. I expect to see you in Atlanta during the Lawyers Conference.

Sincerely yours,

Wiley A. Branton
Project Director

WAB:gwc
Enclosures - 5

June 26, 1962

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Mr. Roy Wilkins, Executive Secretary
National Association for the Advancement
of Colored People

FROM: John Walker, Assistant to Project Director

You have been mailed copies of The Negro and the Ballot, a pamphlet by Margaret Price. We think you will find this pamphlet informative and helpful, though it is slightly out of date (the figures are based on the 1959 Census Estimates). It should also be helpful to your workers in the field. We are, therefore, mailing copies to them separately (a listing of recipients follows).

Mr. Charles Siler	Mr. L. A. Lee
Mrs. Maxine Smith	Father Robert B. Hunter
Mrs. Mildred Hay	Reverend Charles A. Jones

July 23, 1962

Miss Fay Bennett
Executive Director
National Sharecroppers Fund
112 East 19th Street
New York, New York

Re: Curtis L. Lawson

Dear Miss Bennett:

Dr. John Morsell of NAACP has inquired of me regarding Curtis L. Lawson whom you are considering for temporary work in West Tennessee.

Mr. Lawson is from my hometown of Pine Bluff, but I did not become personally acquainted with him until he enrolled in law school at the University of Arkansas where he is now about to enter his senior year. Because of my interest in Negro law students attending the University of Arkansas, I have made inquiries regarding Mr. Lawson on numerous occasions; and the reports which I have always received have supported my own favorable opinions about him.

I feel confident that Curtis is a capable person who will do a good job on any assignment where his skills can be utilized.

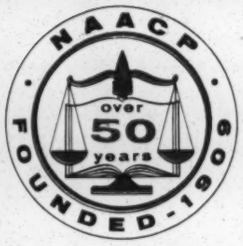
Sincerely yours,

Wiley A. Branton
Project Director

WAB:gwc
cc: Dr. John Morsell

AIRMAIL

JUL 20 1962



NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

TWENTY WEST FORTIETH STREET • NEW YORK 18, N. Y. • BRyant 9-1400

July 17, 1962

Mr. Wiley Branton, Director
Voter Education Project
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Wiley:

While I cannot claim complete recovery from the exertions of the convention week, I and my colleagues have at least about rounded the corner. We are helped by the general views that the meeting was a good one and the comments we have had have afforded us much satisfaction. Our thanks, of course, to you for your contribution.

I have two inquiries to make, the first on behalf of Fay Bennett the executive director of the National Sharecroppers Fund. The Fund is contemplating the temporary engagement, on rehabilitative project work in West Tennessee, of one Curtis L. Lawson. Lawson is either a recent graduate or a year away from graduation at the University of Arkansas Law School and Fay wondered if I could help her get a line on him. Do you know him and, if so, are you in a position to say anything regarding his probable capabilities? If you can, I would greatly appreciate your dropping a note to Fay at the Fund offices, 112 East 19th Street, New York, N. Y.

The second question concerns the 90-day advance of voter registrations project funds and I am inquiring whether we should assume any leeway in expenditures from it in localities and states other than those specified by you at the time of the grant.

I have just had an inquiry from W. C. Patton, at the moment in Orlando, Florida, where he feels the prospects of profitable registration work are good between now and October 1st. Persons so registered will be eligible to vote in the November 1962 elections. If it is all right to use some of the remaining money for such a project I would appreciate your letting us know.

Since I will be leaving on July 23 and will be out of the country for a month your reply should go direct to Roy whom I will advise of this letter.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

John A. Morsell
Assistant to the
Executive Secretary

JAM:crn

9/27/62

W.C. Patton on Registration Com.

NAACP agency

(1) If no local organization, then form one.

(a) get names of * leaders of all organizations in community & other key people from all walks of life

(b) Call meeting of all leaders by letter, well written & precise & signed by some responsible party or person known to the invitees.

(2) organize for ward & precinct leaders. Form committees

Chairman -

Co-Chairman (1 or more)

Coordinator - Some one with ability & time to conduct the program

Speakers Bureau

Steering Committee

Publicity Committee

Finance Committee

Transportation Com.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
TWENTY WEST FORTIETH STREET • NEW YORK 18, N. Y. • BRyant 9-1400

~~Please direct reply to:~~
~~W. C. Patton, Field Secretary~~
~~230 South Wellington Street~~
~~Memphis, Tenn.~~
~~JAckson 5-6057~~

Please direct reply to:
W. C. Patton, Field Secretary
234 Hernando Street
Memphis, Tenn.
JAckson 5-6057

FEB 8 1963

February 6, 1963

Mr. Wiley Branton, Esq.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

Pursuant to our telephone conversation, I am submitting to you copies of the proposed budget for several Georgia Voter Registration Campaigns which I submitted to Dr. Morsell, who will in turn send you with a request for funds to aid the project.

These figures do not represent the total cost, but we expect to raise some money in the communities.

Unlike the East Texas situation, I hope favorable and prompt action will be taken so we may get underway by the middle of March.

With kindest regards, I remain

Yours truly,

W. C. Patton

W. C. Patton

WCP/rml
Encl.

Rural area
new branch (5 County Branch)

GEORGIA VOTER REGISTRATION CAMPAIGN

PROPOSED BUDGET

For Marshallville ~~City~~ County Macon

Six Weeks Period

Submitted by: W. C. PATTON

Directors	$350.00
Secretary	175.00
Office Rent	50.00
Supplies & Equipment	75.00
Publicity	50.00
Transportation	100.00
Telephone	50.00
Miscellaneous	50.00
TOTAL	$900.00

Judge not to
Southern

GEORGIA VOTER REGISTRATION CAMPAIGN

PROPOSED BUDGET

For Athens County Clark

Six Weeks Period

Submitted by: W. C. PATTON

Director	$350.00
Clerical Help	245.00
Rent	50.00
Office Supplies & Equipment	100.00
Publicity	100.00
Transportation	150.00
Telephone	50.00
Miscellaneous	50.00
TOTAL	$1095.00

NAACP

GEORGIA VOTER REGISTRATION CAMPAIGN

PROPOSED BUDGET

For Decatur County KeKalb

Six Weeks Period

Submitted by: W. C. PATTON

Director	$350.00
Clerical Help	245.00
Rent	50.00
Office Supplies & Equipment	100.00
Publicity	100.00
Transportation	150.00
Telephone	50.00
Miscellaneous	50.00
TOTAL	$1095.00

NAACP
Just letter
solicited
Mr. Tovalstone, Napoleon,
NAACP leader

GEORGIA VOTER REGISTRATION CAMPAIGN

PROPOSED BUDGET

For Griffin County Spaulding

Six Weeks Period

Submitted by: W. C. PATTON

Director	$350.00
Clerical Help	245.00
Rent	50.00
Office Supplies & Equipment	100.00
Publicity	100.00
Transportation	150.00
Telephone	50.00
Miscellaneous	50.00
TOTAL	$1095.00

GEORGIA VOTER REGISTRATION CAMPAIGN

PROPOSED BUDGET

For Macon County ~~Beach~~ Bibb

Six Weeks Period

Submitted by: W. C. PATTON

Directors	$350.00
Clerical Help	245.00
Rent	50.00
Office Supplies & Equipment	100.00
Publicity	100.00
Transportation (Gas & Oil)	200.00
Telephone	50.00
Miscellaneous	50.00
TOTAL	$1145.00

GEORGIA VOTER REGISTRATION CAMPAIGN

PROPOSED BUDGET

For Augusta County Richmond

Six Weeks Period

Submitted by: W. C. PATTON

Directors	$350.00
Clerical Help	245.00
Rent	50.00
Office Supplies & Equipment	100.00
Publicity	100.00
Transportation (Gas & Oil)	200.00
Telephone	50.00
Miscellaneous	50.00
TOTAL	$1145.00

Middle Georgia Branch

GEORGIA VOTER REGISTRATION CAMPAIGN

PROPOSED BUDGET

For Fort Valley County Peach

Six Weeks Period

Submitted by: W. C. PATTON

Directors	$350.00
Secretary	175.00
Office Rent	50.00
Supplies & Equipment	75.00
Publicity	50.00
Transportation	100.00
Telephone	50.00
Miscellaneous	50.00
TOTAL	$900.00

NAACP

GEORGIA VOTER REGISTRATION CAMPAIGN

PROPOSED BUDGET

For Brunswick County Glynn

Six Weeks Period

Submitted by: W. C. PATTON

Directors	$350.00
Clerical Help	245.00
Rent	50.00
Office Supplies & Equipment	100.00
Publicity	100.00
Transportation (Gas & Oil)	200.00
Telephone	50.00
Miscellaneous	50.00
TOTAL	$1145.00

February 15, 1963

Mr. Wilson W. Lee
NAACP
1426 Church Street
Statesville, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Lee:

Mr. Branton has asked me to reply to your letter of January 19 because he has been tied up on out of town activities most of this month.

We are delighted to learn that the Statesville Branch of the NAACP is interested in beginning a registration project. Our relationship with the national office of NAACP has been that we make a lump sum grant to your national office and the national office distributes the funds in accordance with an agreement with us as to the areas in which it may be spent.

We suggest that you get in touch with Mr. John Brooks, 404½ North 2nd Street, Richmond, Virginia, who we think will be pleased to give consideration to your need for funds and assistance.

Thank you for writing us and we wish you every success in your venture.

Very truly yours,

Jack Minnis
Director of Research

JM:jl

4-agencies-naacp

National Association For The Advance-
ment Of Colored People(Local Branch)
1426 Church Street
Statesville,North Carolina
January 19,1963

Attorney Wiley Branton
Little Rock,Arkansas
Southern Voter Registration

Dear Mr. Branton:

We,the Local Branch of the National Association For The Advancement Of Colored People,would like to secure some funds for the voter registration project.We would like to start a project of registrating and voting in Statesville,and Iredell County.We shall be very happy if you could help us in this.If you cannot,please inform us where this fund might be secured.

NAACP
refer to
John Brooks

Most cordially yours,
Wilson W. Lee
Wilson W. Lee

April 19, 1963

Mr. W. C. Patton,
Field Secretary
NAACP
234 Hernando Street
Memphis 5, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Patton:

Thank you for your letter of April 17th calling my attention to your Memphis address. It is true that we have both the Memphis address and the Birmingham address for you as President of the Alabama State Coordinating Association and we just inadvertently mixed them up.

We will make certain in the future that all NAACP mail for you will be addressed to your Memphis office.

Thank you again.

Very truly yours,

Jean Levine
Administrative Secretary

JL:js

1- agencies - NAACP

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
TWENTY WEST FORTIETH STREET • NEW YORK 18, N. Y. • BRyant 9-1400

Please direct reply to:
W. C. Patton
Field Secretary
234 Hernando Street
Memphis 5, Tenn.
525-6057

April 17, 1963

Mrs. Jean Levine
5 Forsythe Street, N. W.
Room 206
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Levine

I note that you have sent mail containing N.A.A.C.P. business to me in Birmingham. I am sure that you did not know but N.A.A.C.P. does not operate in Alabama.

All mail pertaining to N.A.A.C.P. addressed to me should be sent to me at 234 Hernando Street, Memphis 5, Tennessee.

Yours truly,

W. C. Patton

WCP/lc

June 18, 1963

Mr. John Morsell
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N.Y.

Dear Dr. Morsell:

I will be in New York this coming Friday and hope to be able to talk with you in your office on Friday morning.

Sincerely yours,

Jack Minnis
Director of Research

JM:jl

6 agencies
1 - naacp

December 26, 1963

Mr. W. C. Patton
234 Hernando Street
Memphis, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Patton:

I regret to inform you that the Voter Education Project has decided that we would not make any grants to NAACP for registration work in Texas at this time.

As I indicated to you on the telephone, we have made a careful study of the proposal submitted to us by the Voters of Texas Enlist (VOTE), which is a well organized state-wide voter registration program, and will be working in the very same counties requested by you as well as others. In view of the fact that all of the counties requested by you will be worked through the VOTE program, we see no justification for making a separate grant to NAACP.

Since you only have a month in which to work in Texas, I would strongly suggest that you encourage your Texas chapters to work with the local programs which VOTE will be sponsoring.

With every good wish to you and your co-workers for a happy holiday season.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:js

Robert
3-6

Statewide Negro Voter Drive On

By DON MEIKLEJOHN
Miami Herald-St. Pete Times Wire

A statewide campaign to boost the Negro registration in Florida to 300,000 before the November 1964 general election is under way in Florida.

Robert W. Saunders, Tampa, field secretary for the National Association of Colored People in Florida, said there are an estimated 220,000 Negro voters now registered.

This includes both Democrats and Republicans.

Saunders said the immediate goal is to register 50,000 additional voters, boosting the statewide Negro registration to 270,000. He said he hopes to see this goal reached before the May party primary elections.

Before the November general election, Saunders said he hopes the 300,000 goal can be reached.

★ ★ ★

THE LAST official tabulation of Negro voting strength — last October — showed 213,128 Negroes registered in both parties. This is a total of 45.4 or 60 per cent of all Negro vote (adult Negroes living in Florida according to the 1960 census).

Saunders said as a general objective, the NAACP organization is trying to get at least 60 per cent of all Negro adults registered in every county.

Voter registration drives are under way or will be under way shortly in Pinellas, Hillsborough, Alachua, Marion, Orange, Brevard, St. Johns, and Volusia counties, Saunders said.

But Saunders said the statewide organization and every branch of the NAACP will participate in the year-long voter registration program.

"We intend to utilize the services of our youth, in particular during vacation months, to go into these communities and spearhead the voter registration drives," Saunders said.

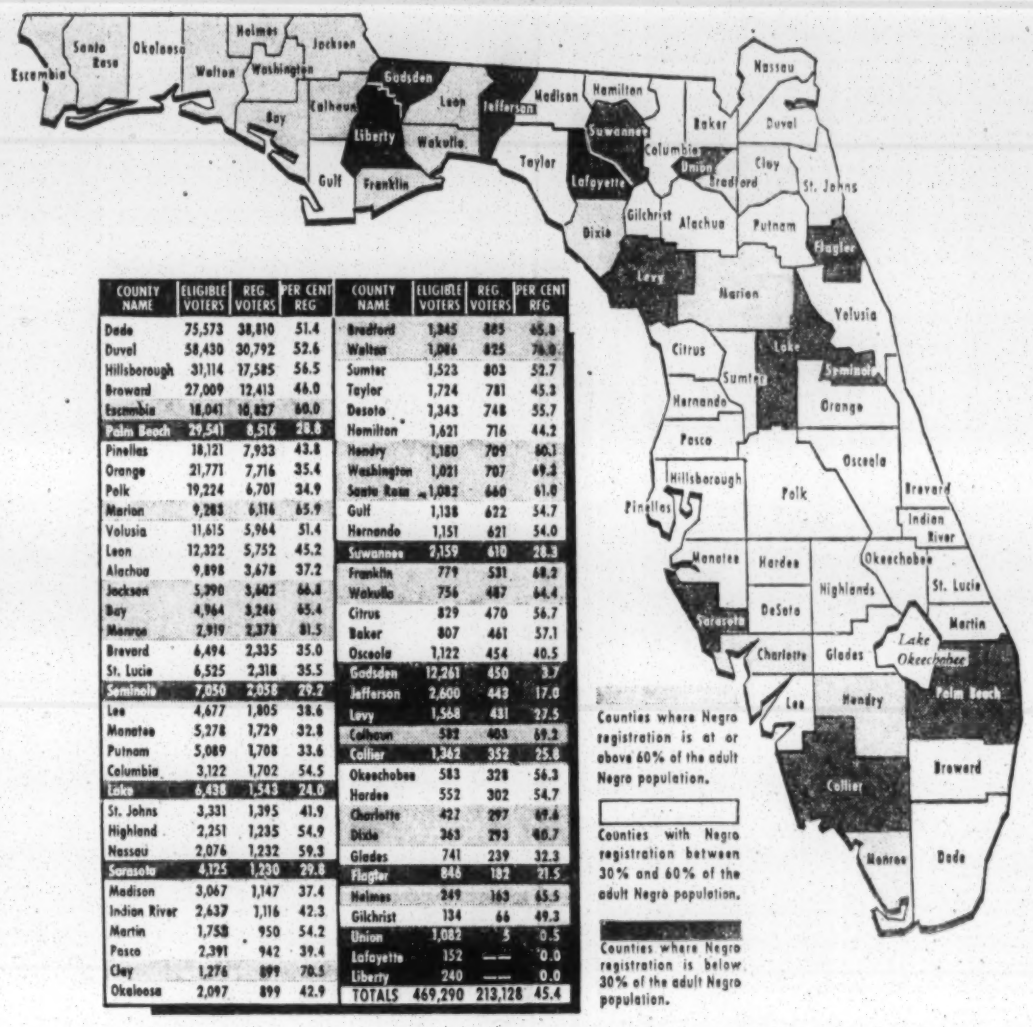
★ ★ ★

HE SAID he thinks the 300,000 goal is obtainable, especially since without a statewide organized effort the Negro voter registration in Florida was increased by 11.1 per cent during this year.

For the first time in Florida history, the total Negro Democratic registration has gone above the 200,000 mark, according to Saunders' estimates.

Florida Voter Registration

Total, all parties	2,137,801
Negro Demo.	197,536
White Demo.	1,531,558
Democratic	1,729,094
Republican	383,467
Negro Rep.	15,592
White Rep.	367,875
Other Parties (White, Negro)	25,240



COUNTY NAME	ELIGIBLE VOTERS	REG. VOTERS	PER CENT REG
Dade	75,573	38,810	51.4
Duval	58,430	30,792	52.6
Hillsborough	31,114	17,585	56.5
Broward	27,009	12,413	46.0
Escambia	18,041	10,827	60.0
Palm Beach	29,541	8,516	28.8
Pinellas	18,121	7,933	43.8
Orange	21,771	7,716	35.4
Polk	19,224	6,701	34.9
Marion	9,283	6,116	65.9
Volusia	11,615	5,964	51.4
Leon	12,322	5,752	45.2
Alachua	9,898	3,678	37.2
Jackson	5,390	3,602	66.8
Bay	4,964	3,246	65.4
Monroe	2,919	2,378	81.5
Brevard	6,494	2,335	35.0
St. Lucie	6,525	2,318	35.5
Seminole	7,050	2,058	29.2
Lee	4,677	1,805	38.6
Manatee	5,278	1,729	32.8
Putnam	5,089	1,708	33.6
Columbia	3,122	1,702	54.5
Lake	6,438	1,543	24.0
St. Johns	3,331	1,395	41.9
Highland	2,251	1,235	54.9
Nassau	2,076	1,232	59.3
Sarasota	4,125	1,230	29.8
Madison	3,067	1,147	37.4
Indian River	2,637	1,116	42.3
Martin	1,758	950	54.2
Pasco	2,391	942	39.4
Clay	1,276	899	70.5
Okaloosa	2,097	899	42.9

COUNTY NAME	ELIGIBLE VOTERS	REG. VOTERS	PER CENT REG
Bradford	1,345	885	65.8
Walton	1,086	825	76.0
Sumter	1,523	803	52.7
Taylor	1,724	781	45.3
Desoto	1,343	748	55.7
Hamilton	1,621	716	44.2
Hendry	1,180	709	60.1
Washington	1,021	707	69.2
Santa Rosa	1,082	660	61.0
Gulf	1,138	622	54.7
Hernando	1,151	621	54.0
Suwannee	2,159	610	28.3
Franklin	779	531	68.2
Wakulla	756	487	64.4
Citrus	829	470	56.7
Baker	807	461	57.1
Osceola	1,122	454	40.5
Gadsden	12,261	450	3.7
Jefferson	2,600	443	17.0
Levy	1,568	431	27.5
Calhoun	582	403	69.2
Collier	1,362	352	25.8
Okeechobee	583	328	56.3
Hardee	552	302	54.7
Charlotte	427	297	69.6
Dixie	363	293	80.7
Glades	741	239	32.3
Flagler	846	182	21.5
Holmes	249	163	65.5
Gilchrist	134	66	49.3
Union	1,082	5	0.5
Lafayette	152	——	0.0
Liberty	240	——	0.0
TOTALS	469,290	213,128	45.4

—Miami Herald-St. Pete Times Map by FRANK PETERS

Number of Negroes Registered in Each County
. . . compared with those eligible to vote

Bryant's first primary total was 193,507.

★ ★ ★

THERE ARE several interesting trends in the Negro registration pattern in Florida.

Larger counties, as would be expected, lead in total registration totals — but it is the smaller Florida counties that have the highest registration on a percentage basis — the percentage of the eligible Negroes registered to vote.

Of 17 counties with a registration of 60 per cent of the eligible Negro voters (the NAACP goal), all but two Monroe and Charlotte are located in North Florida.

Monroe has the highest registration on percentage basis — 81.5 per cent — but Dixie County is second with 80.7

The problem, according to Saunders is, that in the larger areas it takes a vast organization to contact and educate Negroes, many of whom are still afraid to register.

★ ★ ★

THIS IS WHY the current drive is being centered in larger areas, although it will also include efforts in smaller counties.

In Pinellas County, where the current Negro registration is 7,933 — Democratic and Republican — leaders feel the failure to allow books to go out into the precincts retards the move toward getting more Negroes registered.

But local Negro officials hope to add 5,000 Negro voters by mid-January.

Much of the increase in Negro voter registration has come with the interest generated by so-called "direct action" programs, such as demonstrations and sit-ins.

Ocala — or Marion County — is a good example.

In 1950, there were 3,267 registered Negro Democrats in Marion County and 193 Negro Republicans.

In 1962, there were 3,646 registered Negro Democrats in Marion County and 129 Negro Republicans — still very little change in almost 12 years.

Then came the direct action program of the last year in Ocala — sit-ins and protest marches. The Oct. 5 figures showed a jump in Negro Democratic registration to 5,913 — more than 2,000 in about a year and 203 registered Republicans ..... the first Negro GOP gain in 12 years.

The percentage of Marion County's Democratic Negro registration is the highest in Florida when compared to the total Democratic Negro registration — 26.9 per cent. Six other counties — most of them smaller counties — have a total Negro registration that exceeds 20 per cent of the Democratic registration. They are: Glades, 20.8; Hamilton, 21.2; Hendry, 20; Jackson, 22.8; Leon, 21.5; and Madison, 20.1.

But those zeroes — in Lafayette and Liberty — still stand out. Saunders says the first Negroes will be registered in those counties next year — putting Negro voters on the rolls in every Florida county for the first time since Reconstruction times.

By DON MEIKLEJOHN
Miami Herald-St. Pete Times Wire

A statewide campaign to boost the Negro registration in Florida to 300,000 before the November 1964 general election is under way in Florida.

Robert W. Saunders, Tampa, field secretary for the National Association of Colored People in Florida, said there are an estimated 220,000 Negro voters now registered.

This includes both Democrats and Republicans.

Saunders said the immediate goal is to register 50,000 additional voters, boosting the statewide Negro registration to 270,000. He said he hopes to see this goal reached before the May party primary elections.

Before the November general election, Saunders said he hopes the 300,000 goal can be reached.

★ ★ ★

THE LAST official tabulation of Negro voting strength — last October — showed 213,128 Negroes registered in both parties. This is a total of 45.4 or 60 per cent of all Negro vote (adult Negroes living in Florida according to the 1960 census).

Saunders said as a general objective, the NAACP organization is trying to get at least 60 per cent of all Negro adults registered in every county.

Voter registration drives are under way or will be under way shortly in Pinellas, Hillsborough, Alachua, Marion, Orange, Brevard, St. Johns, and Volusia counties, Saunders said.

But Saunders said the statewide organization and every branch of the NAACP will participate in the year-long voter registration program.

"We intend to utilize the services of our youth, in particular during vacation months, to go into these communities and spearhead the voter registration drives," Saunders said.

★ ★ ★

HE SAID he thinks the 300,000 goal is obtainable, especially since without a statewide organized effort the Negro voter registration in Florida was increased by 11.1 per cent during this year.

For the first time in Florida history, the total Negro Democratic registration has gone above the 200,000 mark, according to Saunders' estimates.

The October total showed 197,536 Democrats and 15,592 Republicans among Negro registered voters — or a total of 213,128 for both parties.

Saunders' estimate that there are 220,000 registered Negroes now puts the total Democratic total at about 203,000.

Saunders thinks this huge Negro registration will tend to "moderate" the racial issue in the upcoming Democratic campaign for governor.

It took only 186,228 votes for Doyle Calrton Jr. to make the second primary against Farris Bryant in 1960. Bryant's first primary total was 193,507.

★ ★ ★

THERE ARE several interesting trends in the Negro registration pattern in Florida.

Larger counties, as would be expected, lead in total registration totals — but it is the smaller Florida counties that have the highest registration on a percentage basis — the percentage of the eligible Negroes registered to vote.

Of 17 counties with a registration of 60 per cent of the eligible Negro voters (the NAACP goal), all but two Monroe and Charlotte are located in North Florida.

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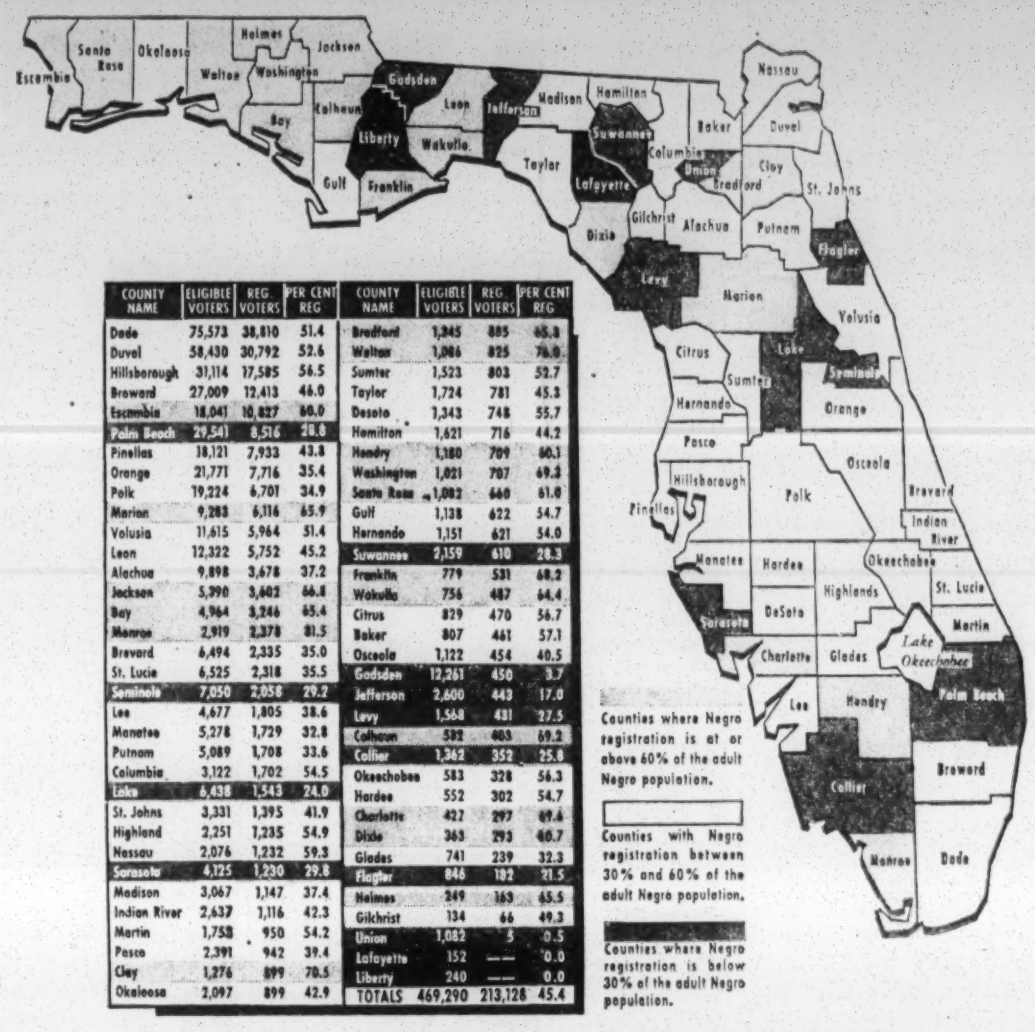

COUNTY NAME	ELIGIBLE VOTERS	REG. VOTERS	PER CENT REG
Dade	75,573	38,810	51.4
Duval	58,430	30,792	52.6
Hillsborough	31,114	17,585	56.5
Broward	27,009	12,413	46.0
Escambia	18,041	10,827	60.0
Palm Beach	29,541	8,516	28.8
Pinellas	18,121	7,933	43.8
Orange	21,771	7,716	35.4
Polk	19,224	6,701	34.9
Marion	9,283	6,116	65.9
Volusia	11,615	5,964	51.4
Leon	12,322	5,752	45.2
Alachua	9,898	3,678	37.2
Jackson	5,390	3,602	66.8
Bay	4,964	3,246	65.4
Monroe	2,919	2,378	81.5
Brevard	6,494	2,335	35.0
St. Lucie	6,525	2,318	35.5
Seminole	7,050	2,058	29.2
Lee	4,677	1,805	38.6
Manatee	5,278	1,729	32.8
Putnam	5,089	1,708	33.6
Columbia	3,122	1,702	54.5
Lake	6,438	1,543	24.0
St. Johns	3,331	1,395	41.9
Highland	2,251	1,235	54.9
Nassau	2,076	1,232	59.3
Sarasota	4,125	1,230	29.8
Madison	3,067	1,147	37.4
Indian River	2,637	1,116	42.3
Martin	1,758	950	54.2
Pasco	2,391	942	39.4
Clay	1,276	899	70.5
Okaloosa	2,097	899	42.9

COUNTY NAME	ELIGIBLE VOTERS	REG. VOTERS	PER CENT REG
Bradford	1,245	885	65.3
Walton	1,086	825	76.0
Sumter	1,523	803	52.7
Taylor	1,724	781	45.3
Desoto	1,343	748	55.7
Hamilton	1,621	716	44.2
Hendry	1,180	709	60.1
Washington	1,021	707	69.2
Santa Rosa	1,082	660	61.0
Gulf	1,138	622	54.7
Hernando	1,151	621	54.0
Suwannee	2,159	610	28.3
Franklin	779	531	68.2
Wakulla	756	487	64.4
Citrus	829	470	56.7
Baker	807	461	57.1
Osceola	1,122	454	40.5
Gadsden	12,261	450	3.7
Jefferson	2,600	443	17.0
Levy	1,568	431	27.5
Calhoun	582	403	69.2
Collier	1,362	352	25.8
Okeechobee	583	328	56.3
Hardee	552	302	54.7
Charlotte	427	297	69.6
Dixie	363	293	80.7
Glades	741	239	32.3
Flagler	846	182	21.5
Holmes	249	163	65.5
Gilchrist	134	66	49.3
Union	1,082	5	0.5
Lafayette	152	—	0.0
Liberty	240	—	0.0
TOTALS	469,290	213,128	45.4

—Miami Herald-St. Pete Times Map by FRANK PETERS

Number of Negroes Registered in Each County

. . . compared with those eligible to vote

Florida Voter Registration

Total, all parties	2,137,801
Negro Demo.	197,536
White Demo.	1,531,558
Democratic	1,729,094
Republican	383,467
Negro Rep.	15,592
White Rep.	367,875
Other Parties (White, Negro)	25,240

1-27-64

January 20, 1964

Mr. Robert W. Saunders
Field Secretary
Florida NAACP
705 E. Harrison Street
Tampa, Florida

Dear Mr. Saunders:

I enclose a photocopy of a recent news article from the Arkansas Gazette. We are very much interested here at the Voter Education Project in learning how much of your annual budget will be spent in voter registration and to learn something of your plans to register 300,000 Negro voters in Florida.

As you are aware, the Voter Education Project has made grants to NAACP for voter registration activities in several Florida cities and we look forward to working with you on a greatly expanded basis during 1964.

A prompt reply will be appreciated.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:jl
enc.
cc: Mr. Rutledge Pearson
President
Florida State Conference of NAACP Branches
536 W. 18th Street
Jacksonville, Florida

WB

NAACP

2/11/64

WAB:

I have read Mr. Saunders' communication of January 21, and the attachments thereto.

It will be recalled that I attended the Florida state conference of the NAACP, and could see that the Florida conference was the best organized conference of the five that I attended during the summer months. However, statewide programs of the nature Mr. Saunders has suggested have not proven successful in the past. This, I think, is due to the fact that most state organizations do not run uniform in their organizational structure. In other words, there are some strong sections of the state, and some weak sections.

I seriously question the effectiveness of NAA in the Miami area. I think it behooves us to think in terms of operating limited programs in those regions of the state where NAA has real strength.

RTB/js

VEP 3-4

RTB
BWV
Return to WAB

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

TWENTY WEST FORTIETH STREET • NEW YORK 18, N. Y. • BRyant 9-1400

Please direct reply to:

Robert W. Saunders
Field Secretary
705 E. Harrison Street
Tampa 2, Florida
Telephone: 229-8619

January 21, 1964

Mr. Wiley Branton, Project Director
Votor Education Project, Room 206
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

JAN 22 1964

Dear Mr. Branton:

Thank you for your letter dated January 20, 1964 requesting information concerning our votor registration program for 1964.

First, I wish to make a correction of two. Our budget as announced to the press, was $40,000 and not $400,000 as printed in the clipping submitted; Second, the present voting strength in Florida is in excess of 213, 128. Our plans call for a statewide progr am is to push the total in excess of 300,000 which we believe can be done easily with a well proportioned and coordinated program.

Our State Conference is divided into five areas. Each has a chairman who presides over area conference meetings that are called either by the State President or this office. We also have as chairman of our State Political Action Committee, Mr. L. O. Harper, who resides 2530 22nd Street South, St. Petersburg, Florida.

We are working on a budget for voter registration that will be within reason, yet substantially large enough to cover certain items and innovations which are believed to be essential for this campaign. The budget for voter-registration, of course, is not a part of the regular operational budget of the State Conference, but is seperate. It is estimated that a minimum of five thousand dollars will be needed to cover the bare essentials. This includes utilization of our energetic youth leaders from various colleges in the state during their vacation periods.

I am submitting for your observation and information copies of our prepared program as well as a news story that was first published in the St. Petersburg Times in December and in the Miami Herald in January. Acopy of the budget will be sent to you upon completion.

Sincerely yours,

Robert W. Saunders

Robert W. Saunders
Field Secretary
NAACP

cc: Mr. Rutledge H. Pearson

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Official Organ: The Crisis

2-19-64

February 12, 1964

Florida State Conference
NAACP
705 East Harrison Street
Tampa 2, Florida

Gentlemen:

On February 7 we received what appears to be page one of a voter registration budget but it is apparent that the budget includes more than one page and we would like a complete copy for our files.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:jl

FEB 14 1964

VOTER REGISTRATION BUDGET

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
FLORIDA STATE CONFERENCE

TO: Dr. John Morsell, Special assistant to the Executive Secretary, NAACP.

FROM: Mr. L. O. Harper, Chairman, Political Action Committee.
R. W. Saunders, Field Secretary of Florida, NAACP

I. PROPOSED BUDGET FOR 1964 STATEWIDE CAMPAIGN

A. Salaries
Special Workers $2,500.00
Secretarial $1,000.00

B. Literature, Printing, Advertising $1,000.00

C. Transportation $2,500.00

D. Postage $500.00

E. Stationary and Supplies $500.00

F. Rent $1,000.00

TOTAL.....$9,000.00

II. PROPOSED AREAS FOR VOTER REGISTRATION CONCENTRATION

COUNTY	SEAT	REGISTERED	64 GOAL
Hillsborough	Tampa	17,585	5,000
Duval	Jacksonville	30,795	5,000
Palm Beach	West Palm Beach	8,516	3,500
Orange	Orlando	7,716	5,000
Polk	Bartow	6,701	5,000
Broward	Ft. Lauderdale	12,413	4,000
Pinellas	Clearwater	7,933	3,000
Marion	Ocala	6,116	1,500
Volusia	Deland	5,964	2,000
Leon	Tallahassee	5,752	2,000
Alachua	Gainsville	3,678	2,000
Jackson	Mariana	3,602	1,000
Bay	Panama City	3,246	500
Brevard	Titusville	2,335	2,000
ST. Lucie	Vero Beach	2,318	1,500
Seminole	Sanford	2,058	2,000
Lee	Ft. Myers	1,805	1,000
Manatee	Bradenton	1,729	1,500
Putnam	Palatka	1,708	2,000
Columbia	Lake City	1,702	1,000
Lake	Tavares	1,543	1,000
St. Johns	St. Augustine	1,395	1,000
Gadsden	Quincy	450	3,000

Note: Counties not listed will conduct drives. Quotas are not set, however, each is expected to register a minimum of at least ten per cent of eligibles of said county.

III. FIELD AND EXECUTIVE STAFF

1. Campaign workers or field workers will be recruited from various colleges in the State. Many student leaders have worked as volunteers and participated in demonstrations. It is contemplated that at least ten persons will be utilized as field workers during drive, to concentrate

on several key areas and where needed. These individuals will be trained by NAACP field personnel. Proposed salary, $25.00 per week.

2. A voter registration assistant is contemplated to help coordinate the program. Proposed salary, $1,500.00.
3. Additional secretarial help will be used when needed in State office to facilitate communications, etc.

IV. TIME PERIOD

The campaign will extend until October 4, ~~for~~ OR approximately 30 days before General Election in November. There will also be a period of one month-----April 4 to May 5 when voter registration will be at a standstill due to statutory requirements colsing books 30 days before all elections.

FEB 14 1964

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

TWENTY WEST FORTIETH STREET • NEW YORK 18, N. Y. • BRyant 9-1400

Please direct reply to:

Robert W. Saunders
Field Secretary
705 E. Harrison Street
Tampa 2, Florida
Telephone: ~~229-8619~~ 2233512

February 13, 1964

Mr. Wiley Branton
Voter Education Project
Room 206
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Branton,

Enclosed is a copy requsted by you. We are very sorry it was overlooked.

Sincerely,

Robert W. Saunders

Robert W. Saunders

RWS/jes

enclosure

February 27, 1964

Mr. Robert W. Saunders
Field Secretary
NAACP
705 E. Harrison Street
Tampa 2, Florida

Dear Mr. Saunders:

Thank you for your letter of January 21, explaining your statewide voter registration plans and also for the copies of the proposed budget which you sent to us on February 13.

As you probably know, the Voter Education Project has made some rather generous grants in the past to NAACP for registration programs in several Florida cities and we now have pending at this time, additional requests for spring and summer programs which have been submitted to us by Mr. W. C. Patton.

Your letter does not state whether the proposed statewide program and budget is something which will be supported entirely by your Florida State Conference or whether you intend to seek financial support from the national office or VEP.

We do not consider requests as such from state conferences of branches as all of our dealings regarding the funding of projects is carried on with representatives of your national office.

Even though this program may be carried on entirely by your state conference we, nevertheless, appreciate being

NAACP agency file

informed of it and would like to be kept fully informed as your plans and activities progress to the end that we can all help to increase the number of registered voters in your state.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:jl
cc: Mr. W. C. Patton
Dr. John Morsell

WB -
JM

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

TWENTY WEST FORTIETH STREET • NEW YORK 18, N. Y. • BRyant 9-1400

Please direct reply to:

W. C. Patton
Field Secretary
234 Hernando Street
Memphis 5, Tenn.
525-6057

AUG 7 1964

August 5, 1964

Mr. Wiley Branton
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

Because of the death of one of the judges in St. Petersburg, Florida, the books will be closed August 8 - September 26th for this election, according to information passed on to me.

I have asked our secretary, Mrs. Crawford, to provide you with a copy of the Commerical Appeal (daily newspaper here in Memphis) for the next two weeks, which should give you the desired information about the election.

Yours truly,

W. C. Patton

W. C. Patton

WCP/evt
Encl.

Samples of Campaign literature being used in Memphis — Not VEP Supported
NAB.

PAGES 21 TO 36

THE COMMERCIAL APPEAL

PAGES 21 TO 36

*****

MEMPHIS, TENN., MONDAY MORNING, AUGUST 3, 1964

Revenue Split Termed 'Basic'

City Takes Wait-See Attitude Toward Parley Tomorrow On Fund Share

City officials are taking a wait-and-see attitude toward a conference called by Squire Tom P. Mitchell for tomorrow afternoon to discuss the share due Shelby County municipalities from county revenues.

Squire Mitchell, chairman of a committee to study reapportionment of the County Court, said he called the meeting because the division of county tax revenues is basic in reapportionment.

Mayor William B. Ingram, who will be out of town Tuesday, said he favors "our sitting down together and coming to an understanding the best we can."

Mayor Ingram expressed himself as satisfied with the present division of county school funds.

"On the other hand the city gets nothing toward maintenance of its streets and roads, which are also the county's."

Public Service Commissioner Hunter Lane Jr. said he will attend the meeting and bring up the subject of a possible county contribution toward city street lighting, which costs $900,000 a year.

Public Works Commissioner Pete Sisson is expected to attend and raise the question of county aid in building railroad viaducts and underpasses in the city.

Mayor Tom Hall of Millington said he cannot attend because he has a meeting already scheduled at the same time. He said the county aids on streets in Millington by maintaining Navy Road, while the state maintains Highway 51 through the town.

Mayor Bruce Law of Germantown said he will attend Tuesday's meeting. Also invited are the mayors of Collierville, Arlington, and Bartlett.

The meeting will be held at 1:30 p.m. at the Courthouse.

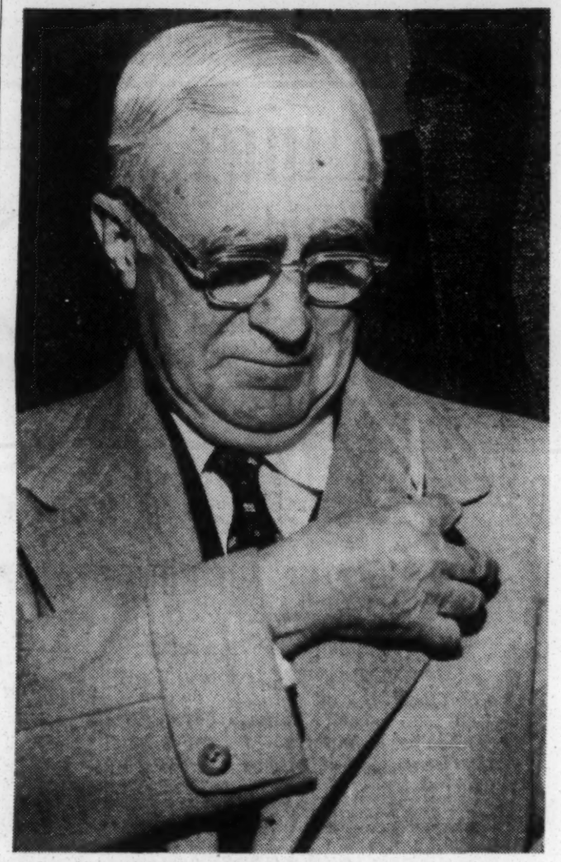
TWO YOUTHS INJURED

Car Goes Off Road In Shelby Forest

Two 18-year-old Memphis youths were in critical condi-

Election Will Be Big---But Crump Era Color Has Faded

By PAUL COPPOCK



A TIME TO FISH . . . It was earlier in Watkins Overton's political career than this 1955 election day photograph but once things were so calm on the Memphis political scene that E. H. Crump advised everyone to go fishing on the day of balloting.

By most measurements, Thursday's election will be big. It will be big in the number of offices to be filled, in the geat number of candidates, and in size of the vote to be counted.

Mr. Coppock

But big for excitement of colorful personalities clashing in contests of doubtful outcome — well hardly.

Nothing now in sight holds a candle to the battle of 1938 when E. H. Crump organized every resource of his extensive powers to unseat a governor he had helped into office two years before. Through long experience Mr. Crump had come to concentrate campaigning into the 10 days or two weeks before election day. But there were 10 months of campaigning in 1938.

Gordon Browning had become governor in 1936, with the help of a 60,000 majority in Shelby County. Their mutual admiration came apart and eventually Governor Browning was attempting to get a county-unit vote in Tennessee, similar to the Georgia system.

The big-city counties, especialty Shelby, were badly shortchanged in election of members of the Legislature and in handling of state funds. This was partially offset by the power of a 50,000-majority in this county to determine who won close contests for governor and senator, and by the Shelby delegation voting as a unit in the Legislature. But the county-unit vote would have converted city people into an artificial minority.

Tensions mounted through the winter and spring.

Eventually Mr. Crump published a famous advertisement in which he said the Governor was "the kind of a man who would milk his neighbor's cow through a crack in the fence."

And eventually National Guard units were issued orders to muster at Jackson just before the election. It seemed as though the Governor would have armed men at Memphis polling places on election day.

Newspapermen from Philadelphia to Seattle swarmed into Memphis for the showdown. It came when Federal Judge John D. Martin granted an injunction and instructed the United States marshal to swear in enough deputies to "repel this invasion."

The National Guard quietly took a train for summer encampment. Shelby County shifted a 60,000-majority against Browning and we had a new governor (Prentice Cooper).

We also had a few quiet elections in the Crump years. One time Watkins Overton was running for re-election as mayor, without opposition. Mr. Crump advised the voters to go fishing and said he was going to spend election day at Horseshoe Lake. The vote total was about 12,000.

One of the most powerful elements in Shelby County elections of the 30s and 40s was a card file system on every voter. For each precinct there was a book bound in gray, listing each former voter. There was a $2 poll tax to be paid in those days. Registration of voters was then open for a short period, well in advance of election day. Some times public interest in an approaching election had hardly been stirred when registration closed.

But those who had city or county jobs, and members of their families, had an interest. They went from door-to-door getting voters qualified.

Gordon Browning
Troops On The March

. . . AND A TIME TO FIGHT—Estes Kefauver was known as a fighter. One of his toughest fights was against Mr. Crump in 1948 when the late senator beat the Shelby County organzation.

for Congress against Mr. Crump and the Fisherville box turned in a 25-to-18 vote for the opposition. A short time later the County Court abolished the Fisherville box, splitting the contrary-minded voters to safer neighboring boxes.

In the 1938 primaries Browning won at the Donalson's Store box, 79 to 30. That precinct also was cut out by the County Court.

However, there were downs as well as ups for this massive political organization.

The 1927 municipal elections had opened the period of peak strength for E. H. Crump and his chief lieutenants, E. W. Hale in county affairs, Watkins Overton at the head of city government, Tyler McLain as attorney general at the top of law enforcement in both city and county, and Frank Rice as generalissimo of elections and state governments.

Ahead were the many years of Roosevelt and Truman as presidents, Mr. Crump as a member of the National Committee of the Democratic Party, both senators and the governor elected with Crump support and every city and county office in the hands of his friends. Long battles with the "power trust" were fought during the period to the conclusion of municipal ownership of distribution of electricity and natural gas.

Even in those years there were setbacks.

The CIO form of industrial unions, in contrast to the old line organization by trades, came to Memphis against

Ingram Names Parley Advisers

Four Will Assist Mayor At Economic Conference In Washington

Mayor William B. Ingram yesterday announced the names of four advisers who will assist him at the Department of Labor's Conference on Economic Opportunity in Washington this week.

The mayor named Jerrold Moore, director of the Memphis and Shelby County Planning Commission; Blair Hunt, Negro leader and member of the county Board of Education; William S. Pollard Jr., partner in Harland Bartholomew & Associates; and Brig. Gen. W. A. Danielson (USA, ret.).

The conference is scheduled Thursday and Friday. Mayor Ingram will attend Friday. He will be in New York Thursday to sign 14 million dollars worth of city general improvement bonds.

On WHBQ-TV's Press Conference yesterday Mayor Ingram said there is "no poverty in Memphis in the sense of people on the streets in rags, but there is a poverty of opportunity, and we ought to be right on top of it.

"This conference will try to find ways to provide employment and training for persons of 16 to 21 who have neither jobs nor special skills . . . We will seek opportunity for all people, not only Negroes but whites."

Mayor Ingram said he wants to change the city's fiscal year to start July 1, rather than Jan. 1. This would conform to the county, state and Federal practices, he said, and would correct the situation under which annual revenues now lag three to four million dollars because of late tax collections.

Asked whether the city expects to convert to a pay-as-you-go basis and stop issuing general improvement bonds, the Mayor replied "That depends on what the people demand we do for them in the

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TWO YOUTHS INJURED

Car Goes Off Road In Shelby Forest

Two 18-year-old Memphis youths were in critical condition at St. Joseph Hospital last night with injuries received in an automobile accident while returning from taking a companion home after a camping trim in Shelby Forest early yesterday morning.

John McGarvey of 3486 Steele received head injuries and a broken right leg and Richard Sweatt of 2029 Gurhau received head and back injuries when McGarvey lost control of his car and hit a tree on Walsh Road near Campbell Road. The accident occurred about six miles from their campsite in Shelby Forest at about 1:30 a.m. yesterday.

Sgt. T. M. Bruell of the sheriff's traffic department said McGarvey was traveling south on Walsh Road and lost control of his car while making a sharp turn. The car left the road and struck a tree on the west side.

Sgt. Bruell said an investigation showed no signs of excessive speed but that young McGarver would be charged witb reckless driving.

Love Isn't Blind

LUDLOW, England, Aug. 2. — (AP) — This ad appeared in a local newspaper: "Man with a tractor wishes to meet woman with combine, view to marriage. Please send photo of the combine."

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Frank Rice
Vote Generalissimo

Gordon Browning
Troops On The March

Judge John D. Martin
Invasion Repelled

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But those who had city or county jobs, and members of their families, had an interest. They went from door-to-door getting voters qualified.

As each registration certificate and poll tax receipt was issued another book was written, this one bound in black. From it a card was written for each voter.

On election day there was a tray of cards at each polling place. When a voter appeared his card was pulled. For the remaining cards there were telephone calls, personal visits, offers of rides to the polling place and similar reminders at decreasingly brief intervals until the full vote was cast.

Next day, while the official tally sheets were still being filled in, the routine of the card system was started for the next election, which might be two years distant.

Such a careful attention to details, and such a large pay roll to operate it, was beyond the reach of the opposition.

Beginning in 1928 there were two decades in which every precinct in every election was carried by the Crump candidates—with two exceptions.

In the 1932 primaries Tom Collier was a candidate turned in a 25-to-18 vote for the opposition. A short time later the County Court abolished the Fisherville box, splitting the contrary-minded voters to safer neighboring boxes.

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Even in those years there were setbacks.

The CIO form of industrial unions, in contrast to the old line organization by trades, came to Memphis against the strong efforts of Mr. Crump and his associates. These defiant union men were a preliminary to the 1948 loss when Mr. Crump undertook to replace Senator Tom Stewart, who declined to bow out. The combined vote for the old Crump senator and the new candidate would have been a majority but Estes Kefauver moved out of the House of Representatives and carried off the Senate prize. He made Crump defiance a trademark.

There is a tendency now to look back on the Crump era as one of continuous and sure victories. But it looked more uncertain at the time.

For instance, barely a year after the 1927 vote that led to the peak of statewide power, there was a most discouraging election. Tennessee went against Al Smith. Tired from a night of vote tabulations and discouraged by reports of other states that had turned against the Democratic candidate, Frank Rice went home at dawn so downhearted that he predicted the end had come for the party. He doubted if the Democrats would ever elect another president.

gram said there is "no poverty in Memphis in the sense of people on the streets in rags, but there is a poverty of opportunity, and we ought to be right on top of it.

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Asked whether the city expects to convert to a pay-as-you-go basis and stop issuing general improvement bonds, the Mayor replied "That depends on what the people demand we do for them in the way of street and sewer improvements and such."

Mayor Ingram declined to express a preference in the race for sheriff but repeated his endorsement of Gov. Frank Clement for United States senator and Representative Clifford Davis for renomination and re-election to the House of Representatives.

The mayor detailed as accomplishments of the first seven months in office of the present City Commission the retention of the $1.98 city tax rate; authorization of a new bridge across the Mississippi; achievement of better relations with the state and Federal governments; inauguration of a study of possible annexations, and the prospect gas rates will be lowered in Shelby County next year.

Caribbean Quake Recorded

WESTON, Mass., Aug. 2.—(AP)—The Boston College seismograph station recorded a "strong earthquake" in the Caribbean area off Puerto Rico tonight at 7:54 (Memphis time). The Rev. Daniel Linehan, S. J., reported the tremor and gave the location, which he described as "tentatively set."

City Closing Law Has Quiet Sunday

Police last night reported there were no complaints or citations under the city's new Sunday closing law yesterday, the second Sunday of full enforcement for the ordinance.

Under the new law, both merchants and customers can be fined for selling or buying articles banned from commerce on Sundays. The old law penalized only the seller of banned items.

Several merchants questioned last night said they had not seen any police officers out looking for violations yesterday.

Candidates Swarm To Irish Outing

By LOUIS SILVER

Candidates criss-crossed Joe Massa's Oak Lake Club grounds at 81 West Mitchell Road yesterday soaking up sunshine and exchanging political tips at the annual Irish Society picnic.

In the closest thing resembling a political contest, Lew Chandler and Albert Guy defeated Bob Hawks and Frank Webb, 21-19, in a game of horseshoes. Mr. Chandler and Mr. Webb are two of the 15 candidates on the ballot in Thursday's sheriff's race and Mr. Hawks is running for county tax assessor.

An aluminun-roofed shed housed three bocci lanes where candidates and Irish Society members watched the game from Italy in the cool shade.

Aside from these distractions, politics occupied the attention of the more than 500 men attending the picnic, whether they were sitting at tables eating barbecue or gathering in impromptu discussion groups in and out of the hot sun.

All three of the Democrats and one of the two Republicans seeking the United States House of Representatives seat from Shelby County (the Ninth Congressional District) showed up.

The incumbent, Representative Clifford Davis (D., Tenn.), arrived first to greet old friends. Next came Robert B. James with a coterie of fellow Republicans to exchange pleasantries with the largely Democratic picnic crowd.

State Senator Frank L. White, one of Mr. Davis' opponents in Thursday's Democratic primary, showed up at the picnic in mid-afternoon, followed by Democratic candidate George W. Grider with his dog, Sam, dubbed "chairman of underdogs for Grider."

Before going to the picnic, Mr. Grider was cheered by a contribution of "outside money" 1,000 Brazilian cruzieros — worth about $1 — donated by Miss Judy Draper, a Peace Corps volunteer who returned yesterday from Brazil. Miss Draper, whose home is at 4879 Fairfield Road, said she came home without any American money but wanted to make a contribution to Mr. Grider's campaign.

His son, Ensign G. W. Grider Jr., a 1963 Annapolis graduate, is due to fly home this afternoon from Long Beach, Calif., for a week's leave from duties aboard the guided missile cruiser Dale.

Raymond M. Briggs, who opposes Mr. James in the GOP primary, said later he was unable to attend the picnic but that he toured east-central Memphis with a sound truck.

At least eight candidates for sheriff and a sprinkling of those running for other offices joined in the picnic.

The Irish Society plans to use all profits from the affair for the group's scholarship fund.

Campaigning will move into high this morning as candidates face the final three days of work before the voters take over Thursday.

Mr. Davis will return to Collierville this morning to finish up handshaking left uncompleted July 25, will attend a noon "thank you" party for campaign workers at his East Memphis headquarters at 4575 Poplar, will visit shopping centers in the afternoon and attend another headquarters workers meeting at 7 p.m.

Mr. Grider's day will begin with a 7:30 a.m. workers' breakfast at the Holiday Inn-Midtown at 1262 Union and will speak to wives of Navy personnel at 1:30 p.m. in Millington's Baker Civic Center.

Mr. James will answer questions at a Shrine Luncheon Club meeting at Al Chymia Shrine Temple at 1257 Poplar and the Germantown Civic Club at 8 tonight at Germantown's Memorial Center on Old Poplar Pike.

Mr. White and Mr. Briggs will continue handshaking tours.

UT To Get Check

The Lions Club of Memphis will present a $600 scholarship check to Dr. H. M. Callison, dean of University of Tennessee Medical Units at a lunchen meeting tomorrow at the Claridge. The scholarship was established in 1956 in memory of Dr. Louis Levy.

DRIVER SAID IMPROVED

Olive Branch Youth Hit By Death Charge

Richard Pounders, 18, of Olive Branch, Miss., charged by Shelby County sheriff's officers with second-degree murder in the Friday night traffic death of Robert N. Harmon, 15, son of Mr. and Mrs. George H. Harmon of Olive Branch, was listed in satisfactory condition last night. He entered Methodist Hospital early Saturday in serious condition.

An autopsy has been ordered in the death of young Harmon.

The Pounders car swerved off a sharp curve on Byhalia Road and crashed into a tree. The charge against the driver is customary in traffic fatalities to be heard by the Grand Jury.

Two-Minute Mystery—

Case Of The Dead Broker

By DONALD J. SOBOL

The corpse of Winthrop Parida sat facing the ocean on the deserted northern end of the boardwalk at Leedo Beach, slumped to the right against the arm of the stone bench.

From the bullet wound in the center of the forehead dried blood descended in a solid line down the right side of the face, staining his white collar and blue-dotted gold tie.

"A trash collector discovered the body at eight this morning," Inspector Winters told Dr. Haledjian.

"Death occurred between midnight and two this morning," said Haledjian. He studied the pistol on the boardwalk. "You're convinced it's suicide?"

"Parida's been despondent over the recent failure of his brokerage firm," replied the inspector. "Last night he attended a cocktail party. Afterwards, the whole group drove out here in several cars to eat hot dogs at Benny's.

"It turned cold and a windstorm arose that didn't let up till dawn. Around 11 p.m. Parida excused himself and went outdoors. His friends got worried about him, but after waiting till 1 a.m., they figured he went home alone in his car. So they all returned to the city about 2 a.m.

"This wasn't the first time Parida had moodily walked out of a party in the past few weeks," concluded the sheriff. "But nobody suspected he'd ever take his own life."

"He didn't," said Haledjian.

How did Haledjian know?

(Solution In Column 8)

Hardened Heart Is Consequence Of Wilfullness

By BILLY GRAHAM

How can you preach of God's love and justice when it says in the Bible that He hardened Pharaoh's heart so that he would not let the children of Israel go out of his land. And then because Pharaoh did not let them go, God killed all the firstborn among the Egyptians and also of their livestock. This does not sound to me like a God of love and justice.—G. W.

It sounds to me like you are trying to trump up a case against God. But, in case this is an honest question, I would point you to this fact: before the statements in Exodus about the "Lord hardening Pharaoh's heart," Pharaoh makes a decision which opposed God's plan for Israel. For example in Exodus 14:6 the record says: "And Pharaoh made ready his chariots, and took his people with him, to pursue Israel," and then the words, "And the Lord hardened the heart of Pharaoh." The fact was: the hardening of his heart was the result of actions that were in opposition to Jehovah God.

Billy Graham

Just remember that it is the same sun that melts butter and hardens cement. The hardening depends upon the nature. God doesn't harden our hearts, but when we follow a course that is in opposition to his will, our hearts are hardened.

The phrase, "The Lord hardened his heart," means that God's law held sway, and as a result of Pharaoh's wilfullness, his heart was hardened.

Solution

Had Parida shot himself on the bench during the windstorm, the blood from the wound would not have "descended in a solid line down" his face. The wind would have smeared it over his face and spattered it on his clothing.

Hence, Haledjian knew he was killed somewhere else and the suicide faked.

HAMBONE'S MEDITATIONS

By J. P. ALLEY

Action, Please

Contractor Must Correct Sinking Pavement At Bridge

Q.—On McLemore west of the expressway the new pavement is sinking. On Mississippi Boulevard at the new bridge south of Dempster the new curb and street pavement are sinking.

Both of these conditions are the result of recent work on the new expressway. Who is responsible for this faulty work—the contractor, the inspectors, or the state Highway Department?

I have noticed other jobs like this where the state Highway Department was making repairs. Does the taxpayer pay for this, or is the contractor held responsible?

G. F. J.

A.— The conditions you refer to are the responsibility of the contractor, and will be cleared up before the work is accepted and paid for by the state Highway Department.

Q.—The other night a woman was killed on a dangerous curve on Mountain Terrace. I had been expecting it. A number of cars going south on Mountain Terrace speed through the new subdivision and suddenly hit the old Mountain Terrace, which was a dead-end, narrow and curvy.

They could widen the rest of Mountain Terrace to eliminate that curve. In the meantime, those trees that obstruct the view could be cut. This isn't the first wreck that has happened here, and won't be the last. Can anything be done about it? Mrs. E. S. B.

A.—Officials at the city engineer's office recall that the woman who lost her life on Mountain Terrace apparently was driving at a highly excessive rate of speed, which was more accountable for the wreck than the condition of the street. But the trees have been cut back to afford a better view for motorists, and the street will be widened and otherwise improved under a future contract let by the city.

....ELECT....

ROSS BASS

TO

U. S. SENATE

CONGRESSMAN ROSS BASS VOTED FOR THE "CIVIL RIGHTS BILL" GIVING NEGROES

1. **Equal job opportunities**
2. **The right to vote in Fayette County, Haywood County, and Mississippi**
3. **The right to enjoy parks, playgrounds, and other recreational facilities**
4. **The right to use hotels, restaurants, and other places of public accomodation**

GOVERNOR CLEMENT SAID HE "WOULD NOT" HAVE VOTED FOR THE "CIVIL RIGHTS BILL" WHICH PASSED THE HOUSE.

DEFEAT FRANK CLEMENT - He turned his back on Negroes

COLONEL M. M. BULLARD, Says:

"We Do Not Need A Civil Rights Bill."

WE NEED NEGROES IN OFFICE

E L E C T

Russell B. Sugarmon, Jr. ..... State Senate, District 29
A. W. Willis, Jr. ..... State House of Representatives, Position 1
Jesse H. Turner ..... State Constitutional Convention, Position 1
Rev. J. A. McDaniel..State Constitutional Convention, Position 8
Charles E. Ware ..... Constable, District 2

Vote The Shelby County Democratic Club's Ticket On August 6, 1964

SHELBY COUNTY DEMOCRATIC CLUB

Mr. Branton

SAMPLE BALLOT

The Shelby County Democratic Club Ticket

RUSSELL SUGARMON, JR., Chairman — A. W. WILLIS, JR., Vice-Chairman
JESSE TURNER and CHARLES WARE, Co-ordinators

We Must Elect These Candidates To

Stop Senator Goldwater

THE FREEDOM SEVEN

Morris — Ware — Turner — Bass — Grider — Sugarmon — Willis

GENERAL ELECTION

OFFICE	CANDIDATE	NUMBER
Sheriff	William N. (Bill) Morris	13
Constable, District 2	Charles E. Ware*	28
Constitutional Convention	Jesse H. Turner	41

DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY

United States Senate	Ross Bass	82
United States Representative	George W. Grider	86
State Senator	Russell Sugarmon	96
State Representative	A. W. Willis	108

*On Machines South of Poplar Avenue ONLY

Please Vote This Entire Ticket

FULL SLATE OF CANDIDATES ENDORSED BY THE SHELBY COUNTY DEMOCRATIC CLUB

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Sheriff	WILLIAM N. (BILL) MORRIS	13
County Tax Assessor	BOB HAWKS	16
[illegible]	MRS. CLAIBORNE (ONTE) HALL	[illegible]

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General Sessions Court Clerk	MRS. CLAIBORNE (ONIE) HALL	19
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Constitutional Convention	JESSE H. TURNER	41
Constitutional Convention	WILLIAM M. MORROW	45
Constitutional Convention	JOHN W. SPENCE	49
Constitutional Convention	MRS. ANNE W. SHAFER	53
Constitutional Convention	CHARLES EDWARD POOL	59
Constitutional Convention	E. GARY MAPLES	67
Constitutional Convention	J. A. McDANIEL	75

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Public Service Commissioner	JERRE JORDAN	92
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State Representative	CHARLES C. BURCH	109
State Representative	JAMES E. WILLIAMS	112
State Representative	CATHERINE B. TAYLOR	114
State Representative	RALPH W. FARMER	115
State Representative	JACK D. HYDRICK	120
State Representative	JACK W. GILLESPIE	127
State Representative	EDGAR H. GILLOCK	131
Shelby County Democratic Executive Committee	HUNTER LANE, JR.	134
Shelby County Democratic Executive Committee	JACK RAMSAY	136
Shelby County Democratic Executive Committee	CLIFF TUCK	139
Shelby County Democratic Executive Committee	BRUCE JORDAN	143
Shelby County Democratic Executive Committee	ANNE SCOTT JOHNSTONE	145
Shelby County Democratic Executive Committee	HENRY V. SUTTON	149
Shelby County Democratic Executive Committee	HAL GERBER	152

*On Machines South of Poplar Avenue ONLY

Stop Goldwater

KNOW YOUR LEADERS VOTE THIS BALLOT

SHELBY COUNTY DEMOCRATIC CLUB

WB
Return to JL for
B4
10-24-64

October 15, 1964

Mr. Richard McClain
Chief Accountant
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N.Y.

Dear Mr. McClain:

I am sorry it has taken me so long to reply to your letter of September 16. The delay was unavoidable by I do apologize.

Thank you for the explanation of the $500 difference in our records. I have changed our records to reflect this explanation and our figures are now in balance. I think your suggestion of preparing a quarterly statement of amounts received and expended and balance on hand is an excellent one and this would be a great help to me. You stated that you could make your first statement to cover the period March 1, 1964 through September 30, 1964 and quarterly thereafter. I would appreciate your doing this.

Your question about the administrative costs concern a matter of policy and Mr. Branton is the only one who could answer this for you. Your letter has been referred to him for consideration of this matter.

Thank you again.

Very truly yours,

NAACP General

Jean Levine

SEP 18 1964

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
TWENTY WEST FORTIETH STREET • NEW YORK 18, N. Y. • BRyant 9-1400

September 16, 1964

Miss Jean Levine
Fiscal Assistant
Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth St., N.W.-Room 206
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Miss Levine:

Thank you for your letter of September 3, 1964 concerning the difference in our balance of $500.00.

Please be advised that the difference is because I had been carrying a check in the amount $500.00 paid to the order of Dr. Simkins of Greensboro, N. C. as outstanding but upon checking the matter out, I found that the check was a duplicate of a check previously drawn and therefore I voided it. The change should be reflected in the bank balance as of March 1, in the amount of $17,991.39 which I sent you. The corrected balance as of that date should be $18,491.39 after voiding the duplicate check. This will now bring your records in agreement with ours.

In order to avoid this type of thing in the future, I would like to suggest that maybe we should prepare a quarterly statement of amounts received and expended and balance on hand and send it to your office for comparison with your records. I could make the first statement covering from March 1, 1964 thru September 30, 1964 and quarterly there after. Let me have your thoughts on the matter.

In my last letter I mentioned to you about the administrative costs. Would you also let me have your thoughts on this matter.

Sincerely yours,

Richard W. McClain
Chief Accountant

RWM:bl

9-12-64

September 3, 1964

Mr. Richard W. McClain
Chief Accountant
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 W. 40th Street
New York, N.Y. 10018

Dear Mr. McClain:

In your letter to Mr. Branton on August 18, you stated that your present bank balance was $10,359.14. From the data you have been sending to us our records indicate that your bank balance should be $9,859.14 - a difference of $500. I have listed below the information we have in our records and would appreciate hearing from you immediately as to where your records and ours are out of balance.

On March 1, 1964, our records were in balance with yours and your bank balance was $17,991.39. Since then there have been the following transactions:

Bank Balance		$17,991.39
VEP Grants to NAACP:		
4/15/64	$1,500.00	
5/14/64	7,640.00	
6/15/64	13,000.00	
7/7/64	1,000.00	
"	4,000.00	
8/12/64	1,500.00	
Total		28,640.00
		$46,631.39

NAACP to Field:

3/1/64	$3,000.00	(Patton)
3/5/64	1,500.00	"
3/23/64	3,000.00	"
4/2/64	2,000.00	"

(more)

4/17/64	2,500.00	(Patton)	
5/18/64	3,000.00	"	
6/29/64	3,000.00	"	
6/17/64	1,000.00	"	
7/23/64	7,000.00	"	
8/17/64	3,000.00		
8/14/64	750.00	(Brooks)	
Total			$29,750.00

NAACP Expenses from VEP account:

3/1/64	$3,550.00	Salaries	
"	249.64	Taxes & Ins.	
6/11/64	3,720.00	Salaries	
"	274.81	Taxes & Ins.	
Total	$7,794.45		
Less reimbursement to VEP for error in salary payment to Jno. Edwards	772.20		
			7,022.25
TOTAL NAACP EXPENSES FROM VEP ACCOUNT			$36,772.25
NAACP BANK BALANCE ON VEP BOOKS 8/18/64			$ 9,859.14

Please compare our records with yours and let us know at once where the $500 discrepancy has occurred.

Thank you.

Sincerely yours,

Jean Levine
Fiscal Assistant

(DUPLICATE)

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

Date: June 17, 1964

Draw to the Order Of: W. C. Patton $ 1,000.00

DETAILS:

For: Genral operating expenses (V.E.P.) FUNDS) 1,000 00

Requested by: JOHN MORSELL Approved by:

DUPLICATE

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

Date: July 23, 1964

Draw to the Order Of: W. C. Patton $ 7,000.00

DETAILS:

For: Voter Registration work in Florida and Georgia

(VEP Account) 7,000 00

Requested by: John A. Morsell Approved by: Bobbie Branche

(DUPLICATE)

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

Date: August 14, 1964

Draw to the Order Of: John Brooks $750.00

DETAILS:

For Voter Education Project program in Greensboro, North Carolina

(VEP FUNDS) $750 00

Requested by: MILDRED BOND Approved by:

Duplicate

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

Date: August 17, 1964

Draw to the Order Of: W. C. Patton $3,000.00

DETAILS:

For Voter Education Project program for two weeks in Dade County, Florida $3,000 00

Requested by: Mildred Bond Approved by:

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
TWENTY WEST FORTIETH STREET • NEW YORK, N. Y. 10018 • BRyant 9-1400

August 18, 1964

Mr. Wiley A. Branton
Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Branton:

Please excuse the delay in sending you the balance you requested in your letter of July 20th but I have just returned from vacation.

Our current balance as of August 18, 1964 is $10,359.14.

I am enclosing herewith four duplicate voucher requisitions as follows:

6/17/64	-	W. C. Patton	- $1,000.00
7/23/64	-	W. C. Patton	- 7,000.00
8/14/64	-	John Brooks	- 750.00
8/17/64	-	W. C. Patton	- 3,000.00

In reference to my letter of July 2 in connection with the taking of the 15% administrative and overhead cost, I wanted to get clarification as to how you wanted to handle this. The reason for raising the question is that the recent grant received from you seemed to be for the exact amount budgeted for the expenses in connection with each Voter Education Project location. Does this mean that you will be sending a separate check for the 15% administrative and overhead cost or do you want me to bill you for same. Please let me hear from you concerning this matter.

In connection with the reimbursement of the salaries and payroll for Helen Hayes, Lurline Crawford and Hugh T. Love, I will send you one statement on September 30, 1964.

With kindest personal regards, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Richard W. McClain

Richard W. McClain
Chief Accountant

RMc:svl
Encs.
cc: John A. Morsell

8-22-64

August 10, 1964

Mr. Richard W. McClain
Chief Accountant
N.A.A.C.P.
20 West 40th Street
New York, N.Y. 10018

Dear Mr. McClain:

May we have your present book balance which we requested in our letter of July 20.

Sincerely yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:jl

~~7/27/64~~
8-1-64

July 20, 1964

Mr. Richard W. McClain
Chief Accountant
N.A.A.C.P.
20 West 40th St.
New York, N.Y. 10018

Dear Mr. McClain:

In reply to your letter of July 2, your statement billing us for reimbursement of the salaries and payroll taxes for Helen Hayes, Lurline Crawford and Hugh T. Love, may be either monthly, or one statement on September 30, 1964, whichever is most convenient for you.

We have marked out records to show that you have replaced John Edwards' salary and payroll taxes in the VEP account.

Just to facilitate keeping our records in agreement with yours, would you kindly send us your present book balance by return mail.

Sincerely yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:jl

FINANCIAL

Rec'd 7/6/64 WB JL

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
TWENTY WEST FORTIETH STREET • NEW YORK, N. Y. 10018 • BRyant 9-1400

July 2, 1964

WAB Dictate to me! please JL. JL wrote

Mr. Wiley Branton, Project Director
Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

as you please monthly or on 9/30/64.

Dear Mr. Branton:

Thank you for your letter of June 16, in re the salary of John Edwards and other related matters. I had the feeling that clarification had to be made in reference to these matters and had intended to raise these questions after our convention.

Bank statement?

I am now drawing the check in the amount of $772.20 to the VEP account to refund the amount of John Edwards' salary and payroll taxes involved.

?

I will send you a statement monthly, or if you desire for the full period of June 1 thru Sept. 30, 1964 for the amount due the NAACP for reimbursement of the salaries and payroll taxes for Helen Hayes, Lurline Crawford and Hugh T. Love. It is my understanding that they are employed full time in approved VEP activities.

I have discussed the matter of the travel expenses of the above-named persons with Dr. Morsell and it is agreed that we will absorb that phase of their work.

?

There is one other matter. You will note that with the exception of the initial grant received, we have not deducted our allowable 15% for administrative expense. Since we are now required to absorb the travel expenses of the workers, we will have to take the 15% administrative allowance.

notify us somehow

Very truly yours,

Richard W. McClain
Chief Accountant

Request Book balance

RMc:svl
cc: J. A. Morsell
W. C. Patton

DUPLICATE

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

Date: June 29, 1964

Draw to the Order Of: W. C. Patton $ 3,000.00

DETAILS:

To begin general registration work in Florida	$3,000	00
(V.E.P. FUNDS)		

Requested by: Mildred Bond

Approved by: John Marsell

6-27-64

FINANCIAL COPY

June 16, 1964

Mr. Richard McClain
Chief Accountant
NAACP
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Mr. McClain:

Your voucher of May 5, 1964, shows a check to NAACP against your VEP account in the amount of $3,994.81, and includes reimbursement of salary to John Edwards in the amount of $720. This reimbursement for John Edwards was improper, and we cannot approve this portion of your statement. Mr. Edwards is apparently working in North Carolina where we have no NAACP programs other than those receiving grants direct from VEP. In Addition to this, we get no field reports from Mr. Edwards and cannot, in good faith, approve his salary from VEP funds. Will you therefore make a deposit to the VEP account for the amount of Mr. Edward's salary, and appropriate Social Security and unemployment insurance benefits, and advise us when this has been done?

I am enclosing a copy of a letter which I have just written to Mr. Patton regarding the matter of salaries for Helen Mayes, Lurline Crawford, and Hugh T. Love. In addition to he grants which VEP is making to NAACP, we will reimburse you for the salaries of these three persons for the period June 1 through September 30, 1964, provided these persons are employed in full-time approved VEP activities, and their salaries are commensurate with the salary scale they have heretofore been paid. Your money will be sent to you in a separate grant upon receipt of a statement of the amount to NAACP, and at such transferrals as you may desire.
drawals

Because of this special grant which we are now approving for salaries, we are requesting NAACP to pay all of the travel expenses for these workers from funds other than those coming

from VEP. We are advising Mr. Patton that he is to no longer pay any travel expenses for his employees out of VEP funds, and I am asking both Mr. Patton and you to write me immediately of your understanding of this arrangement.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:js

cc: Mr. W. C. Patton
Dr. John Morsell

✓ when received
note on
Bill memo.

Memo from WILEY A. BRANTON

Return to UEP

Ask Gazette

ues., Jan. 14, 1964. • 3A

Plans Voter Drive

ST. PETERSBURG, Fla. (UPI)—The Florida Executive Committee of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has adopted a $400,000 annual budget and announced a drive to register at least 300,000 Negro voters.

LWD ✓

We have no information on this at UEP. I do not know of the proposed budget or not. I am all for voter registration. I am writing NAACP for information

REGISTER AND VOTE PROJECT BUDGET

N. C. STATE CONFERENCE N. A. A. C. P.

February 1, 1964 - October 31, 1964

	1 - Month	9 - Months	
GENERAL OFFICE EXPENSES			
Rent	$ 30.00	$ 270.00	
Secretary	140.00	1,260.00	
Telephone	15.00	135.00	
Telephone - Long Distance	50.00	450.00	
Lights	15.00	135.00	
Office Supplies		900.00	
Postage and Shipping		800.00	
Printing		500.00	
TOTAL - GENERAL OFFICE EXPENSES			$4,450.00
RENTAL OF OFFICE EQUIPMENTS			
Mimeograph Machine	$ 20.00	$ 180.00	
Typewriter	10.00	90.00	
File Cabinet	3.00	27.00	
Furniture	10.00	90.00	
TOTAL - RENTAL OF OFFICE EQUIPMENT			$ 387.00
TRAVEL EXPENSES			
Administrator	$ 50.00	$ 450.00	
9 - Congressional District Chairmen $5.00 each	45.00	405.00	
50 - County Chairmen $4.00 each	200.00	$1,800.00	
500 - Precinct Workers 4 months - $5.00 each	$2,500.00	$10,000.00	
TOTAL TRAVEL EXPENSES			$12,655.00
TOTAL BUDGET			$17,492.00

February 27, 1964

Mr. Kelly M. Alexander
President
North Carolina State Conference of Branches
NAACP
112 North Irwin Avenue
Charlotte, North Carolina 28202

Dear Mr. Alexander:

Thank you for your letter of February 4, in which you included a copy of your budget for the statewide registration program in North Carolina. We have also received a letter containing additional information regarding your project from the Rev. Charles W. Ward, Chairman of your Political Action Committee.

Any request for financial assistance to NAACP branches or state conferences of branches should be submitted to us through a representative of the national staff and we, therefore, cannot take any action on the North Carolina program until we get such a request.

If the national office plans to ask VEP for financial support on this budget we should be informed as to the amount which is being contributed toward the budget by the NAACP national office, North Carolina Conference of Branches, and local branches in cities or counties where programs are to be conducted.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:jl

cc: The Rev. Charles W. Ward
Dr. John Morsell

NAACP agency file

FEB 14 1964 WB
FEB 14 1964 BW
FEB RTB

First Baptist Church

101 South Wilmington Street
RALEIGH, NORTH CAROLINA

CHARLES W. WARD, *Pastor*
501 South Bloodworth Street
Residence: TE 3-0566
Church: TE 2-1649

February 13, 1964

J. W. YEARGIN, *Church Clerk*
TE: 2-0438

M. D. HAYWOOD, *Chairman of Deacon Board*
TE 2-0608

Mr. Wiley A. Branton
Project Director, Voter Education Project
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street, N. W., Room 206
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Branton:

Mr. Kelly M. Alexander, President of North Carolina State Conferences of NAACP Branches, has written to you regarding some financial assistance for a regional campaign in the state of North Carolina.

I ~~did~~ wish to indicate to you that we have some counties with permanent registration. The books stay open for registration until 21 days before election. Most of the counties with large cities have this type of registration. In the present there are 9 counties with permanent registration. They are: (1) Forsythe, (2) Guilford, (3) Mecklenburg, (4) Wilson, (5) New Hanover, (6) Wake, (7) Gaston, (8) Cumberlin, (9) Buncomb.

Books will be opened for general registration in the other 91 counties from May 2 through May 16. We hope that we can work the counties that have permanent registration now, and have them well on the way so that we may turn our attention to the other counties and have them ready for registration when the books open May 2.

I do not have funds to advance such a project, and I was told by the President of the State Branch of North Carolina that we do not have funds available for such an undertake. Here in Raleigh and Wake county we have received some assistance from other sources for registration in the city and county.

This Experience has provided an opportunity to test the effectiveness of the project, and May I Say to You, I feel it to be sound.

Sincerely,

Charles W. Ward

Charles W. Ward

W/j

NORTH CAROLINA STATE CONFERENCE OF BRANCHES
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
112 NORTH IRWIN AVENUE
CHARLOTTE, NORTH CAROLINA 28202

TELEPHONE: 376-6909

WB
BW
RTB

February 4, 1964

FEB 6 1964

Mr. Wiley A. Branton
Project Director, Voter Education Project
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Room 206
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Branton:

The North Carolina State Conference of Branches is now ready to proceed with it's 1964 Voter Registration Campaign. The campaign will be supervised by Rev. Charles W. Ward, Chairman, North Carolina State Conference Political Action Committee, 502 South Bloodworth Street, Raleigh, N.C.

The structure of the campaign will be directed within the framework of North Carolinas' eleven Congressional Districts. Congressional Chairmen will have the responsibility of organizing each county within a Congressional District. There will be County Chairmen to direct and implement the Voter Registration Program on the county level. They will have the responsibility of organizing each city, township or rural community within the county. The community leadership will organize each precinct.

The process of organization is a reality now and we are now ready to begin work. Careful record keeping - number of workers, number of calls per day and per week, number who attempted to register, number who successfully registered and reasons for failure to register, will be thoroughly kept by Rev. Charles Ward, who will supervise the campaign. Rev. Ward will submit to you, at an early date, the areas of concentration for immediate voter registration campaigning. There are some areas of the state where we can begin at once.

I am enclosing a comprehensive budget and we are in need of financial assistance to get the campaign started. I would appreciate you giving this matter your immediate consideration.

You may contact John Morsell as to what amount the national office will contribute to this budget. You may also contact John Brooks in reference to the Voter Registration Campaign in North Carolina.

Your cooperation is highly appreciated.

Respectfully,

Kelly

Kelly M. Alexander, President
N. C. State Conference of NAACP Branches

KMA:maa
Encl.

WB

VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT - NAACP

Statement of Outstanding Accounts

November, 1964

NOV 30 1964

CAMPAIGN EXPENSES

SALARIES:

Herbert Torrence	Jacksonville, Florida	$ 25.00	
Loretta Oliver	Jacksonville, Florida	25.00	
Annie B. Preston	Ocalo, Florida	25.00	
Arbouin Farmer	Ocalo, Florida	40.00	
Alice Kendricks	Pensacola, Florida	35.00	
Gwendolyn Kyles	Pensacola, Florida	15.00	
William Tunstall	Tampa, Florida	35.00	
Johnnie Curtis	Tampa, Florida	15.00	
Lethia P. Walker	Chattanooga, Tenn.	40.00	
C. B. Robinson	Chattanooga, Tenn.	50.00	
Doris Lundy	Decatur, Georgia	200.00	
E.L. Gardner	Athens, Georgia	45.00	
Joseph Atkins	Brunswick, Georgia	45.00	
			$595.00

GENERAL EXPENSES:

Miami, Florida	400.00

Submitted By: W. C. Patton
234 Hernando Street
Memphis, Tenn.

File NAACP Travel

November 28, 1964

Memo from . . .

w. c. patton

TO: MR. WILEY A. BRANTON

Attached is a copy of the outstanding bills to be taken care of. I am hopeful that no additional ones will pop up. I was trying to give adequate time for all areas to settle their accounts before submitting this.

The people listed here have not been paid due to not having furnished us with receipts for funds paid by them, nor have they sent in their last progress report.

This should give a general picture of where we stand at this point.

December 8, 1964

Mr. W. C. Patton
234 Hernando Street
Memphis, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Patton:

I am returning to you under separate cover all of the cancelled checks and bank statements on your VEP account for the period December, 1963 through July, 1964, which you sent at our request. Thanks for your cooperation in helping us to audit your account.

Kind personal regards.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:js

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FLORIDA STATE CONFERENCE OF NAACP BRANCHES

VOTER-REGISTRATION CAMPAIGN

A FUNCTIONAL POLITICAL ACTION PROGRAM FOR

FLORIDA

"...The right of the citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude."

Section 1.....Article 15

Constitution of the United States

1963-1964

Rutledge H. Pearson, President
Mrs. Flossie M. Curinton, Ass't Secretary

Mrs. L. E. Duie, Secretary
Miss Victoria Casellas Treasure

Robert W. Saunders
Florida Field Secretary, NAACP

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INTRODUCTION:

Registration and voting is a major project of the Florida State Conference of NAACP Branches. It is felt that by projecting ourselves into the area of political action, we are meeting the challenge of the times. That challenge is the tremendous task of preparing the Negro citizen of this State to participate not only as a voter in all elections, but also as an integral part of the huge political process that is government.

Just this week, we read of a Negro who had won an election in Lawtey,as a member of the City Council. This is a part of the political process. Since the original copy of our voter-registration program was printed in 1960, there havebbeen increases made in voter-registration as well as in the number of Negro candidates who are running for political offices.

Still the center of campaign issues, the Negro in Florida must continue to exert his political influence at the polls. However, this cannot be accomplished if the NAACP should relax its drive to enroll more and more Negroes as voters. In 1964, the Negro in Florida will play an impartant roll in determining which party will win the State during the General Election. This roll must become more precise by building a greater potential among Negro voters.

We take note that during 1963, there was an increase of 11.1 percent among Negro registrants. We also note that these increases took place where NAACP Branches had active campaigns and where they elected to promote voter-registration drives. The Florida State Conference is determined that this increase shall continue with a greater number of Negroes being taken to the registration polls, We shall call on the registrars in all counties of Florida to cooperate in the voter registration program. We hope that our efforts will impress upon other citizens that there is an immediate need for more action by the people to insure good and clean government.

In keeping with the NAACP policy of conducting non-partisan voter registration drives., we embark on this program with an eye to urging that each person registered take the opportunity granted to cast his ballot for the candidate of his choice. Our Branches and Youth Councils will be so instructed that they are not to endoree any candidate. Their jobs will be to urge that Negroes register and then to urge that they get out and vote.

The NAACP in Florida is deeply concerned with the fair administration of the law and the unbiased enforcement of justice. Therefore, we are not only concerned with the election of a President or the members of Congress, but we are equally as concerned with the election of of those who are running for governor, mayor or any other state or local political office. Our concern is that there shall be enough registered Negroes to help choose candidates that shall work for the benefit of all people with out referring to the race, color or religion of an individual.

We call on our youth to take an active part in this drive. Each Youth Council and College Chapter is asked to plan and work to help achieve those goals set for 1964.

XXXXXXXX XXXXXXXX

Forms for making monthly and other reports shall be prepared and distributed by the State office.

TOTAL VOTERS REGISTERED (NEGRO) OCTOBER 5, 1963

COUNTY	COUNTY SEAT	REGISTERED	DEMS	REP	ELIGIBL
Dade	Miami	38,810	34,756	4,054	75,573
Duval	Jacksonville	30,792	29,156	1,636	58,430
Hillsborough	Tampa	17,585	16,635	950	31,114
Broward	Ft. Lauderdale	12,413	10,826	1,587	27,009
Escambia	Pensacola	10,827	10,500	327	18,041
Palm Beach	West Palm Beach	8,516	7,583	933	29,541
Pinellas	St. Petersburg	7,933	6,546	1,387	18,121
Orange	Orlando	7,716	7,009	707	21,771
Polk	Bartow	6,701	6,222	479	19,224
Marion	Ocala	6,116	5,913	203	9,283
Volusia	Daytona Beach	5,964	5,611	353	11,615
Leon	Tallahassee	5,572	5,342	230	12,322
Alachua	Gainesville	3,678	3,416	262	9,898
Jackson	Marianna	3,602	3,510	92	5,390
Bay	Panama City	3,246	3,231	15	4,964
Monroe	Key WEst	2,378	2,359	19	2,919
Brevard	Titusville	2,335	2,049	286	6,494
St. Lucie	Fort Pierce	2,318	2,181	137	6,525
Seminole	Sanford	2,058	1,956	102	7,050
Lee	Fort Myers	1,805	1,683	122	4,677
Manatee	Bradenton	1,729	1,571	158	5,278
Putnam	Palatka	1,708	1,585	123	5,089
COlumbia	Lake City	1,702	1,647	55	3,122
Lake	Tavares	1,543	1,461	82	6,438
St. Johns	St. Agustine	1,395	1,222	173	3,331
Highland	Seebring	1,235	1,194	41	2,251
Nassau	Fernandina	1,232	1,217	15	2,076
Sarasota	Sarasota	1,230	983	247	4,125
Madison	Madison	1,147	1,083	64	3,067
Indian River	Vero Beach	1,116	1,033	83	2,637
Martin	Stewart	950	917	33	1,753
Pasco	Dade City	942	925	17	2,391
Clay	Green Cove Springs	899	883	16	1,276
Okaloosa	Crestview	899	887	12	2,097
Bradford	STarke	885	877	8	1,345
Walton	Defuniak	825	812	13	1,086
Sumpter	Bushnell	803	765	38	1,523
Taylor	Perry	781	781	---	1,724
Desota	Arcadia	748	663	85	1,343
Hamilton	Jasper	716	692	24	1,621
Hendry	LaBelle	709	701	8	1,180
Washington	Chipley	707	703	4	1,021
Santa Rosa	Milton	660	651	9	1,082
Gulf	We Wahitchka	622	590	32	1,138
Hernando	Brooksville	621	615	6	1,151
Suwannee	Live Oak	610	543	67	2,159
Franklin	Apalchicola	531	526	5	779
Wakulla	Crawfordville	487	478	9	756
Citrus	Inverness	470	425	45	829
Baker	McClenny	461	460	1	807
Osceola	Kissimmee	454	428	26	1,122
Gadsden	Quincy	450	361	89	12,261
Jefferson	Monticello	443	414	29	2,600
Levy	Bronson	431	378	53	1,568
Calhoun	Blountstown	403	403	--	582
Collier	Everglades	352	336	16	1,362
Okeechobee	Okeechobee	328	325	3	583
Hardee	Wachulla	302	289	13	552
Charlotte	Punta Gorda	297	286	11	427
Dixie	Cross City	293	291	2	363
Glades	Morehaven	239	239	--	741
Flagler	Bunnell	182	181	1	846
Holmes	Bonifay	163	162	1	249
Gilchrist	Trenton	66	65	1	134
Union	Butler	5	4	1	1 082
Lafayette	Mayo	---	---	--	152
Liberty	Bristol	---	---	--	240
Totals		213,128	197,536	15,592	469,290

NAACP SONG SHEET

I'LL BE SITTING UP THERE.

If you don't find me at the segregated school
And you can't find me no where.
Come on up to the Integrated school,
I'll be studying up there.

Chorus:

I'll be studying up there! I'll be studying up there!
Come on up to the integrated school
And I'll be studying up there.

If you don't find me at the segregated church
And you can't find me no-where.
Come on up to the integrated Church
I'll Be praying up there.

Chorus:

I'll be praying up there, yes, I'll be praying up there.
Come on over to the integrated church
And I'llbe praying over there.

If you miss me from the back of the bus
And you can't find me no-where
Come on up to the front of the bus and I'll be sitting up there.

Chorus:

I'll be sitting up there, I'll be sitting up there.
Come on up to the front of the bus, I'll be sitting up there.

If I'm not eating at Shelley Green's,
And you can't find me no where. Come on over to Morrison's
And I'll be dining over there.

Chorus:

I'll be dining over there, I'll be dining over there.
Come on over to Morrison's, I'll be dining over there.

"WE SHALL OVERCOME"

We shall overcome, we shall overcome.
We shall overcome someday.
OH---deep in my heart, I do believe.
We shall overcome someday.

We are not afraid, we are not afraid
We are not afraid today.
Oh---deep in my heart, I do believe
we shall overcome someday.

The Lord if on our side, the Lord is on our side.
The Lord is on our side today.
Oh---,deep in our hearts, we do believe
We shall overcome someday.

The Register and Vote Campaign is a statewide, non-partisan effort to encourage every qualified Negro in Florida to register and to vote in all elections. The immediate goal of the campaign is to qualify a minimum of 50,000 additional Negro voters during 1964. There are now approximately 220,000 Negroes registered in the State. Therefore, we shall endeavor to increase this number to 300,000 by the end of the year. We shall also concern with preventing the purging of those persons who are registered but who have not voted in the past two years, an essen tial part of our program if we are to show a definite increase.

The goal can be accomplished through hard work, good organization and the full cooperation of interested individual and non-partisan organizations. By starting the program now, by properly orienting and organizing our Political Action Committees on the branch level, the job of carrying on the program shall and will be achieved.

In addition, we hope to utilize the "crash program" endorsed by our National COnvention. Many of our youths who have here-to-fore led in demonstrations will be sent in communities where they can help to carry on the door-to-door job of making contacts. We are also planning to concentrate on utilizing the services of our college youths during their Summer vacations. In other words, the NAACP anticipates placing a force of not less than one-thousand persons into various communities through out the State to achieve the purposes sought.

We will also call on organizations in the State to aid in building up the forces needed to reach the goal for 1964. We believe that it is imperative that each organization with a Negro membership should concentrate a small portion of its time in helping to achieve the full freedom that is sought by Negroes and which can be achieved with the help of active Negro participation in Voting and political action.

THE FOLORIDA PROGRAM!

The program is to be administered by the Florida State Conference's Political Action Committee. Assisting shall be the Florida Field Secretary and Mr. W C. Patton, NAACP Voter REgistration Specialist. The Political Action Committee shall Consist of the following persons:

(1) Chairman (Appointed by State President)
(2) Youth Council President (or representative)
(3) Five Area Political Action Representatives
(4) Such other State Conference Standing Committee Chaimen as are needed to corrdinate various phases of the program

Branches and youth councils of the Florida State Conference are the units that form the basis for local implementation of the program. The program shall be formed within the frame of the five areas of the State Conference . Each branch and/or youth council shall organize and promote voter-registration either on the County-wide area or within the community where the branch and/or youth council is chartered.

Reports shall be made to the State office in Tampa (or if a headquarters is established, to that office) on a monthly basis. This is necessary so that an accurate record shall be made to determine the progress of the drive.

NOTE: photocopy of November 30, 1964, letter sent to Dr. Morsell and Mr. Brooks, also.

January 25, 1965

Mr. Richard W. McClain
N A A C P
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Mr. McClain:

We have never received any reply to the attached letter of November 30, 1964, and we cannot begin to close out your account with VEP until such information is furnished us. Will you please send us this information at once. We received the information which we had requested of Mr. Patton, but we have never received anything from Mr. Brooks.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:js
Encl: 1
cc: Mr. John Morsell
Mr. John Brooks - Rec'd 1/29/65

NAACP Thomas

November 30, 1964

Mr. Richard W. McClain
NAACP
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Mr. McClain:

Now that the Voter Education Project has terminated its Grants-in-Aid program to other agencies, we are making an effort to close all of our accounts. Mrs. Levine has referred to me your letter of October 22 regarding reimbursement for certain of your voter registration workers.

Please send to us at once the exact amount of the balance in your VEP account in New York, and list separately the amount of VEP funds remaining in the hands of Mr. W. C. Patton and Mr. John Brooks. I am by copy hereof, requesting Messrs. Brooks and Patton to send information regarding the balances in their accounts to us to expedite this matter.

If you have advanced any funds to Mr. Brooks, or to Mr. Patton which you have not yet informed us of, then we should be furnished with such information. We need all of this information to determine whether or not we will be in a position to allow any administrative costs above the salaries we agreed to reimburse you for.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:js
cc: Mr. W. C. Patton
Dr. John Morsell
Mr. John Brooks

OCT 24 1964

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

TWENTY WEST FORTIETH STREET • NEW YORK, N. Y. 10018 • BRyant 9-1400

Oct. 22, 1964

Balance as of 10/31 $3859.14

Miss Jean Levine
Fiscal Assistant
Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Miss Levine:

Thank you for your letter of October 15.

I will be sending you the March 1 thru September 30, 1964 statement of amounts received and expended shortly.

I am enclosing herewith our billing for the salaries of Lurline Crawford, Helen Hayes and Hugh T. Love covering the period June 1, 1964 thru October 9, 1964 as follows:

Lurline Crawford	$1,000.00	
Helen Hayes	2,000.00	
Hugh T. Love	2,000.00	
Total Salaries		$5,000.00
Soc. Sec. Employers Share		181.20
U.I. Insurance		64.60
Disability Benefits		6.76
		$5,252.56

Thank you for referring the matter of administrative costs to Mr. Branton. I hope that we will be hearing from him soon.

Yours very truly,

Richard W. McClain

Richard W. McClain
Chief Accountant

RMc:svl
Encs.

P.S. Please find enclosed duplicate vouchers for: W. C. Patton - $3,500.00 - 9/21/64, W. C. Patton - $1,500.00 - 9/25/64 - John Brooks - $500.00 - 10/5/64 and W. C. Patton - $1,000.00 - 10/19/64.

NCCJ

The National Conference of Christians and Jews
43 West 57th Street New York, N. Y. 10019

Publications

Lauri Cale

LILLIAN COHEN
Director

10/24/66

FOR YOUR INFORMATION

Attached are samples of new publications distributed by NCCJ. Where no price is indicated single copies are given free. Materials available from all NCCJ offices.

REARING CHILDREN OF GOOD WILL-A PROGRAM GUIDE

Manual to encourage rearing children of good will programs with suggested procedures and resource information. Cost...35¢ per copy.

BOOKS FOR BROTHERHOOD - NEW EDITION 1966

Books of general interest in the field of intergroup relations chosen from among those published from August 1965 through July 1966, for adults and children. $5.00 per hundred.

BROTHERHOOD WEEK FOLDER

Announcement - Brotherhood Week observance, February 19-26, 1967 with suggestions for year-round programs to build better intergroup relations.

AN INEXCUSABLE AMERICAN TRAGEDY

This pamphlet points up the need for rearing children of good will and NCCJ's program and activities in this connection.

NCCJ

REARING CHILDREN OF GOOD WILL

A Program Guide

by JAMES M. EAGAN

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHRISTIANS AND JEWS

NCCJ.

Brotherhood = DEMOCRACY AT WORK

BROTHERHOOD
WEEK
FEBRUARY
19-26,
1967

AS CITIZENS OF THIS DEMOCRACY

For more than three decades, the National Conference of Christians and Jews has carried on a nationwide educational program to combat bigotry, to strengthen national unity and build interreligious and interracial understanding within the American community.

When the National Conference was founded in 1928 after a wave of anti-Catholicism had erupted during Alfred E. Smith's campaign for the Presidency, many said a Catholic could never be elected President. Some 32 years later, thanks in large measure to the work of Protestants, Catholics, Orthodox and Jews, a climate of trust and understanding had been developed to a point where a Catholic was, in fact, elected President.

NCCJ's educational work with youth, with teachers, with clergy, with police officers and with business and civic leaders does not make front page headlines, yet this work has played a vitally important role in blunting anti-Semitism here in this country.

Through its interreligious dialogue program, it has been a pioneer in the ecumenical movement. Long before the words "interfaith dialogue" became popular, the National Conference was bringing together Protestant, Catholic, Jewish and Greek Orthodox clergy and lay leaders to ameliorate the religious hostilities that divided America.

The same methods of education, of dialogue, of teaching, of person-to-person communication and reasoned confrontation which have brought about a new era of ecumenical understanding in America must be applied with even greater vigor to eradicate the poison of racial prejudice that is disrupting our country today. I therefore ask my fellow Americans to join the National Conference of Christians and Jews in the observance of Brotherhood Week and in the support of its year-round educational program in behalf of national unity. Let us make Brotherhood Week a profound period in our nation's development when we take a hard look at ourselves and our communities to ascertain how far we have come toward eliminating prejudice and discrimination in our schools, in our plants and businesses and in our local neighborhoods.

Let us make a searching examination to determine what specific things need to be done to make America a safer, a better, and a finer place in which to live. Then, working together during the 51 weeks following Brotherhood Week, let us take whatever steps may be necessary—with all the knowledge and resources at our command—to insure that *all* Americans are treated equally as citizens of this democracy and as brothers in the family of mankind.

STERLING W. BROWN
President,
National Conference
of Christians and Jews

PLAN TO PROGRAM NOW TO MAKE DEMOCRACY WORK

For Program Aids, Printed Materials on important issues, Films and Scripts to stimulate the exchange of views—counsel or assistance—

WRITE OR PHONE YOUR NEAREST NCCJ OFFICE.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

During Brotherhood Week 1967, each American has a splendid opportunity to display the spirit of unity which has made this a mighty nation.

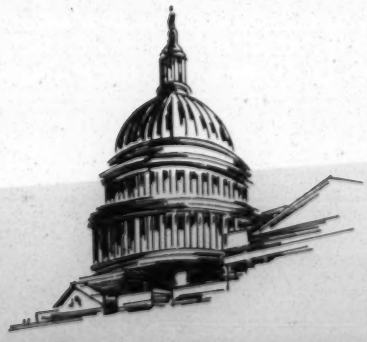
It is a time in which we can exhibit to the world our unrelenting desire to eliminate from our society any vestige of injustice.

Brotherhood simply means giving to others the rights, respect and dignity they deserve.

It is a concept that was woven into the very fabric of our Constitution and our Bill of Rights. In recent years, civil rights legislation has sought even more explicitly to guarantee equality for all Americans regardless of race, color or creed.

Unfortunately, the gap between principle and practice still remains. It is our task -- and our responsibility -- to make certain that the gap is closed.

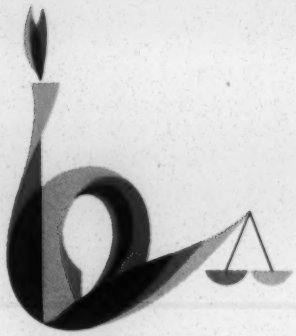
I call upon each of our citizens to join the National Conference of Christians and Jews in the observance of Brotherhood Week and to make real our pledge of "one nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all."



BROTHERHOOD WEEK *is a time of challenge and a time for change. A time to evaluate our attitudes and to check our community needs. A time to plan changes that will put into practice the principles of Democracy. A time to plan and program for continuing action to prove that the spirit of America exists and insures the dignity of man. First, let's check our own prejudices—recognize them—and have a sincere desire to do something about them. Then, let's check our community needs in:*

1. **Housing** Is equal opportunity for adequate housing available to all groups? ☐
2. **Education** Is there a school-wide policy which implements and supports continual improvement of intergroup relations in school and community? ☐
3. **Religion** Is full opportunity for religious expression accorded to every individual on the basis of the dictates of his own conscience? ☐
4. **Employment** Do people of all races, religions and nationality backgrounds have full opportunity for jobs on the basis of merit only? ☐
5. **Health & Hospital Facilities** Are the best in health and hospital services available to any person living in the community? ☐
6. **Recreation** Is full opportunity provided for all groups in your community's recreational and leisure-time program and facilities? ☐
7. **Public Accommodations** Are there fair and equal practices for all groups in your community's public transportation system, hotels, restaurants, theatres, cultural activities, etc.? ☐
8. **Community Organizations** What standards of exclusion are reflected in the membership practices of organizations in your community? ☐

WHAT'S THE SCORE?



PLAN TO PROGRAM NOW TO MAKE DEMOCRACY WORK

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HEMPSTEAD, L. I., N. Y.
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92-32 Union Hall St.

JAMESTOWN, N. Y.
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916 Walnut St.

KNOXVILLE, TENN.
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147 North Adams

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MEMPHIS, TENN.
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MILWAUKEE 2, WISC.
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MINNEAPOLIS 2, MINN.
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611 Gravier St.

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PHOENIX-TUCSON, ARIZ.
624 Luhrs Bldg.
Phoenix, Ariz.

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233 Oliver Avenue

PORTLAND 5, ORE.
729 S.W. Alder St.

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92 Benevolent Street

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701 Shipley Street

CANADIAN COUNCIL OF CHRISTIANS AND JEWS, 506-508 Ryrie Bldg., 229 Yonge St., Toronto, Canada

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHRISTIANS AND JEWS / 43 WEST 57TH STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10019

Photos by Sandra Weiner

You may be thinking that everything that can be said about racial and religious prejudice has been said. And you're probably right.

You may even feel that every big change that's *going* to be made, *will* be made—all in its own good time. And you have a lot of company there.

But then, suddenly, you see a child crying from the bitter hurt of hate. And the shock hits you anew. You know it's a tragedy. You know it harms all Americans. You know it's inexcusable. You find yourself asking, "When will all this stop?"

Like most Americans, you wish that something could be done to remove group prejudice and discrimination from our land.

Something can be done and is being done. People are joining hands and man is making progress. Not in the headlines, perhaps. But quietly. And in so many new and different ways that you may be astonished.

That's why we ask you to read further and learn about an important program of the National Conference of Christians and Jews designed especially to safeguard our children from the contamination of prejudice.

ATTACKING THE BIG PROBLEM

You don't have to have a university degree in sociology to realize that racial and religious prejudice is a part of our everyday lives.

Bigotry has caused riots, murders, all kinds of violence. All of us have seen young children who hate a person because of the color of his skin or because of the place where he worships—because their parents do.

Hate is learned and hate is taught. If prejudice can be learned in the home or at the playground, it can also be *unlearned*.

Positive work by parents, schools, churches and synagogues can use the Biblical words that know no boundaries of land or time: "Train up a child in the way he should go: and when he is old he will not depart from it."

THE REARING CHILDREN OF GOOD WILL PROGRAM

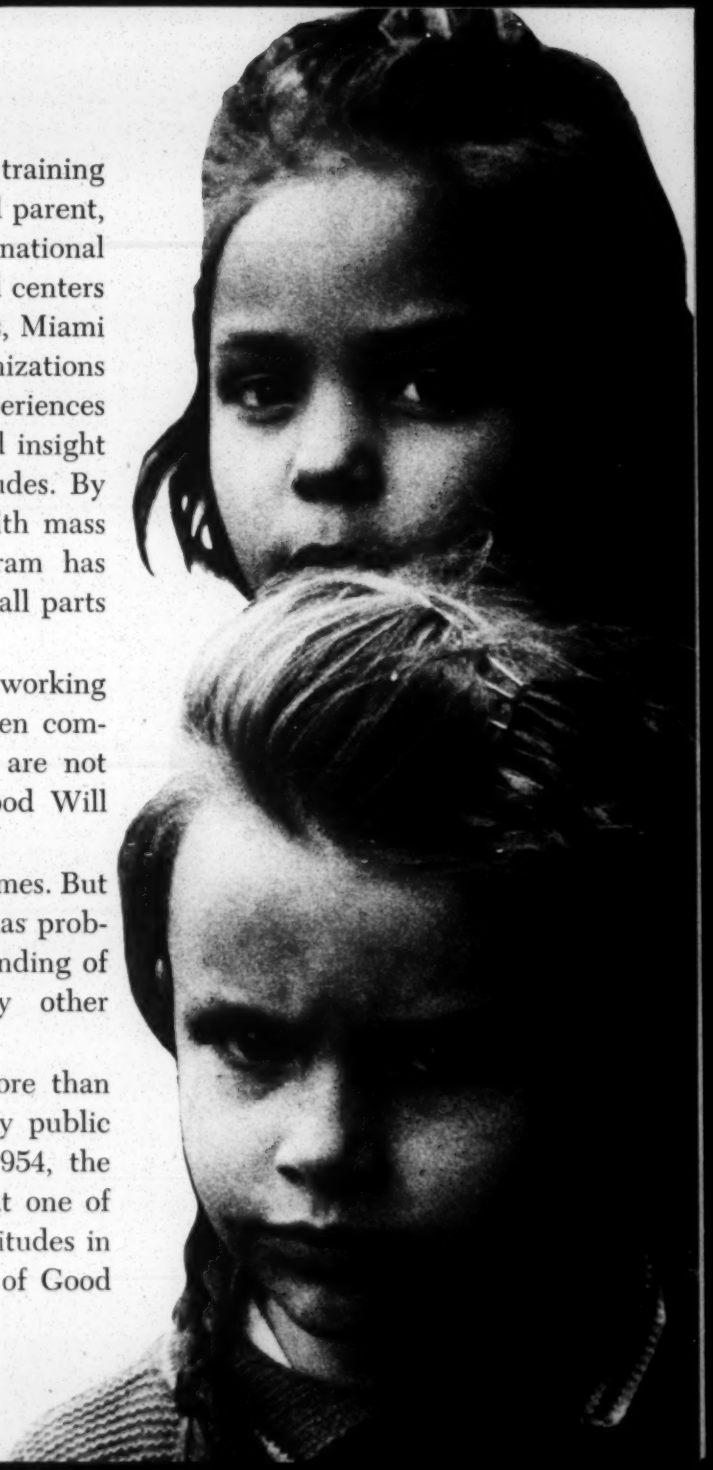
To discuss how to raise children without prejudice, the first Rearing Children of Good Will workshop was held at Vassar College in 1945. It dealt with the ways in which prejudiced attitudes of parents could be changed constructively. They had to be sensitized to the fact that their children could learn prejudices when they uttered light remarks or even indicated by facial expression their dislike for particular groups. Since that time, workshops on Rearing Children of Good Will were held in practically every one of the seventy-five regions of NCCJ.

There is still need, however, for leadership training for those in positions of influence in national parent, church and synagogue organizations. At national workshops held in Radnor, Pennsylvania and centers such as Boston, Denver, Los Angeles, Dallas, Miami and Oklahoma City, leaders of these organizations are brought together to discuss, to share experiences and to develop empathy, understanding and insight into how children develop prejudiced attitudes. By working with and through organizations with mass membership, such as the PTA, the program has reached millions of parents and teachers in all parts of the United States.

You may never read about these quiet working meetings. But a month seldom goes by when community leaders of every race and religion are not being called to a Rearing Children of Good Will conference under NCCJ auspices.

The conferences have changed with the times. But the simple experience of working together has probably done more to effect a deeper understanding of the differences among people than any other approach.

Rearing children of good will means more than just talking. When the Louisville, Kentucky public schools were peacefully desegregated in 1954, the superintendent of schools publicly said that one of the big factors in helping the change of attitudes in that community was the Rearing Children of Good Will program.



At a program at the University of Indiana, southern delegates of different races and religions roomed together—because they *wanted* to! The understanding and empathy of close intellectual association of people of different races and religions is one of the very real results of the three- to five-day conferences.

An NCCJ workshop in Miami brought parent leaders from the East and Southeast together for five days. National and state leaders of the PTA and the National Congress of Colored Parents and Teachers used the opportunity to plan joint projects.

Once a Rearing Children of Good Will program is over, the work is not finished. Leaders return to their towns and set up practical programs involving PTAs, church and synagogue groups and civic organizations.

WHAT HAPPENS AT A CONFERENCE?

Usually, between 25 and 40 community leaders are invited to an NCCJ conference. Because prejudice and the needs of communities differ from place to place, different techniques are used. Among these techniques is the use of the open-ended discussion plays, *THE CHILDREN ARE LISTENING, THE PEOPLE NEXT DOOR, SOME OF MY BEST FRIENDS* and *A QUESTION OF VALUES*. The provocative titles of these plays indicate the kind of discussion which follows their presentation. Nationally prominent speakers from the fields of education, religion and government talk informally with local leaders. Field trips to Operation Head Start programs,

integrated neighborhoods and poverty program projects give insight.

Every conference brings together people of different backgrounds and varying points of view. For this reason, the conferences are scheduled so that there is opportunity to really get to know people—by just eating, walking, relaxing, conversing.

Formal talks and sessions cover a wide range of topics: a dialogue between public and parochial educators, mental health and the child, the poverty program and youth, etc.

WHAT LIES AHEAD?

Progress is more often measured by inches than by major headlines. Much work remains to be done. Bigotry and prejudice have not disappeared from our land.

While you are reading about rearing children of good will, over 75 professional NCCJ workers in every major city in the United States are setting up more workshops.

The San Diego director of the NCCJ may be calling the local PTA president. In Des Moines, a planning meeting with the chief of police on law enforcement and the child may be going on. In Boston, invitations to a workshop are being mailed out. In Alabama, funds for scholarships to a workshop are being sought. No headlines. But plenty of work.

The challenge for the future lies in the need to reach more parents.

AN INVESTMENT IN A BETTER AMERICA

All educational programs cost money. Scholarships are needed. Funds to pay for follow-up studies are needed.

The cost of everything has gone up. As in building a new home, it takes dollars to build a better America for our children.

How much is it worth to you to see a young boy or girl NOT maimed by the hate of racial or religious bigotry?

Other Major NCCJ Programs

The Religious News Service of the National Conference serves some 800 clients —daily newspapers and news magazines, the religious press of all faiths and radio and TV stations across the country—with daily domestic and foreign news reports, photos and special features. It is the world's only interreligious news agency.

Since 1941 NCCJ has cooperated with leading colleges and universities in all parts of the country in a summer Workshop Program. In a university setting teachers and community leaders spend two to six weeks together, sharing, exchanging and learning practical ways of meeting the problems which confront them in their communities.

NCCJ is increasingly emphasizing its program for youth leaders. Conferences and Institutes for high school youth

provide opportunities to discuss issues of deep concern to young people in the growing complexity of our society.

NCCJ's Program in Police-Community Relations brings together law enforcement officers and community leaders to achieve communication and understanding in everyday situations. It includes an annual week-long National Institute at Michigan State University and state and local institutes.

NCCJ's Religious Freedom and Public Affairs Program provides an opportunity for Dialogue in the Community to raise the general level of public discussion and understanding among religious groups differing on issues of public concern.

NCCJ Institutes involving Labor, Management and Community Leaders help to create an understanding of mutual responsibility in crucial human relations problems.

NCCJ's extensive Publication Program produces materials for schools and colleges, churches and synagogues, civic agencies and the media of mass communications that stimulate thought and shed new light on important issues.

BROTHERHOOD WEEK,

sponsored by the National Conference of Christians and Jews, has been observed since 1934. It serves as a time of self-evaluation, community audit and resolution to sustain Brotherhood throughout the year.

WITH YOUR HELP AND YOUR CONTRIBUTIONS WE CAN BUILD TOWARD THE NATIONAL IDEAL OF ONE NATION UNDER GOD, INDIVISIBLE, WITH LIBERTY AND JUSTICE FOR ALL.

NCCJ

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHRISTIANS AND JEWS
43 West 57 Street New York, N. Y. 10019

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An Inexcusable American Tragedy

NCCJ
Lawrence Cale

books for brotherhood

for adults, young people and children

THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHRISTIANS AND JEWS

BOOKS
FOR BROTHERHOOD

This list includes books of general interest in the field of intergroup relations chosen from among the many published from August, 1965 through July, 1966. They were selected on the basis of their contribution to the search for community in the pluralistic society, and for their concern with interreligious, interracial, ethnic, economic and political challenges to achieve a healthy public order. The list is the result of unanimous agreement by a representative committee on their recommendations of the best in the field for children, young people and adults.

EILEEN L. SCHULMAN, Librarian
Paula K. Lazrus Library of
Intergroup Relations

ADULT LIST

Selected by . . . .

ARTHUR HERTZBERG, Rabbi, Temple Emanuel, Englewood, N. J.

JOHN LEO, Associate Editor, Commonweal.

ELIZABETH D. NORRIS, Librarian, YWCA, New York City.

A. ALAN STEINBACH, Editor, Jewish Book Annual.

DORIS VIACAVA, Librarian, Iona College, New Rochelle, New York.

MARGARET B. YOUNG, Board member of Child Study Association and National Committee for the Day Care of Children.

The Barrios of Manta, by Rhoda and Earle Brooks. New American Library, 1965. $5.95.

Challenged and inspired by its ideals, a young Illinois couple joined the Peace Corps in 1962, and worked for two years on a community development project in Manta, a small fishing village in Ecuador. Together they relate both their rich and frustrating experiences during their memorable period of service.

Call Me Neighbor, Call Me Friend: The Case History of the Integration of a Neighborhood on Chicago's South Side, by Philip A. Johnson. Doubleday, 1965. $4.50.

This first-person account by the Lutheran minister of Salem Church in Chicago will serve as a guide to churches or individuals working to maintain an integrated neighborhood.

Children of the Uprooted, Edited by Oscar Handlin. Braziller, 1966. $8.50.

A collection of essays and excerpts from books published between 1887 and 1964, by Americans testifying at first-hand about the immigrant experience. Excerpts also provide an excellent anthology of fiction and non-fiction, prose and a bit of poetry.

The Documents of Vatican II, Edited by Walter M. Abbott. Herder & Herder, 1966. $10. Paperback edition published by Guild Press, Association Press, America Press. 95¢.

The first English translation of all the declarations and decrees of the Second Vatican Council of the Roman Catholic Church. Especially helpful are analyses of each document by well-known Catholic, Protestant and Orthodox scholars.

Jews in America: A Short History, by Ruth Gay. Basic Books, 1966. $4.95.

An excellent popular account of the American Jewish experience. Includes detailed portraits of the three "waves" of Jewish immigrants to the shores of America and sharply contrasts the European past with the life style of the Jews in America.

Louis Marshall, Defender of Jewish Rights, by Morton Rosenstock. Wayne State University Press, 1965. $8.95.

In his well-documented history of Jewish affairs during the first two decades of this century, Dr. Rosenstock shows how Louis Marshall, second President of the American Jewish Committee, fulfilled his role as defender-at-large for the Jewish people—his intervention in the Leo Frank case, his work against post-war Bolshevist charges, and his fight for the abolition of immigration restrictions and discriminatory college admissions.

Manchild in the Promised Land, by Claude Brown. Macmillan, 1965. $6.95.

A raw portrayal of a boy growing to manhood in the streets and alleys of Harlem. The author talks about the "experience of a misplaced generation, of a misplaced people in an extremely complex, confused society."

No Greater Love: The James Reeb Story, by Duncan Howlett. Harper & Row, 1966. $4.95.

The story of the white Boston minister who responded to the call of Dr. Martin Luther King and went to Selma to make a stand for civil rights. Within a few days of his arrival he was killed. This factual biography reveals a man whose personal life had been the epitome of the ideals of the civil rights movement.

Outsider in the Vatican, by Frederick Frank. Macmillan, 1965. $7.50.

Here is an unusual account of the Vatican Council by an artist and writer who, though not a Catholic, was drawn to Rome by Pope John's spirit of hope and faith. The result is a personal and sympathetic—though not uncritical—view of these historic religious proceedings. Illustrations by the author.

Racism and the Christian Understanding of Man, by George D. Kelsey. Scribners, 1965. $4.50. Also available in paperback at $2.95.

By making a faith of racism, Christians have managed to practice two religions at the same time. The author explains how this conflict developed and suggests that the solution to the Christian's idolatrous worship of racism lies in his own Christian faith.

The Revolution of Color, by Thomas Patrick Melady. Hawthorn, 1966. $5.95.

Viewing the problem of race relations in global rather than domestic terms, the author discusses the meaning of the virtual end of the white man's colonial domination of the man of color.

The Shame of a Nation, by Philip M. Stern and George de Vincent. Obolensky, 1965. $5.00.

The photographs of George de Vincent combined with the commentary, produce a shocking portrayal of Americans who live far below the minimum subsistence level. The authors traveled

some 27,000 miles into neglected and forgotten areas, both rural and urban, to compile this documentation on the hopelessness, frustration and resignation which face the poor of our nation.

The Slaves We Rent, by Truman Moore. Random House, 1965. $4.95.

A penetrating analysis of two million migrant farm workers in affluent America. One of the best books on the subject.

The Star and the Cross, Edited by Katherine Hargrove, R.S.C.J. Bruce, 1966. $6.75.

A significant contribution to the current and growing Jewish-Christian dialogue. This carefully edited collection of essays pairs off the views of distinguished writers from both persuasions on such questions as anti-Semitism, Christian apathy during the Nazi era and the Vatican Council's statement on the Jews.

The Strange Career of Jim Crow, by C. Van Woodward. (Second Revised Edition) Oxford University Press, 1966. $4.50. Also available in paperback at $1.50.

An updating of the well-known 1955 book which has become a classic account of racial segregation in America. New expanded edition covers the revolutionary changes that have taken place in the past ten years.

They Call Us Dead Men, by Daniel Berrigan, S.J. Macmillan, 1966. $4.95.

A collection of remarkable essays by a Jesuit priest-poet who is deeply concerned with the role of the Church in the modern world. Essays discuss poverty, marriage, technology and new forms of faith from a Christian ecumenical perspective.

To Do Justice: The Heroic Struggle for Human Rights, by the photographers and editors of "Black Star." Black Star Publishing Company, 1965. $1.00.

A pictorial essay, using many now-famous photographs, dramatically recounts the civil rights revolution. The readable text, which includes Martin Luther King's "Letter from a Birmingham Jail" and his "I have a dream" speech, traces the outstanding events of the struggle, making this a useful book for almost any age group. Copies

may be obtained from the International Union, UAW Education Department, 8000 E. Jefferson Ave., Detroit 14, Michigan.

To the Peace Corps With Love, by Arnold Zeitlin. Doubleday, 1965. $4.95.

A delightful account of a two-year teaching stint with the Peace Corps in rural Ghana, by a journalist who is both warmly observant and gently critical.

Yes I Can, by Sammy Davis, Jr. Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1965, $6.95.

A self-portrait of one of the most versatile and extraordinary entertainers of our time, who became a controversial figure by living his life not only as a Negro but as a man.

OF MORE SCHOLARLY INTEREST . . .

The following books are recommended for further study or reference to persons wishing to investigate the deeper implications of present-day intergroup relations.

The American Negro Reference Book, Edited by John P. Davis. Prentice-Hall, 1966. $19.95.

A one-volume resource book on virtually every aspect of American Negro life. Volume includes special articles, tables and charts; topics are current yet historically meaningful.

The History of Anti-Semitism. Volume One, by Leon Poliakov. Vanguard, 1965. $7.50.

This volume, the first of four in a large-scale history of anti-Semitism, covers the period from the time of Christ to the Middle Ages. The author tries to understand why anti-Semitism has persisted for so long, flourishing in some countries and not in others. A survivor of Nazi camps, Mr. Poliakov is a well-known historian of the Nazi era.

The Petitioners, by Loren Miller. Pantheon, 1966. $8.95.

A full chronicle of the Supreme Court decisions in respect to the rights of Negroes, slave and free, between 1789 and 1965. A picture of our changing society as seen from the viewpoint of those who were systematically excluded from it, and who had to become petitioners to change its course.

Torah and Gospel: Jewish and Catholic Theology in Dialogue, Edited by Philip Scharper. Sheed & Ward, 1966. $6.00.

An important collection of papers that were read at a Jewish-Catholic symposium in Pennsylvania. Scholarly rabbis and priests explore in depth a number of crucial theological and historical questions involved in the relationship between Jews and Catholics.

CHILDREN'S AND YOUNG PEOPLE'S LIST

The following titles have been selected with a view to covering a wide range of ages, interests and readability. Those books have been listed which seem best to portray relationships between people of different backgrounds, races and religions.

Selected by . . .

ELIZABETH ALLSTROM, writer of Christian Education materials for children.

AUGUSTA BAKER, Coordinator of Children's Services, the New York Public Library.

JOSETTE FRANK, Director for Children's Books, Child Study Association of America.

NORA KRAMER, Consultant on Books for Children and Young People, the Bookplan.

ETHNA SHEEHAN, Instructor in children's and adolescent literature, St. John's University.

Adlai Stevenson: Citizen of the World, by Bill Severn. McKay, 1966. $3.95. 12-16.

A biography of the wise and witty lawyer from Illinois who served his state, his country, the United Nations and the world with integrity and deep understanding.

The Adventures of the Negro Cowboys, by Philip Durham and Everett L. Jones. Dodd, Mead, 1966. $3.50. 11-16.

Absorbing and eye-opening accounts of a few representatives of the five thousand Negroes who worked as trail drivers, ranch hands, bronco busters or rodeo performers in the old West.

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CLEVELAND 14, OHIO
304 Investment Ins. Bldg.

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821 - 17th Street

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707 Empire Bldg.

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10 East Superior St.

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FORT WORTH 2, TEXAS
214 Danciger Bldg.

GREENSBORO, N. C.
515 Southeastern Bldg.

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983 Main Street

HEMPSTEAD, L. I., N. Y.
27 West Columbia Street

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1109 Scanlan Bldg.

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JAMAICA 33, N. Y.
92-32 Union Hall St.

JAMESTOWN, N. Y.
11 Dewey Place

KANSAS CITY, MO.
916 Walnut St.

KNOXVILLE, TENN.
P.O. Box 685

LANCASTER, PA.
508 N. Duke St.

LAS VEGAS–RENO, NEV.
2140 Paradise Road
Las Vegas, Nevada

LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
Tower Building

LOCKPORT, N. Y.
147 North Adams

LONG BEACH 13, CALIF.
1540 East 7th St.

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3335 Wilshire Blvd.

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490

And Forever Free, by Joanna S. Williamson. Alfred Knopf, 1966. $5.95. 12-16.

Unforgettable history and moving human experience in this well-written account of a young German immigrant's beginnings as a newspaper reporter caught up in the early Civil War riots in New York City.

The Bushbabies, by William Stevenson. Houghton Mifflin, 1965. $3.50. 10-16.

The reader follows the dramatic journey of Jacqueline, who secretly leaves the cargo ship on which her family is returning from Africa, to persuade her father's former assistant to help her in returning her bushbaby pet to its jungle home.

City Rhythms, written and illustrated by Ann Grifalconi. Bobbs-Merill, 1966. $4.95. 6-8.

A little Negro boy listens to the sounds of a great city and synthesizes the varied rhythms into a symphony performed on homemade instruments by the children of his racially diversified neighborhood.

Civil Rights: The Challenge of the Fourteenth Amendment, by Peter Goldman. Coward, 1965. $3.25. 9-13.

A journalistic account which summarizes the Negro's struggle for freedom, from the Emancipation Proclamation to the Civil Rights Revolution and the riots of 1964. Includes good bibliography.

Coyote Winter, by Jeanne Williams. Norton, 1965. $3.50. 11-14.

The relationship between Whit and his half-Cheyenne brother Talt motivate a provocative story set in the 1870's, when Kansas small-town life was developing new social and economic dimensions, and the old free life of the Plains Indians was speeding to its close.

The Dreyfus Affair: a National Scandal, by Betty Schecter. Houghton Mifflin, 1965. $3.50. 12-15.

The tragedy of this anti-Semitic persecution of an army officer in France at the turn of the century is presented with impact and significance for young people today.

Durango Street, by Frank Bonham. Dutton, 1965. $3.75. 12-16.

A stark fictional account of the operation of teenage Negro gangs in Southern California. The author shows the devastating effects of poverty, crime and violence.

The Earth is the Lord's, compiled by Helen Plotz. Crowell, 1965. $5.00. 11-16.

Poems of the spirit and of mankind's faith in supreme good, in an inspired anthology beautifully decorated with woodcuts by Claire Leighton.

Easy Does It, by Ester Wier. Vanguard, 1965. $3.50. 8-11.

Chip discovers at first hand the heartbreak and bitterness that prejudice can cause, when he is forced to choose between his friendship for a Negro newcomer and his continued acceptance by the other white boys of the neighborhood.

The Empty Schoolhouse, by Natalie Savage Carlson. Harper & Row, 1965. $3.50. 9-11.

A poignant story in which near tragedy shocks a newly-integrated community into coming to its senses, bringing peace and healing friendships in its wake.

Gateway to America: Miss Liberty's First Hundred Years, by Hertha Pauli. McKay, 1965. $2.95. 8-12.

The story of the Statue of Liberty—how it came to be, what it has stood for in the past, and what it should stand for, including some of the great men and women who came here as immigrants under its inspiration.

Getting to Know American Indians Today, by Hildegard Thompson. Coward-McCann, 1965. $2.68. 8-12.

An intelligent and interesting presentation of information that most Americans should have in order to clear away many popular misconceptions about the American Indian.

Good News, by Borghild Dahl. Dutton, 1966. $3.50. 12-16.

Despite little encouragement from their journalism teacher, two college friends decide to start a

newspaper in their Midwestern town. How the girls' venture brings together the different groups in this once closely knit Norwegian community makes a moving story.

Good Pope John, by Elizabeth Odell Sheehan. Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1966. $2.25. 12-16.

A vivid account of the life and work of the man who, in the chapel of Santa Maria of Bruscio, was baptized Angelo Roncalli and seventy-three years later in the Sistine Chapel at St. Peter's in Rome solemnly announced, "I accept . . . I shall be called John."

I Have A Dream, by Emma G. Sterne. Knopf, 1965. $3.95. 11-16.

The struggles of twentieth-century American Negroes for freedom and equality are highlighted through biographical sketches of such significant figures as union organizer A. Philip Randolph, lawyer Thurgood Marshall, singer Marian Anderson and former CORE director James Farmer.

I, Juan de Pareja, by Elizabeth Borton de Trevino. Bell Books-Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1965. $3.25. 12-15.

This distinctive novel, with a high sense of human worth, follows the life-long friendship of the great painter Velasquez and his Negro slave, Juan de Pareja, whose own talents led him from slave to painter of reknown.

In Their Own Words: A History of the American Negro 1865-1916, edited by Milton Meltzer. Crowell, 1965. $4.95. 12-16.

In selected letters, speeches, memoirs and testimonies, Negroes describe both the dreams they cherished and the disappointments they suffered in the period following the Civil War.

A Kite for Carlos, by Mariana Prieto. Illustrated by Lee Smith. John Day, 1966. $2.86. 7-9.

The story of the excitement, grief and final happiness engendered by Grandfather's birthday gift to Carlos is related in alternate half-pages of English and Spanish text, showing American boys of three different races sharing the birthday party and the everyday fun.

The Last Chief: Alaskan Trapper, by Hanna Radau. Abelard, 1965. $3.00. 11-13.

The proud young son of a chief whose tribe have all perished strives to maintain his heritage of dignity and skill in the face of a changing world.

Lift Every Voice, by Dorothy Sterling and Benjamin Quarles. Doubleday, 1965. Zenith Books Series. Available only in paperback at $1.45. 10-13.

Highlights of the lives of W. E. B. DuBois, Mary Church Terell, Booker T. Washington and James Weldon Johnson.

The Magic Top, by Rosalind Welsher. Panda Prints, 1965. $2.95. 6-8.

On the way to buy the Chanukah candles for his poor mother, a little boy's heart is touched by three pleading strangers—and his generous giving is magically rewarded in this heart-warming folk tale of Jewish life.

Marian Anderson: Lady from Philadelphia, by Shirlee P. Newman. Includes photographs. Westminister, 1966. $3.75. 10-16.

A warm and readable biography about a great singer and humanitarian.

Mister Chu, by Norma Keating. Macmillan, 1965. $3.75. 7-10.

A sensitive tale of the growing friendship between an old Chinese gentleman and a small orphan called Johnny. Story includes colorful description of the Chinese New Year and ends on a theme of kindness and hope.

My Name Is Pablo, by Aimee Sommerfelt. Illustrated by Hans N. Dahl. Criterion, 1966. $3.50. 10-12.

A Mexican boy, driven by poverty to a minor infringement of the law and sent to a reformatory, is helped to release and rehabilitation by a young Scandinavian friend and his family.

The Noonday Friends, by Mary Stolz. Harper, 1965. $3.50. 8-12.

A perceptive family story set in New York City,

about eleven year old Fanny Davis and her best friend, Simone Orgella.

Patricia Crosses Town, by Betty Baum. Illustrated by Nancy Grossman. Knopf, 1965. $3.50. 8-12.

Open enrollment in a northern, urban public elementary school is the subject of a realistic story about the adjustments of Negro children of varied economic and social backgrounds to their classmates.

The Peace Corps: Kindlers of the Spark, by Edna McGuire. Macmillan, 1965. $3.95. 12-16.

This description of first-hand visits to typical Peace Corps volunteers in Ecuador, Sierra Leone, Tunisia, India and Malaysia also includes relevant background data about the five countries in which these particular men and women are at work.

The Peace Corps: a Pictorial History, Edited by Aaron J. Ezickson. Introduction by Sargent Shriver. Hill & Wang, 1965. 12-16.

Excellent photographs, text and captions reveal the varieties of experiences undergone by the volunteers of the Peace Corps.

Project Cat, by Nellie Burchardt. Illustrated by Fermin Rocker. Watts, 1966. $2.95. 7-9.

Children in an integrated city housing project, where no pets are allowed, discover an injured cat and work together to help her.

Rain Boat, by Lace Kendall. Coward-McCann, 1965. $3.75. 10-12.

A rich and moving spirit pervades this beautifully told story of a Florida flood, in which a former slave with his flatboat saves three children and many animals, as part of his Biblical conception of filling God's plan.

The Spinning Tops of Naples, by Tyler Whittle. Chilton, 1965. $3.95. 10-16.

Five homeless boys in Naples who ingeniously fight for their daily existence are befriended by a French countess, her son, and an amazing Englishman—friends who help the boys to discover that treasures rather than troubles lie all around them.

The Story of the American Negro, by Earl Schenk Miers. Grosset & Dunlap, 1965. $1.95. 12-16.

Words, photographs and drawings describe the American Negro's determined struggle for freedom from the time of the arrival of the first slaves to the day in August, 1963 when 250,000 civil rights advocates marched on Washington to awaken the national conscience.

The Struggle Within: Race Relations in the United States, by David Bowen. Norton, 1965. $3.50. 11-16.

An objective and eminently readable study of the historical, scientific, social, economic, legal and religious aspects of segregation and discrimination. Includes an account of the Civil Rights movement and a prognosis for tomorrow.

Tomas Takes Charge, by Charlene Joy Talbot. Illustrated by Reisie Lonette. Lothrop, 1966. $3.50. 10-12.

In a New York City tenement three Puerto Rican children, suddenly orphaned, succeed in evading threatened separation in a dreaded orphanage and find help in a new home with a good neighbor.

What Mary Jo Shared, by Janice M. Udry. Whitman, 1966. $2.95. 6-8.

A shy little Negro girl plucks up her courage and brings something very special to school to "share" with the class — her patient and good-humored father. Pictures by Eleanor Mill show an appealing heroine in her integrated class.

What's Wrong With Julio? by Virginia Ormsby. Lippincott, 1965. $2.95. 6-8.

A homesick little boy from Puerto Rico, silent and withdrawn, suddenly understands and warms to his classmates' collective gestures of friendship.

Where Were You That Year? by Margaret Pitcairn Strachan. Washburn, 1965. $3.75. 10-16.

A Seattle high school girl defies her parents and boy friend in order to volunteer for a SNCC voter registration program in Mississippi. A sincere and well-researched book.

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"Brotherhood...

the source of our greatest strength"

ARTHUR J. GOLDBERG

Ambassador Arthur J. Goldberg

Address by Ambassador Arthur J. Goldberg, Permanent Representative of the United States to the United Nations, at the 1966 Omaha Brotherhood Dinner sponsored by the National Conference of Christians and Jews, Omaha, Nebraska, June 2, 1966

I feel privileged, indeed, to join in the Omaha Brotherhood Dinner of the National Conference of Christians and Jews.

The personal reasons are not one but many, as many as the friends I have in this room and in this organization.

To honor the concept of brotherhood tonight here in the heart of America is peculiarly appropriate, for it is brotherhood that binds together this pluralistic nation of ours and that is the heart, indeed, the genius, of American life.

And in honoring brotherhood, we honor nothing less than perhaps the source of our greatest strength and of the freedom which we so proudly profess to the rest of the world.

To me, as to Justice Brandeis, the true test of an American is this: that he does not conceal but affirms his origin; he is proud of whatever it may be; he wears his difference with pride and dignity and as a contribution to the wonderful richness of American life.

Brotherhood, in a sense, is another word for patriotism, and we will love our country best only if we love and respect all of our divergent citizens.

The only uniformity or merger of identity that America has the right to expect of its citizens is that politically they are solely American citizens.

There is no space at the polls for Protestant Americans, Catholic Americans, Jewish Americans. But there is vast room and every need in

our national life for the spiritual ideals of both the Old and the New Testaments.

In acknowledging this need, we assert our belief in human dignity—a belief that rests squarely upon our view of man's origin and destiny. And perhaps, in the last analysis, this is the genuine difference between an open and closed, a free and fearful society.

Ours is a nation of many races and religions—all of which give a living meaning to our national motto, "E Pluribus Unum."

Indeed, the Constitutional protections of religious tolerance were designed for a pluralistic society that had seen enough, and knew enough, of the divisive influence of censorship of belief.

But while we share the common heritage of our beliefs we do not give up the right to practice in the light of our own doctrines, and we accept the challenge to example that non-belief offers.

If we are then, each of us, members of an ancient unity of belief, I believe, too, there is one aspect of it which we are bound to implement, both together as men and women who share a heritage, and separately as those subscribing to different doctrines. That aspect is in the obligation we share to speak about and to act upon the important and pressing issues that confront our society.

For if religion is a sanctum for the individual, a refuge and a shelter, it is equally an instrument with which to change the world, to seek justice and righteousness. All of the great Prophets were deeply involved in the society of their time. Christ's Sermon on the Mount brought comfort to the poor and sorrowful. Can we, in good conscience, do otherwise?

The National Conference of Christians and Jews has taken the lead in just this area, and all Americans are the better because of it. For bringing our highest religious values to bear upon ethical and moral problems means helping this nation go forward and realize the just society that is the birthright of every citizen.

In so doing, you are giving brotherhood both its highest and its most practical meaning.

I have always profoundly believed—and I have not changed my mind in the ten months since I have become the United States Representative to the United Nations—that the most important aspect of American foreign policy is the perfection of our domestic society.

The test of any country's dedication to human rights is not just what it says in the General Assembly of the UN for all the world to hear, but in what it does at home for all the world to see. There can be no public face looking one way at the UN and a private face looking the other way at home.

In short, the better we do in brotherhood and civil liberties at home, the more persuasively our voice speaks in the councils of the world.

I hasten to add, however, that putting our domestic house in order by attacking discrimination and poverty and by assuring every citizen of his right to equal opportunity should not be motivated just because it will help our image abroad. We must do it because it is just and because it is right. And we must do it because our Constitution demands that it shall be done.

The world notes and long remembers both our achievements and our shortcomings in the area of civil rights. The name of Earl Warren, the

Chief Justice of the United States, is a household word in Asia and Africa—and the message of **Brown v. the Board of Education** has hurdled the barriers that separate us from Moscow and Peking.

I do not believe that we or history can ever accord sufficient honor to our Supreme Court for its role in establishing the legal foundation and the moral tone for this basically peaceful revolution in American life and values. I can make this tribute without embarrassment because the landmark decision of **Brown v. the Board of Education** preceded my service on the Court.

There were men of good will who questioned whether judicial activism in enforcing our constitutional commands for equality would not paralyze the Executive and Legislative Branches in their coordinate responsibilities. The record of the decade since **Brown** has shown those fears to be unfounded.

Stimulated—or if you will—prodded by the Court decisions, both the Legislative and the Executive Branches have responded to the constitutional call after one hundred years of inaction and, as a consequence, we have seen the greatest volume of civil rights legislation since the days of the Reconstruction.

Our Civil Rights Acts of 1964 and 1965 were steps that took us forever out of the past and into a future envisioned by George Washington when he once wrote that a truly free country gives "to bigotry no sanction, to persecution no assistance."

Now the Congress has before it a new Civil Rights Bill, for, as President Johnson has pointed out, the job before us is far from finished and there are still remaining evils of prejudice that

must come under the jurisdiction of the law.

The highest manifestation of our American democracy—and indeed the genius of our Constitution—is nothing less than the means by which the majority imposes restraints upon itself in order to protect the rights of minorities. The Bill submitted by the President is another such manifestation, and it is vital that it be enacted in all its essential parts.

For our Constitutional guarantees are not merely hopes for some future enjoyment, but warrants for the here and now. And we must honor them if we would move closer to our goal of being a society of brotherhood and one that really practices what it preaches. The White House Conference to fulfill these rights meeting today in Washington is an earnest effort of the Administration's resolve to achieve full equality.

For we all know that we are not entirely free of prejudice and bigotry in this country. Although we have done much, there is still more to be done; we are only at the beginning of the end.

We must recognize that new laws alone do not solve the problems of intolerance. They provide the legal basis for continuing the work that must be done.

The denial of equal opportunity, spanning many generations past, does not wear off in a day, a year or a decade. And it will not be enough to accord equality prospectively; we must pay the price necessary to redress past inequities. And it is to this problem that we must now turn our thought, our energies and our creative powers if we are not to make civil mockery out of civil rights.

This is the task now before us at home—to wipe out by legal means the last vestige of dis-

crimination and prejudice. And even as we do, we must reach into areas where the law cannot reach.

Law can create a healthier climate for brotherhood and it can move us closer to its realization, but brotherhood, like the law, of which the prophet Jeremiah wrote, must be "written upon men's hearts".

The aims that guide us domestically guide us internationally, and whether at home or abroad, we must proceed in the good company of those willing to stand up and speak up against human injustice.

And in moving ahead toward freedom and equality—here and now—our attitude must be consistent, no matter what the violation of a man's rights or where.

The United Nations, recognizing this need, has moved beyond its great Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and over the years it has passed many Conventions designed to create a body of international law that will protect the rights of men.

Four Conventions on genocide, the political rights of women, slavery and forced labor have been submitted to the Senate since 1949. I believe they are entirely consistent with our Constitution and that their ratification would be in keeping with its provisions.

We supported each of these conventions in the United Nations, and indeed some of their provisions were suggested by us. We spoke in favor of them and we voted for them, for we are deeply concerned with each of the human rights they defend, and indeed our Constitution requires that they be protected. Our delay in ratifying them has

confused our friends and provided ammunition used against us by our foes.

I want to emphasize here that I am not voicing any criticism over the past. There have been honest differences of opinion over whether we should ratify human rights conventions, but these differences clearly do not stem from any lack of bipartisan support for the aims they embody.

However, I can but repeat my very strong belief that all the UN conventions submitted to the Senate are consistent with our Constitution, and that we need have no fears that they contravene our domestic laws which are more protective of human rights than anything the conventions provide.

And with this concern for human rights firmly embedded in our national life and in our hearts, Americans should be willing to compete with the communist world not in material things—in which we are obviously superior—but we should be willing to compete in the market of human values and in the protection and realization of individual liberties, for in this area we are preeminent.

This we owe to the great vision and faith of the founding fathers who wrote the Bill of Rights for the American people who would not ratify the Constitution without it, to the Supreme Court which day by day gives it fresh force and vitality, and to a courageous Chief Executive and an alert Congress who are vigorously discharging their responsibilities to implement the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments.

Competition in advancing human dignity is the real challenge of our age, and in it no nation, no individual can be neutral. The final measure of

our success—or our failure—in this competition will be the extent to which we help improve the lot of man and upgrade his dignity and thereby contribute not only to the building of our own great society here at home, but everywhere in the world.

For we do not believe our vision of that great society is exclusively American. We do believe it belongs to all mankind, and we embrace the aspirations to a better life in which human misery and discrimination will one day be banished, not because of our limited nationality but out of our common humanity.

In so doing, we will yet realize the hope of brotherhood voiced by Benjamin Franklin when he prayed that the time would come when men could set foot anywhere on the surface of the earth and say "This is my country".

What is the National Conference of Christians and Jews?

NCCJ is a civic organization engaged in a nationwide program of intergroup education. It enlists Protestants, Catholics and Jews who without compromise of conscience or of their distinctive and important religious differences work together to build better relationships among men of all religions, races and nationalities. Its operation is civic and social although, obviously, the roots of the brotherhood which it seeks to build are in the moral law and in religious faith.

Aging NCCJ

YOUTH IS YOUR BUSINESS

WHAT'S GOOD FOR BUSINESS...

Tomorrow's citizens are today's youth—a statement of the obvious? Perhaps, but sometimes the obvious is easiest to overlook. To help youth develop and use talents and abilities that will enable young people to contribute to society is a "part of the business of business."*

People separated from the main stream of employment cannot prosper. They become public charges and a public burden. They consume tax money instead of producing it. Poverty-ridden in the midst of plenty, they become a reservoir of crime and an increasingly explosive source of discontent.

To help all of its citizens become productive members of society, therefore, is clearly of great importance to America and its business community.

*Quoted from a speech by Arjay Miller, President of Ford Motor Co., on the occasion of his being honored at an NCCJ dinner in Detroit. Mr. Miller referred to the need for corporate support of private agencies, such as NCCJ, not duplicating but enhancing government assistance in community problems.

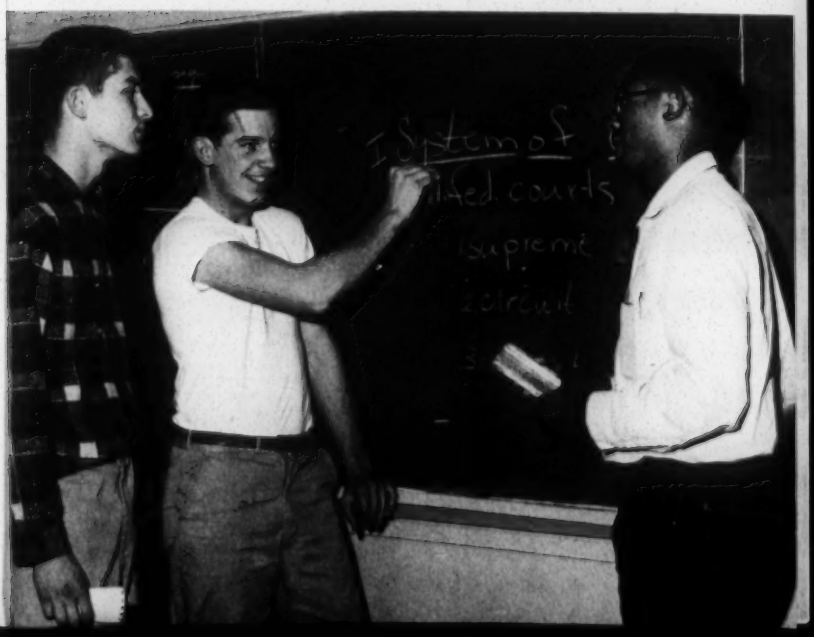
The National Conference of Christians and Jews, with the support of business and professional leaders, is devoting an increasing measure of its resources and skills to youth programs.

Four decades of activity in promoting cooperation and mutual understanding among diverse religious, social and ethnic groups have given the NCCJ unparalleled experience in resolving conflict through the development of mutual respect brought about through educational methods.

Your own interest and financial support of this expanding youth program are urgently invited.

TOMORROW'S LEADERS

In the years ahead, industry's sales managers, advertising directors and production chiefs will include many members of America's minorities. Men will work alongside one another at desks, drill presses and drawing boards without concern for race, religion or national origin.



To open the way for this fulfillment of the American promise, a major effort is being made to dissolve the misinformation and mistrust that separate people, and replace them with an understanding of the moral and ethical values of a democratic society in which diverse religious, racial and ethnic groups mingle freely and equally.

The techniques by which NCCJ seeks to reach the minds of youth are many, but the underlying principle is single and universal: to bring about a sense of personal worth and dignity through mutual trust.

In order to reach the greatest number of people with the greatest economy of time and effort, many of its programs are directed through existing organizations.

Some involve young people through their own leaders, in schools, church groups and community organizations. Others serve adults who work with youth: parents, teachers, re-

ligious counsellors, youth-serving agency leaders, police organizations and service club members.

NCCJ holds national and regional institutes for leaders of Parent-Teacher Associations, educational, church, synagogue and community organizations, to explore with them ways of bringing up children free from racial and religious prejudice. These programs reach into nearly every community in the nation.

With the cooperation of high schools and colleges, the NCCJ conducts conferences and institutes for student leaders, encouraging them to establish means through which to reach their fellow students.

In conjunction with colleges and universities in many parts of the nation, the National Conference holds seminars and summer workshops for teachers, clergy and other group workers. In New York it has established a special program under which teachers visit Puerto Rico to study

local conditions so they may better aid Puerto Rican youngsters in adjusting to our cultural environment.

In cooperation with the Girl Scouts, a series of human relations discussion groups is being developed which ultimately may involve up to 20 million girls.

Lending a hand to the Job Corps, NCCJ is experimenting with a program in which underprivileged young people and those from comfortable homes will exchange visits so each may better understand the environment of the other.

Through these and a variety of other resourceful approaches, the men and women of NCCJ stimulate in the nation's youth a growing confidence in themselves and appreciation for the real meaning of American democracy. By discussion and action, it helps to broaden the horizons of privileged and underprivileged alike, so that at the work benches and executive suites of tomorrow, men will be distinguished by their crafts and skills, their personalities, their abilities, but will be united in their common respect for each other as American citizens.

INVESTMENT IN CURRENT TRANSITION

The various programs of NCCJ are made possible by voluntary contributions from corporations, foundations, religious organizations and individuals. In recent years these programs have been supported by an annual budget of more than three and a half million dollars.

Corporate and individual contributions are now being sought for the Youth Program, the expansion of which will represent an additional investment of one million dollars throughout the country.

The National Special Projects Program operates through individual regional NCCJ organizations in 75 major communities throughout the U.S.A. A local Board of Trustees administers your community's youth program, and this appeal is sponsored by your local Special Projects Committee. Your gift will help support NCCJ youth activities in your community and region.

A Gift of

$1,000	can finance a Summer Youth Conference for one hundred selected young Americans.
750	can provide a collection of films, tapes and plays for use by Youth Agencies.
500	can send ten high school leaders to a week-long camp experience.
250	can pay expenses of two faculty members for a Youth Institute.
100	can send a young American boy or girl to a Summer Youth Conference.

Contributions are tax deductible. Checks should be made payable to *The National Conference of Christians and Jews, Inc.* A gift of securities offers important tax advantages to the donor under certain circumstances.

The NCCJ also conducts comprehensive national programs among adults

- Labor-Management-Public Interest institutes, on both regional and national levels, to encourage discussion in a non-crisis atmosphere of common needs, and such problems as equal employment opportunity, merit promotion, and anti-poverty measures.

- An annual week-long National Institute on Police-Community Relations at Michigan State University, where community leaders and police officers, at the policy making level, consider the nation-wide crisis in law enforcement.

- Special periodic programs in community relations for police officers in many cities where NCCJ regional offices are located.

- Inter-religious institutes on religious involvement in American public life, for clergymen and laymen of all faiths.

- A dialogue program under which ministers, priests, and rabbis meet regularly to discuss such major church-state problems as birth control and the law, prayer in the schools, "shared time", and other controversial issues.

- National and regional institutes on religion and education, to encourage continuing development of religious values and public education in a pluralistic society.

- An extensive Publications Program, in which materials designed to stimulate thought and shed new light on important issues are made available to schools, colleges, churches, synagogues, civic agencies and the mass media.

- Religious News Service, the world's only interreligious news agency, serving daily some 750 daily newspapers, news magazines, religious publications, and radio and TV stations across the country.

- Brotherhood Week, a nationwide movement to encourage personal dedication to the concepts of brotherhood throughout the year. Inaugurated in 1934, it is now observed in more than 20,000 communities.

NCCJ

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REPRINTS, ARTICLES, BOOKS & PAMPHLETS
to help build Better Intergroup Relations

(Single copy free where price is not indicated.)

Materials for special use are designated as follows:

C ..... Community agencies
L-M .....Labor-Management and Public Interest
R ..... Religious groups
S .... Schools and Colleges

For all materials listed in this bibliography, please write to the NCCJ office nearest you. (See list on back.)

An Adventure in Human Relations by Muriel Crosby
6 pp. C, S
Reprint from magazine *Children* giving background information on the Three-Year Experimental Project on Schools in Changing Neighborhoods set up under the joint sponsorship of the Wilmington Board of Public Education and NCCJ.

BACKGROUND REPORTS C, R

An effort to furnish analyses in depth on specific issues in the area of religious freedom and public affairs, or to probe a specific case incident where religious groups were in conflict on a matter of public policy.

Busses and Ballots by Theodore Powell 10 cents
A review of the procedures followed in Wilton, Connecticut, where the citizens had to decide whether public funds should be expended to pay for the transportation of children attending the new parochial school.

The Church Against Gambling Legislation in Texas by Harold C. Kilpatrick 10 cents
A report on the political role of the Council of Churches on this issue and their justification for overt political activity in an area of "the legislation of morality."

The Fauquier Hospital Sterilization Story by Gerry Grant 10 cents
A report on the maternity clinic in Warrentown, Virginia, that has permitted by state law the sterilization of 63 indigent mothers. The conflicting views of church leaders on sterilization as a matter of public policy are examined.

Pioneer Ideas in Education by George La Noue and Theodore Powell 10 cents

Suggestions to enhance the quality of education for children in non-public schools.

The Statute of Limitations on Nazi Crimes: A Theological and Ethical Analysis by Harvey Cox 10 cents

Big Big World and the People In It by Willard Johnson S, C, R

Illustrated message of good will for young people and adults.

Books for Brotherhood 14 pp. C, S, R

Annotated list of books for adults and children chosen by a committee of authorities in the literary field.

A Catalogue of Church-State Problems by Rabbi Arthur Gilbert R

Reprint from *Religious Education*. A listing of issues on which religious groups differ in the public order, with some effort at sociological analysis.

The Crisis In Law Enforcement C

NCCJ's program in the area of police-community relations.

De Facto School Segregation by Arnold Rose 64 pp. 75 cents S, C

New insights to an important problem with helpful suggestions written by an authority in the field.

THE DIALOGUE C, R

A summary of news reports, drawing heavily upon Religious News Service and editorials in leading church magazines to demonstrate how particular cases in the area of religious freedom and public affairs are being discussed and debated. These items do not provide an exhaustive report on the issues in question, but they are suggestive of the complex nature of the issues and are intended to stimulate further discussion.

The Deputy 15 cents

Various points of view on the controversial play about Pope Pius XII by Rolf Hochhuth.

Planned Parenthood 15 cents

A report on new developments in the ongoing conflict over the distribution of birth control devices by public health clinics and the use of public funds for such purpose.

Shared Time 15 cents

Arguments and experiences in connection with Shared Time or dual enrollment.

The Vatican Council 1962 15 cents each (March, 1963)

In two sections, this issue collects the reports of RNS correspondents Robert A. Graham, S. J. and Claud D. Nelson.

Vatican II—Second Session 35 cents (January, 1964)

Report of the Second Session of Vatican II written by Claud Nelson and Father Edward Duff.

Vatican II—Third Session 35 cents (January, 1965)

Report of the Third Session of Vatican II written by Claud D. Nelson and John Cogley.

Vatican II—Fourth Session 50 cents (March, 1966)

Report of the Fourth Session of Vatican II written by Claud D. Nelson, Father Edward Duff, Richard Horchler and Arthur J. Moore, Jr.

The Vatican Council and the Jews 25 cents

A variety of reactions to the "statement on the Jews".

A Different Drum by William C. Tremmel 64 pp. 50 cents S

Suggested procedures for advancing interreligious cooperation, interreligious dialogue and general religious knowledge on the campus.

Feelings Are Facts by Margaret M. Heaton 59 pp. 25 cents S, C

Intergroup relations and their effect on the healthy emotional life of children.

Has Anti-Semitism Roots in Christianity? by Jules Isaac 96 pp. 50 cents R

Sorbonne lecture by a distinguished author with commentary by Richard Cardinal Cushing and Bernhard Olson.

Human Relations and Audio-Visual Materials by Jean D. Grambs 68 pp. 25 cents S, C

Clarifying the meaning of visual aids for intergroup education.

If Christmas Brings Conflict 12 pp. 10 cents R, S

Issues involving religion and the public schools.

An Inexcusable American Tragedy R, S, C

Brief sketch of NCCJ's Rearing Children of Good Will Program.

Paperbacks on Intergroup Relations S, C

Selected list of particular interest to teachers, college students, high school youth and community groups.

Platform of Good Will Series 5 cents each R

A Protestant View by Jaroslav Pelikan

A Catholic View by Walter J. Ong, S.J.

A Jewish View by Bernard Mandelbaum

A Greek Orthodox View by Leonidas C. Contos

Recognized leaders of four religious groups set forth fundamental principles which religiously motivated people should follow in their relations with their fellow men.

The Police and Community Conflict by William P. Brown 24 pp. 15 cents C

A practical treatment of an important subject written by a career police officer.

Police Community Relations in Saint Louis C

Experience report #103 of the Community Relations Service of the U.S. Conference of Mayors.

Prejudice Doesn't Come Naturally 5 cents C

Reprint from *Parents Magazine* gives a mother's experiences in trying to maintain a healthy atmosphere in the home.

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The Question of Tax Exemption for Churches 52 pp. 35 cents R

Objective study of tax exemption by Andrew D. Tanner with comments by Theodore H. Husted, Jr., of particular interest to churchmen and civic leaders.

Race by John Gillen 12 pp. 5 cents S, R, C

Anthropologist's approach to question of race.

Rearing Children of Good Will: A Program Guide by James M. Eagan 38 pp. 35 cents C

Comprehensive guide covering procedures and resource material to plan programs on how to rear children without prejudice.

Rearing Children to Meet the Challenge of Change by Dan W. Dodson 16 pp. 10 cents C, R, S

Essay on the theme of rearing children of good will directed to parents, teachers and religious leaders.

Religion and Education 52 pp. 35 cents R

Papers by Very Rev. Msgr. John B. McDowell, Superintendent of Catholic Schools, Diocese of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, and Dr. Theodore Powell, Public Affairs Consultant, Connecticut State Department of Education.

Religious Freedom in America: Changing Meanings in the Past and Present 25 cents R

Reprint from *Crosscurrents*. Winter issue 1963. Papers on the historic development of religious liberty as seen from the perspective of several faith communities and the secular tradition written by John Tracy Ellis, Franklin H. Littell, Bertram W. Korn, Edward Duff and Sidney Hook.

Religious Responsibility for the Social Order 24 pp. 20 cents R

A Symposium by Three Theologians: *A Protestant View* by Dr. Jaroslav Pelikan, Professor of Historical Theology, The University of Chicago; *A Catholic View* by Father Gustave Weigel, S. J., Professor of Ecclesiology, Woodstock College, Woodstock, Md.; *A Jewish View* by Rabbi Emil L. Fackenheim, Professor of Philosophy, University of Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

RNS — Religious News Service R

Description of the services offered by the NCCJ-sponsored interreligious news agency.

Role Playing the Problem Story by George and Fannie R. Shaftel 78 pp. 25 cents S, C

The technique of using role playing in classrooms.

Roots of Prejudice C

Reprint from *PTA Magazine*. Suggestions for parents to encourage understanding and appreciation of others.

Some Children Are . . . by Jo Tenjford, Oslo, 4 pp. C, S, R

Light verse calling attention to the many cultural differences of children and their basic likeness.

Speak Up! Make Democracy Work 12 pp. C, R, S

Suggestions for speakers on the theme of Brotherhood.

Study Guides in Human Relations — Primary Grades S

Study Guides in Human Relations — Intermediate Grades S

Study Guides in Human Relations — Junior High School S

Study Guides in Human Relations — Senior High School S

Year-round programming in human relations in the schools for various age levels.

To: The Librarian — Library Projects on Human Relations C, S

Practical program suggestions for stimulating human relations programs for Brotherhood Week and the year round in the library.

To the Teacher: A Bibliography 8 pp. S, C

Selected bibliography covering primary grades through senior high, with a listing of organizations useful as resource centers. Designed as a supplement to NCCJ Study Guides in Human Relations series.

Toward National Unity

NCCJ program highlights.

We Believe

Credo on Americanism and quotes on brotherhood.

We're Studying the Bible in Our High School R

Reprint from *Liberty* Magazine presenting some interesting ideas in connection with Bible study in the schools.

What Is the National Conference of Christians and Jews?

Thumbnail description of NCCJ program and policy.

What You Can Do For Brotherhood 12 pp.

Direct appeal to people to promote the practice of Brotherhood.

RADIO AND STAGE SCRIPTS

The Children Are Listening by Barbara Kay Davidson 36 pp. $2.00 single copy. C, S

Play tells how the prejudices of parents are transferred to children. (Call your nearest NCCJ office to plan for a performance.)

The People Next Door by Robert Crean 24 pp. 25 cents C, S

Deals with the way in which prejudice towards new neighbors is "caught" by children who imitate their parents' prejudices.

A Question of Values by Norman Rosten 24 pp. 25 cents C, S

Open-ended script for a teen-age cast. Deals with the conflict between a philosophy of materialism and of human rights and social welfare.

Some of My Best Friends! by Robert Crean 24 pp. 25 cents C, S

Play on the subject of personal friendships across religious lines.

(Other titles for school assemblies, drama groups and radio presentation. Titles vary from time to time. Call your nearest NCCJ office for suggestions.)

FILMS

16 mm Sound Motion Pictures

Variety of Titles, Apply NCCJ

FILMSTRIPS

(with script—35 mm)

Variety of Titles, Apply NCCJ

What is the National Conference of Christians and Jews?

NCCJ is a civic organization engaged in a nationwide program of intergroup education. It enlists Protestants, Catholics and Jews who without compromise of conscience or of their distinctive and important religious differences work together to build better relationships among men of all religions, races and nationalities. Its operation is civic and social although, obviously, the roots of the brotherhood which it seeks to build are in the moral law and in religious faith.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHRISTIANS AND JEWS

43 West 57th Street New York, N.Y. 10019

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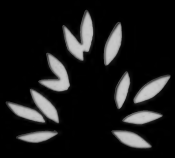


NC
CJ

NATIONAL
CONFERENCE
OF CHRISTIANS
AND JEWS

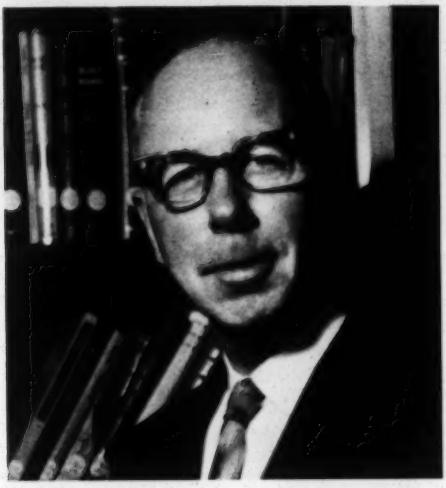
The Ebb and Flow of Human Relations

The National Conference of Christians and Jews needs always the larger view. This includes a sense of history, willingness to face the present realities and courage to build a newer, better world. Our perspective requires that we be not overjoyed by the developments of the past few years nor disheartened by the crises of the past few months. To recapture the larger view let us recall the ups and downs, the advances and relapses that have occurred in three centuries of human relations in the United States.

The Colonial Period

We have had three general periods in the ebb and flow of human relations. During the first period the colonies were settled by people of many nationalities, religions, cultures and races. The diversity suggests that democracy was born full-bloomed among them. Not so. There was slavery. The Indians were regarded as sub-human. There were unjust jailings, violence, discrimination and prejudice in all of the colonies.

The concept of freedom and equality was revolutionary. As a basic tenet of government this was largely untried. Those who favored freedom of religion generally intended it only for their own group. Nine of the thirteen original colonies had state churches. But as our



Sterling W. Brown
President
National Conference of Christian and Jews

forefathers grappled with the exigencies of time and circumstance, the commitment to freedom and equality grew stronger. They discovered, as Benjamin Franklin put it, "We shall all hang together or we shall hang separately."

Thus the Colonial period of our history was one of mixed experiences, of principles more often proclaimed than practiced. But when the Liberty Bell pealed its Judaeo-Christian message, "Proclaim liberty throughout the land unto all the inhabitants thereof," it began a revolution in human relationships. For implicit in the right to be free, is the right to be different.

The Middle Period

The middle period of our history was characterized by accelerated immigration and the surge of westward migration. Each new group that came to America was forced by those already in power to run a gauntlet of prejudice and discrimination. Motivated by economic, social and political ambitions, the citizenry became divided between North and South and engaged in a bloody civil war. After this fratricidal struggle, when the wounds should have been healed by love of liberty and freedom, organized hate groups appeared. Among others were the Ku Klux Klan, the Nativists, and the Know-Nothings—anti-foreigner, anti-Negro, anti-this, that, and the other.

However, there were vast areas to settle, cities to build, factories, churches, schools and governments to organize and operate. With plenty of room, unlimited raw materials, and with population expanding rapidly through immigration, the nation strode confidently into the twentieth century.

The Contemporary Period

The contemporary period of human relations brought restrictive immigration laws. The flow of newcomers was curtailed. Over four million people entered the United States in the ten year period between 1921 and 1930. In the next decade, 1931 to 1940, only one eighth as many were admitted. Having entered World War I to "make the world safe for democracy," the United States shrank back from world responsibility into isolation. Extremist groups led by the revived Ku Klux Klan shrieked and marched, flogged and threatened until America was critically divided by hate and bigotry.

At this stage in history the National Conference emerged against the backdrop of the defamation of Alfred E. Smith during the presidential campaign of 1928. Spurred by this outburst of religious intolerance, Charles Evans Hughes, Newton D. Baker, Roger W. Straus, Carlton J. H. Hayes and the Reverend S. Parkes Cadman called into being an organization to work for amity, cooperation and understanding among all the groups of our nation.

Their method was education—in the seminar, in the schools, churches, synagogues, civic organizations—wherever Americans gathered together. Ideologically they drew on the teachings of religion, the democratic ideals of the nation and the findings of science. The clergy trio—Catholic, Protestant and Jew—a new symbol for America, caught the imagination of the nation as it crossed and recrossed the country. Later the Eastern Orthodox cooperated, as did other smaller religious groups.

However, the impetus given to intercreedal cooperation by the National Conference and the growth the Conference has achieved should now be viewed in the context of the world-wide revo-

lution in human relations which affects every nation on earth. We ask ourselves, "How can we promote freedom and equality, how can we eliminate prejudice and discrimination when the voices of reason, persuasion and education seem woefully feeble against the backdrop of universal group antagonisms and conflict?" Will the methods adopted by the founders of the National Conference, which we continue to employ, benefit our own nation and somehow influence the tide of world-wide revolution?

The Revolution of the Emerging Nations

All of us are aware of the struggles for self-government by India, the former colonies of Africa, and now the smaller countries of the Orient. The emerging nations, mostly African and Asian, are demanding a fair break in economic affairs, as well as political strength in the United Nations. They want to exchange raw materials for finished products. Every President of the United States in our generation has called upon us to give leadership and aid to these people. We dare not recoil from the responsibilities of world leadership nor become less generous, for no power under God can stop this vast uprising of the world's peoples.

These people want bread. But even more, they need the bread of knowledge for themselves and their children. The United States has been an example of great technological achievement for them. The United States has likewise been a great example of democracy for them. They have adopted the slogans of our own struggle for freedom and liberty. They too have problems of human relations, of intergroup hostilities and irrational prejudices, which our own affluence has not solved for us. Prosperity has not eliminated the discrepancy between ideals and reality in our own country. Nor can food, clothing and shelter alone establish freedom and equality elsewhere. The healing spirit of understanding and fellowship that have repeatedly rescued our own nation from the follies

of hatred and prejudice is, we admit, a still small voice, but we do not doubt its ultimate triumph.

The Revolution in Intercreedal Relations

The World Council of Churches, meeting in India in 1961, condemned anti-Semitism and called for a new movement in ecumenical cooperation. For Protestants this was a new and significant step in interreligious relations. When the major Eastern and Oriental Orthodox Churches joined the Council the ecumenical spirit received added impetus.

It was not, however, until the late Pope John came upon the stage of history that the ecumenical movement began to take shape into one of the revolutionary movements of our time. Of the decrees issued by the Second Vatican Council, two have special relevance for human relations. One of these, the Declaration on Religious Liberty, may become as influential in intercreedal relations as the Bill of Rights has been in political relations.

The statement on relations with the Jewish people, although disappointing to many Catholics, Protestants and Jews in its language, did make anti-Semitism a sin for every Roman Catholic. Furthermore, it lifted from the Jewish community the fallacious charge that Jews bear responsibility for the death of Jesus. While this can never atone for the wrongs suffered by Jews throughout the centuries, it represents a forward stride by the Christian community.

I salute the memory of Pope John, without whose life of loving compassion for all mankind there may never have been a Vatican Council II and its accomplishments. I submit to you that the ecumenical movement, to which he contributed such prophetic leadership, will be a positive force in man's relation to man for a thousand years. Remembering the religious wars, the fierce disputations and the cruel persecutions of minority sects during the past two thousand years, we rejoice when we realize what a revolutionary change for the better has come in intercreedal relations in our generation.

The Human Rights Revolution

I wish I could speak as happily about another revolution, the one on our own doorstep. I refer to the struggle for and against full citizenship for all Americans. This struggle, so complex, so intense, often so violent, cannot be avoided by any American. We are all in this struggle together—Catholics, Protestants, Jews, Orthodox and secularists. The legislation needed for equality under the law is on the books, except perhaps for a few gaps. Legal machinery is creaking into operation. Dramatic gains have been made. But, instead of domestic peace and a sense of community, we have violence and riots. Instead of increasing harmony, we hear the cries of white and Negro extremists disturbingly loud and threatening. A Time Magazine editorial observed that "in the classic pattern, a social revolution leads to hope, hope to frustration, frustration to fury." And thus it is that many revolutions end by devouring their own children in an attempt to reach their goals by anarchy and violence and illegal actions. I hope that we are not on the verge of such a calamity. But that riots and demagoguery, matched by a white backlash, have thrown brotherhood for a loss no one can deny.

Every objective observer attests that the civil rights revolution has lost ground in its legitimate struggle for equality. The civil rights forces that seemed united and invincible half a year ago now appear disarrayed, confused and fearful that the gains of the last decade or two are crumbling. Something has gone wrong in the planning and program of the civil rights movement, which won remarkable victories in the legislatures and in the courts. Why is law enforcement lagging now, and why did Congress reject the proposed legislation of 1966? Has there perhaps been an excessive faith in legislation and litigation and too little effort to educate and persuade?

In the May, 1962 issue of The Christian Century social psychologist Thomas F. Pettigrew wrote, "Laws can and do change attitudes; they accomplish this by first modifying behavior of

men, following which, men fit their new action to new ideas. Thus, given firm leadership, successful desegregation does not require majority support." Even were we to assume that this formula is the best way to secure progress in a democracy—which, needless to say, I find hard to swallow—three questions arise. First, how can leadership be developed that will support social change unless it be through education? Secondly, how can that leadership remain firm if those whom it tries to lead rebel before they become acculturated to the conditions imposed upon them? And thirdly, what happens to even the best of causes in a time of crisis if it lacks the sincere support of enough people to offset massive opposition?

I fear that what is now occurring in race relations is the end result of neglecting education and scoffing at the techniques of brotherhood as irrelevant and ineffectual. Millions of small steps that could have been taken toward the achievement of equal rights and opportunities for all were spurned because each was not a giant step. The activist psychology that has been dominant in much of the civil rights movement is faulty; appeals to the minds of men are indispensable in human relations. They cannot be made to understand and accept each other unless sparks of compassion are somehow lighted in their hearts.

Let us ask why the intercreedal revolution brought such great improvement in human relations. There were rivalries dating hundreds of years. There were deep-seated suspicions and hostilities. Liberals were strongly opposed by powerful reactionaries. Yet no one was advised to leave the conference room and take to the streets. Without demonstrations, public protests or displays of force, relations between religious groups have been improved more in our generation than in any previous two or three centuries. We are aware that unlimited discussion and maximal educational effort produced this gratifying progress.

Beyond Civil Rights—Brotherhood

Education for improvement of human relations is undramatic. It does not bring publicity and does not make

the educators feel heroic. Therefore education is easily neglected in favor of social action. The National Conference has limited its own role to education, because the building of friendship and understanding, of teaching people to eschew prejudice and to prefer fairness to members of other groups, are requirements of good human relations. Often they are overlooked.

In terms of history our Conference is young. Surely we can refine and use on behalf of all disadvantaged groups the educational methods which produced such great gains in intercreedal relations. Employing the motivation of religion, combined with the techniques of education and the methodology and data of science, the National Conference can fulfill its destiny by making a unique contribution to America's continuing revolution.

The larger view shows that there have been crises in human relations in all periods of American history. One occurred when the armed forces of the United States and her allies brought to a close World War II in Europe. The task of securing peace was in sight. At that time Norman Corwin wrote a radio script which ended with a prayer for brotherhood and peace: (with updating emendations)

"Lord God of test-tube and blueprint
Who jointed molecules of dust and shook them till their name was Adam,

Who taught worms and stars how they could live together,

Appear now among the parliaments of nations and give wisdom to their leaders;

Measure out new liberties so none shall suffer for his father's color or the credo of his choice;

Post proofs that brotherhood is not so wild a dream as those who profit by postponing it pretend;

Sit at the treaty table and convoy the hopes of little peoples through expected straits,

And press into the final seal a sign that peace will come for longer than posterities can see ahead,

That man unto his fellow-man shall be a friend forever."

High school students from the island of Puerto Rico and their principal participate in an NCCJ Youth Institute.

NCCJ Program Progress

This past year the challenges to the National Conference of Christians and Jews have been many and varied. They have been met effectively with imagination and resourcefulness. But the NCCJ has not veered from its historic method of education, which includes conference and consultation, study group and dialogue, the use of mass media and person-to-person confrontation. We have enlarged the sphere and increased the depth of communication between religious, racial and ethnic groups. We have involved members of more groups in more ways than ever before. The

nature and scope of our program and its relationship to the critical problems of our time are reflected in these highlights of the past year's major programs:

Christian-Jewish relations were discussed in dialogue groups throughout the country. An NCCJ Dialogue Bulletin devoted to the Vatican Council's Declaration on the Jews was recently published.

Local and national institutes studied religion's place in public education. A book to be published in 1967 resulted from a national institute at Harvard University in the spring of 1966.

The "Pittsburgh Project" examined the treatment of religion in the public school system of

In an informal setting on a college campus, young people have an opportunity to exchange views at an NCCJ Youth Institute.

Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. The 122-page report of this project is now being distributed nationally.

Seminary education for the ecumenical age was explored in local programs. Baltimore, Maryland, will be the scene of a combined national and regional conference on this subject early in 1967.

In Rearing Children of Good Will Institutes across the country, parents came to grips with the effects racial and educational conflicts are having on their children. Completely integrated Institutes were held in Savannah, Georgia, and New Orleans, Louisiana.

The impact of a Rearing Children of Good Will Workshop in Chicago, Illinois, was extended through television. Dozens of discussion groups were involved.

Police-community relations received increased emphasis. NCCJ's eleventh Annual Police-Community Relations Institute at Michigan State University in 1966 set a new attendance record. The first combined national-regional institute on police

community relations was held in October in New Jersey.

A coordinating conference in Miami, Florida, drew together representatives of 39 youth-servicing agencies to study the effects of discrimination on both majority and minority groups.

A national NCCJ survey of the human relations problems in Job Corps centers and community relations in areas adjacent to Job Corps centers, and on relevant staff training, was carried out at the federal government's request.

Many of our more than 40 teacher-training workshops in colleges and universities focused on the problems of the disadvantaged.

A number of local NCCJ offices functioned as convenors and advisors to community groups in their anti-poverty programs.

Applying brotherhood to fair housing was an important project for many of the regional offices.

NCCJ program in Police-Community Relations brings together law enforcement officers and community leaders to achieve communication and understanding in everyday situations.

The Religious News Service, serving nearly 800 newspapers, religious publications and radio and TV stations, had the best year since its inception.

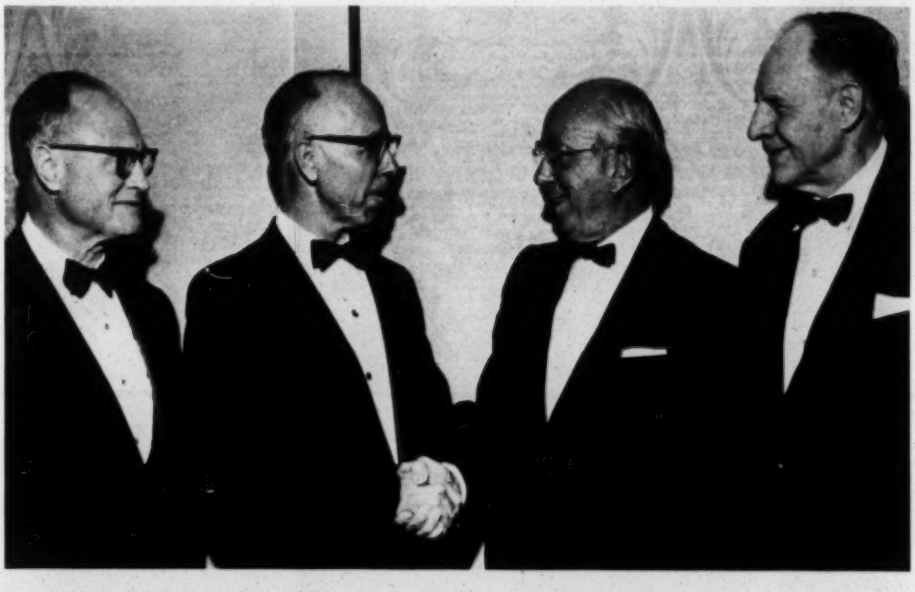
NCCJ institutes involving Labor, Management and Community leaders helped create an understanding of mutual responsibility in crucial human relations problems.

The full rights of America's 20 million Negroes and 20 million disadvantaged whites are constantly reasserted by the NCCJ lay constituency and staff. The specific rights promised to all but denied to many are affirmed in NCCJ's educational programs for parents, for youth, for teachers, for police and for community leaders. The business, labor and industrial leaders who participate in NCCJ programs support these democratic concepts.

As individuals involved in countless situations where we can speak and act to advantage, and as an organization with national, regional and local programs, we support the responsible, dedicated Negro leadership seeking through education and law, and with neither violence nor demagoguery, to terminate the injustices inflicted on Negroes. We shall aid them in combating the "white backlash", which would erase the gains they have secured for their people in decades of dedicated service to our country and to its minority groups. We shall constantly remind our countrymen of the patriotism and deep loyalty to our nation's welfare of the overwhelming majority of Negroes, for whom denial of opportunity is a shameful injustice.

Dr. Brown Installed NCCJ President

Dr. Sterling W. Brown was installed as president of the National Conference of Christians and Jews by the civic organization's three co-chairmen at the annual meeting of its Board of Trustees in New York. The co-chairmen are shown congratulating Dr. Brown at the installation dinner. Left to right are: Carrol M. Shanks, Protestant co-chairman; Dr. Brown; Lewis L. Strauss, Jewish co-chairman; and Robert D. Murphy, Catholic co-chairman.



NCCJ Reports To Vice President

Vice President Hubert Humphrey received a report on the National Conference of Christians and Jews' 1966 Brotherhood Week and on its continuing year-round programs. Shown from left at the Vice President's office are: Dr. Sterling W. Brown, president of the NCCJ; Mr. Humphrey; V. J. Skutt of Mutual of Omaha insurance company, chairman of this year's Brotherhood Week; and Brooks Hays, special consultant to President Johnson and associate director of the federal Community Relations Service. After receiving the report, Mr. Humphrey lauded the NCCJ for having been for "more than three decades one of America's most effective arms in reducing prejudice."

NCCJ Honors Four Religious Leaders

In a significant ecumenical event, four top New York religious leaders were honored on the same dais when the National Conference of Christians and Jews conferred its first national awards for "courageous leadership in intercreedal relations." Recipients were, from left: Dr. Julius Mark, senior rabbi of Temple Emanu-El; Episcopal Bishop Horace W. B. Donegan of New York; Francis Cardinal Spellman, Archbishop of New York; and Archbishop Iakovos, Primate of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America. With them is NCCJ president Dr. Sterling W. Brown, who presented the Gold Medallions at the Conference's first annual religious leaders dinner.

NCCJ Honors Three Governors, Under Secretary

Charles Evans Hughes Awards for Courageous Leadership in Governmental Service were presented by the National Conference of Christians and Jews to three Governors and a federal official at the nationwide civic organization's annual Board of Trustees meeting in New York. Dr. Sterling W. Brown (left), installed at the meeting as the third NCCJ president, displays an award medallion around the neck of Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller of New York. Other award recipients are, from center: Under Secretary of Commerce LeRoy Collins, former Governor of Florida; Gov. Edmund G. Brown of California; and Gov. George W. Romney of Michigan. The awards were created in honor of the late U.S. Supreme Court Chief Justice who also was a U.S. Secretary of State, a New York Governor and principal founder of the NCCJ.

Progress in Financial Development

This has been a year of developing, in addition to the methods traditionally employed by the Conference, new procedures and sources of support. It has been a successful year, with more than $60,000 left available to credit to the small reserve fund.

Sixty-eight per cent of the total $3.7 million came from the fund-raising dinners. The Financial Development Department has given attention to every phase of the dinner operation—the price per plate, format of dinner programs, and professional assistance to regional directors. Attention has also been given to the development of new leadership and improved means of presenting the NCCJ story.

During the year, an active Bequest Committee was organized with Mr. Charles Zimmerman, President of Connecticut Mutual Life Insurance, as Chairman.

Another area of interest has been in the development of pilot programs for increasing the special gifts effort. Chairman for this new Special Projects Committee is Mr. Gabriel Hauge, President of Manufacturers Hanover Trust Company. He has been extremely helpful in the enlistment of strong leadership in various parts of the country.

Several proposals for support of specific segments of the educational program have been addressed to foundations and are currently being considered. The most recent of these is a request for $120,000 to the Law Enforcement Assistance Office of the Justice Department. Success in this effort would provide for a rather dramatic increase in the Police and Community Relations field.

NCCJ SOURCES OF INCOME

$2,497,700 from corporations, foundations and individuals supporting Brotherhood dinners.	68.6%
$623,300 from general contributions.	17.1%
$279,000 from Religious News Service.	7.7%
$174,200 from the Special Gifts Campaign.	4.8%
$24,400 from foundation gifts, designated projects.	.7%
$41,300 from investments, insurance, etc.	1.1%

TOTAL INCOME $3,639,900

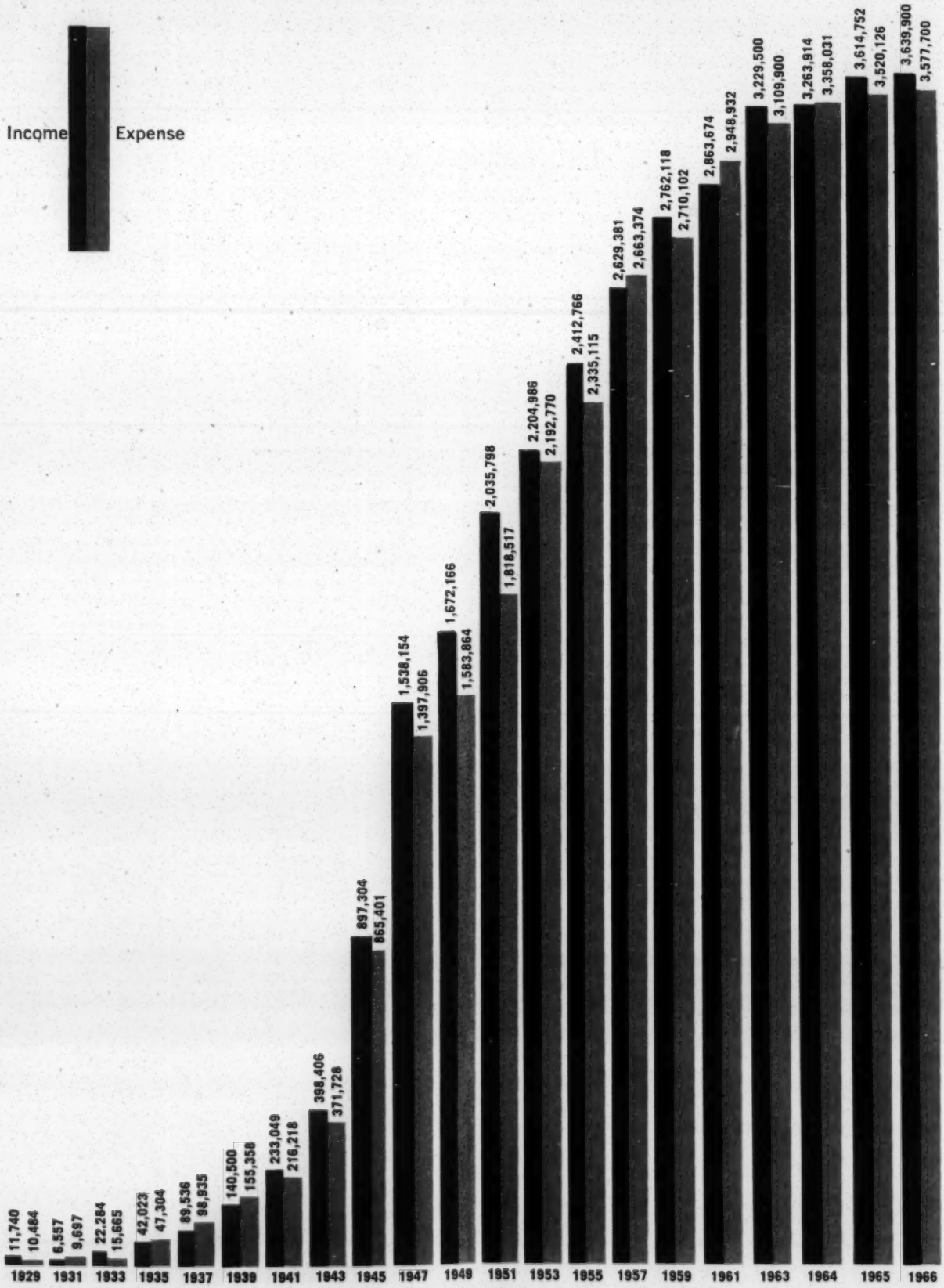
NCCJ HOW IT WAS USED

$2,514,700 for educational programs carried out through 75 regional offices.	69.1%
$393,700 for National Programs, public information and other educational services.	10.8%
$373,800 for administrative and financial development.	10.3%
$295,500 for Religious News Service.	8.1%
$62,200 for reserve fund.	1.7%

TOTAL EXPENSE $3,639,900

The NCCJ is supported entirely by voluntary contributions from individuals, corporations, foundations, fraternal organizations and religious groups. These contributions make possible all the educational programs described in this report.

THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE HAS GROWN



WB

COMMISSION ON RELIGION AND RACE

national council of the churches of christ in the u.s.a.

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10027 telephone: 870-2438

BISHOP REUBEN H. MUELLER, PRESIDENT R. H. EDWIN ESPY, GENERAL SECRETARY

ROBERT W. SPIKE
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Rec'd 7/29/64

July 27, 1964

Mr. Wiley A. Branton
Voter Education Project
Room 206
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Branton:

According to our records, a check was sent on July 24 to Mr. John Due in the amount of $280.34. Perhaps you have received it by now. If there is further recompense due Mr. Due, please let us know at once.

Sorry for all the inconvenience and delay.

Sincerely,

Sandy Lloyd

(Miss) Sandy Lloyd
Secretary to Arthur Thomas
Assoc. Director, Community Action

THE RT. REV. ARTHUR LICHTENBERGER, CHAIRMAN
EUGENE CARSON BLAKE • BISHOP B. JULIAN SMITH • MRS. J. FOUNT TILLMAN–VICE CHAIRMEN

MM
LD

Mr. Leonard F. Carver Union Welfare Fund
Patton cc Lee Cum
1404 New York Av, N.W.
Wash 5

National Labor Service

Institute of Human Relations • 165 East 56 Street, New York 22, N. Y. • Plaza 1-4000

Harry Fleischman, Director

February 1, 1962

Co-Op League
New York

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

As I mentioned to Paul Rilling yesterday, the American Jewish Committee will be pleased to join with you and a substantial number of representative agencies in issuing a statement approving the purposes of the voter registration drive.

Could you phone us for confirmation as soon as you have the names of the cooperating agencies?

I will be looking forward to seeing you on Wednesday, February 7th, at our Mass Media Committee meeting at the Anti-Defamation League, 515 Madison Avenue (53rd Street), New York City, where we are going to be showing that interesting new film, "Autopsy on Operation Abolition." I will also be looking forward to seeing you down in Atlanta, February 15th and 16th, which I am attending at the invitation of Paul Rilling, to consult with your state directors on the role of labor in the race relations picture in the South, and what might be done to more effectively enlist labor participation.

Could you send me an up-to-date list of your state directors and their addresses?

With all best wishes.

Fraternally yours,

Harry

Harry Fleischman

Sent 2/5/62
MM

may not arrive until late Thursday

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Write Z Bischman
opts loaning from
Natl Council Z
Churches

February 20, 1962

Mr. Al Barkan, Assistant Director
AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education
815 16th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Al:

I met last Friday with the state directors of southern Human Relations Councils, which cooperate with the Southern Regional Council. They are anxious to work with the labor movement both on a projected voter registration drive and on problems of race relations. The man in charge of working with these groups from the Atlanta office of the Southern Regional Council is Paul M. Rilling, Director of Field Activities, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Atlanta, Georgia.

Off the record, the Southern Regional Council will be the conduit through which approximately a half million dollars for a voter registration drive will be funneled by a Foundation to the NAACP, CORE, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Urban League and the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee. If anyway can be found to coordinate the registration drive of these groups with that of COPE, I am sure it would be a blessing.

I suggested to them that I would get in touch with you, and give you their names and addresses (a copy of which is enclosed) so that you might be able to contact them for follow-up work.

With all best wishes.

Fraternally yours,

Harry Fleischman

eak
encl.

Press Associates, Inc. (PAI) -- 2/26/62

Spurred by '60 Success

AFL-CIO SETS NEW HIGH REGISTRATION DRIVE GOAL

BAL HARBOUR, Fla. (PAI) -- Encouraged by the success of its 1960 "Get-Out-the-Vote" campaign, the AFL-CIO has decided to up its sights by 50 per cent for the 1962 off-year political drive.

In 1960, the AFL-CIO set a goal of $550,000 for its registration and get-out-the-vote activities. This year the Federation has set a goal of $750,000 to be concentrated in areas where organized labor is strongest. The drive will be non-partisan, but will be a determined effort to raise the present percentage of between 55 and 60 per cent of election-day turnout in working class districts to a much higher level.

AFL-CIO spokesmen point out that as a rule the percentage turnout in high-income districts is much higher than in low-income districts.

Under a program adopted by the Administrative Committee of the Committee for Political Education, the AFL-CIO itself will launch the campaign with a contribution of $250,00. National and international unions are expected to contribute about 3 cents per member for a total of $375,000 while local unions and state and city central bodies will be asked to contribute an additional $125,000.

The $750,000 fund will be used, as it has in the past, to get out posters, hire sound trucks, check election lists and provide transportation.

As part of the "1962 Registration and Get-Out-the-Vote" campaign, the AFL-CIO is preparing a half-hour film to be used by unions and local bodies. The film will be divided into three sections, the first devoted to answering the question "Why Labor Is Involved in Politics," the second on "How to Conduct a Registration Campaign" and the third on "How to Conduct a Get-Out-the-Vote" campaign. The working title of the film is "People and Politics."

In a foreword, AFL-CIO President George Meany said:

"We're in politics for the same reason we're in the labor movement -- to build a better life for ourselves and for all Americans. No one is really 'out' of politics; we're all affected by political decisions. The only question is: Are we going to participate in an active and organized way, or are we just going to be spectators and let others play the game that vitally affects the lives and welfare of all? No; we in organized labor have too much at stake to be mere spectators in the game of politics."

While AFL-CIO officials feel that the success of the 1960 campaign was highly gratifying, they also feel that it got off to a late start, especially for the primaries. As a result, this year's drive will start immediately.

#

Rec'd 3/1/62

file in W. B. Dr

National Labor Service

Institute of Human Relations • 165 East 56 Street, New York 22, N. Y. • Plaza 1-4000

Harry Fleischman, Director

February 27, 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Les:

As you will note from the enclosed clipping, the AFL-CIO is planning a pretty powerful voter registration drive. Perhaps it might be possible to coordinate their drives with the ones to be conducted in the South by the various groups with which you will be working. I have written Al Barkan of the AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education the enclosed letter.

With all best wishes.

Cordially yours,

Harry

Harry Fleischman

P. S. As you may have gathered, I finally got on as a standby. Otherwise, I would have been knocking at your door.

Enclosed are some clippings which might be of interest to you.

eak
encls.

WB-file

March 16, 1962

Mr. Harry Fleischman
National Labor Service
165 East 56th Street
New York, New York

Dear Harry:

Thank you for your letter of February 27 and the information about the AFL-CIO voter drive. You will be glad to know that we have been talking with them fairly steadily and feel sure that we can count on their cooperation.

Sorry you caught the plane. Next time plan to stay over. It was good of you to come down to meet with our State directors.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

WB
ack follow-up, or file as you see best

National Labor Service

Institute of Human Relations • 165 East 56 Street, New York 22, N. Y. • Plaza 1-4000

Harry Fleischman, Director

March 19, 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

Thanks for your note of March 16th. I am sure that you have already been in touch with Roy Reuther, and that the enclosed copy of the letter I sent to him was really superfluous. But he happens to be one of my oldest friends, and so I thought it would do no harm to write to him.

All the best.

Cordially,

Harry

Harry Fleischman

eak/encl.

March 19, 1962

Mr. Roy Reuther, Director of Registration
AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education
815 16th Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Roy:

Congratulations on your selection to head the AFL-CIO's special 1962 register-and-vote campaign. Its enormously important, and I know you will do a terrific job.

I know that the AFL-CIO has been in touch with the Southern Regional Council concerning the voter registration drive to be conducted in the South by the NAACP, CORE, the Urban League, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee. Coordination between their work and yours should certainly be fruitful not only for civil rights, but for the rest of labor's programs as well. (Of course, reminding you of this is like bringing coals to New Castle.)

Are Fania and the children coming to Washington to stay there with you during this drive, or will they be remaining in Michigan? How are they all?

Natalie joins me in sending love to you all.

Fraternally,

Harry Fleischman

eak
bc: Leslie Dunbar

April 18, 1962

Mr. Harry Fleischman
National Labor Service
165 East 56th Street
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Fleischman:

Mr. Leslie Dunbar has referred to me your letter to him of March 19, 1962, along with other correspondence that the two of you have exchanged during the past few weeks regarding the Voter Education Project.

I am sure that you will be pleased to know that we have been working very closely with the staff of AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education, and I will be in Washington on April 24 for a lengthy conference with Roy Reuther, Phil Weightman, and other members of the COPE staff.

We appreciate the interest which you are manifesting in the Voter Education efforts, and I hope to have an opportunity to meet you at a very early date.

Sincerely yours,

Wiley A. Branton
Project Director

WAB/mr

UNITED STATES NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION

3457 CHESTNUT STREET • PHILADELPHIA 4, PA. • AREA CODE 215 • BAring 2-1106 • CABLE, NATSTUD

December 18, 1962

DEC 19 1962

Mr. Wiley Branton, Director
Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Wiley:

Enclosed is the information that I have sent out concerning the meeting on voter registration for student groups. I know that the time I have set follows rather closely after the Inter-agency meeting, but some of the people involved will be at the SIC meeting and could thus conveniently come to ours. Also, many of them indicated that they had rather meet on Friday than to stay over on Saturday.

As you have probably gathered from contact and work with these students' groups in the past, it is really necessary that they have the advice of people who are directly involved in voter registration work. At this meeting they will be asking questions about what areas are in need of students; where would projects be helpful in terms of political needs; where are other groups working, etc. -- and-- the point I am obviously making is that I hope that you and Jack will be able to attend the meeting. If we can really get some of these questions cleared up at this meeting, maybe it will eliminate some of the letters and individual appointments that your office is continually getting from student groups.

If you have any suggestions, other than summer voter registration projects, on how student manpower can be used for these three months, this should certainly be one of the considerations. In any case, I do hope that you can be there, and will appreciate your returning the enclosed card. The meeting will be held in the Bamboo Room at the Waluhaje.

Thank you for your interest and please call me if you have any questions or suggestions concerning the meeting.

Sincerely,

Connie

Constance Curry, Director
Southern Project, NSA
Room 701, 41 Exchange Place, SE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

ASSOCIATED WITH: American Council on Education • International Student Conference • U. S. Commission for UNESCO • World University Service • Council on Student Travel • Young Adult Council • American Association for the U.N. • Nat'l Scholarship Service & Fund for Negro Students

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PROPOSED MEETING FOR STUDENT ORGANIZATIONS INTERESTED
IN VOTER EDUCATION PROGRAMS IN THE SOUTH

For the past few months several student organizations have expressed interest in sponsoring summer programs that would enable students to contribute to the voter education drives that are now taking place in the South. While some of these groups have already begun investigations of possible locations for such projects, other groups are not sure what exactly the role of students might be, and there seems to be a need for a sharing of experiences from past projects and an exploration of future possibilities.

In light of this need, the office of the Southern Project of the National Student Association is calling a meeting of representatives from the various student organizations who are interested in discussing the concerns mentioned above. Since several of the people involved will already be in Atlanta for the Southern Inter-agency Conference on January 3-4, we are proposing that the meeting for student groups be held immediately following the SIC meeting. This will mean that our meeting will begin at approximately 4:00 p.m. on Friday, January 4th, and if necessary, we can continue on Saturday. We will notify you later as to the place where the meeting will be held.

Another reason for holding the meeting in Atlanta is that this will enable us to have the advice of personnel from the Southern Regional Council and the Voter Education Project. I have discussed the matter with them, and they are most interested in meeting with the student groups.

This notice is being sent to the organizations listed below. If you know of other groups who should be invited, please let me know. Also, I will appreciate your returning the enclosed postcard to me and your notifying me if you have any specific items that you would like placed on the agenda for the meeting.

National Student Christian Federation
American Friends Service Committee
U. S. National Student Association
Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee
National Student YWCA
National Student YMCA
Northern Student Movement
Students for a Democratic Society
NAACP Youth Council

January 15, 1963

Miss Jacklyn Wilkes
Associate National Student Executive
Young Women's Christian Association
of the U. S. A.
Suite 301, 41 Exchange Place, S. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Wilkes:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of January 9th, in which you inquire about the possibility of a program involving eight college women in a one-week summer project in June.

It should go without saying that our interest would be in voter registration, but you might also involve some survey work which you have listed as a separate area of interest. We would be interested in discussing the possibility with you, and I would suggest that you phone me upon your return to Atlanta, so that we can arrange a convenient date for detailed discussion.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:jcs

YWCA

National Student Young Women's Christian Association of the U. S. A.

600 LEXINGTON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.
PLAZA 3-4700
CABLE: EMISSARIUS, N. Y.

January 9, 1963

Southern Region
Suite 301, 41 Exchange Place, S.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia
Telephone: Jackson 5-2372

JAN 10 1963

Chairman
OLGA SEASTROM
Pennsylvania State University

Vice Chairmen
CHRYSTAL KELLOGG
Southwestern College
KATHLEEN MILLER
Oklahoma State University
ALMA SENIORS
Tuskegee Institute

Chairman Administrative Committee
MRS. WILLIAM GENNÉ

Executive
MRS. MARGARET EDMUNSON NORTON

Associate in Administration
ODILE SWEENEY

Associates
JEAN M. WHITTET
Program Development
RUTH SHINN
Personnel and Training
ANNIE-KATE GILBERT
National Support

Consultant in Human Relations
CELESTINE L. SMITH, ED. D.

Administrative Assistant
HELEN BAIRD

President, National Board
MRS. ARCHIE D. MARVEL

General Secretary
EDITH M. LERRIGO

Mr. Wiley A. Branton
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Branton:

This letter is to inform you that eight college women could spend a week working for you in June 1963 if you have a project that is significant and challenging for a team.

The Southern Regional Conference of the National Student YWCA will meet in Atlanta June 2-8, 1963. Their intent is to work at a significant community problem while they learn about the forces for change. We estimate between forty and seventy young women and initial plans will be laid for six teams of eight. Each team will have a cross-section of membership: students will come from ten states; teams will be interracial; members will range from freshmen to seniors; a capable non-student adult will be resource; they will vary in experience and ability.

The limitations are obvious: only one week is planned for 1963, but we will be surveying the possibilities for a summer-long project for 1964; secondly, the selection of team members will be by the student's expression of her own readiness for specific projects, plus an interview by our staff.

There is a broad range of interests. If you are interested in a team to work on a concentrated project we hope you will "dream" beyond the following suggestions to find one appropriate to your situation:

- working in an area of transition and/or an inner-city area

- preparing and carrying out human relations workshops for teen-agers

- working on a suburban church problem or program

YWCA®

- with agencies which have a two unit program: bring together individuals from white and Negro communities and/or working on their mutual project

- this is the first week school is out; the groups could help a local group start a longer summer program

- survey (housing, attitudes, employment)

- voter registration

- recreation

If you will be interested to pursue this in conversation, please drop me a line. I will be out of Atlanta until January 28 (it seems very long!) but will spend all of February tracking down six to eight team projects.

Sincerely,

Jacklyn Wilkes

Jacklyn Wilkes
Associate National Student Executive
Southern Region

JW:fd

Signed in Miss Wilkes' absence.

1/29/63 Re: Conference with Jocklyn Wilkes

~~Regional~~
Nat'l Student YWCA - Sou. Region.
10 states from S.E. (ark not included)
one week conference in Atlanta in June —
Inter-racial — approx. — 48 to 64 students
involved. Bi-racial from region.
I.T.C. — June 2 to June 8 —
Morning.

Team would work on project during the morning hours. We should plan program and provide transportation.
We would pick up kids after breakfast and get back to I.T.C. about 1:00 P.M. —
(Approx. 9 to 1)

Team of 8 —

CONFERENCE REPORT
Wiley A. Branton and Jacklyn Wilkes, Associate National Student Executive, YWCA
Voter Education Project office on January 29, 1963

The National Student Association, YWCA, southern region, will hold its regional conference in Atlanta, June 2 through June 8, 1963. This conference will involve from 50 to 70 students from ten southeastern states, and will include both white and colored students. The entire group will live at ITC. It is planned that the conference will be broken down into teams of approximately eight students each and to assign students to various teams according to their expression of interest in a particular project to which assignment is possible, but decisions will be made after an interview with the student by the YWCA staff. There will be several such areas of interest.

The Voter Education Project would be primarily concerned with utilizing the manpower of a team to help with voter registration or some kind of a survey related to voter education activities. At the present time VEP has been asked to assume the responsibility for mapping a program for only one team, but within the next few days the YWCA staff will have a better idea of the exact number of participants and it is possible that we might be asked to provide for two teams if we are interested.

VEP could either completely supervise the team activities or farm it out to one of our participating agencies. Any such project would have to be conducted either in Atlanta or in some nearby community such as Decatur, Fulton county outside of Atlanta, or some adjacent county. The only thing that VEP would be responsible for (other than the planning and supervisionof the project) would be the transportation of the students from ITC to the work area and back. It is contemplated that the students would be picked up at ITC around 8:45 a.m., spend their morning hours on the proejct and return to ITC around 1:00 p.m. This means that they could only devote a half day each day toward the project activities. It is possible that the participants in the project would be available on Sunday evening, June 2, for orientation and discussion of the project.

VEP has agreed to be responsible for at least one such project and we have agreed to either plan the project or assign it to some responsible agency. My own personal views are that VEP should plan and supervise the project itself inasmuch as it will only run for one week and will be conducted here in Atlanta.

4- National student assoc

Memorandum

February 1, 1963

To: Wiley Branton

From: Jackie Wilkes

WB ✓
SM ✓
RTB ✓
SS ✓
SL ✓

National Student Y.W.C.A.
Southern Region
Suite 301, 41 Exchange Place, S.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia
Telephone: Jackson 5-2372

Yesterday I had a conversation with Miss Eleanor Hinton, who is the Student Chairman for the Project-Conference. As we discussed your interest in the possibility of two teams working directly in voter registration she felt that we should say now and without any hesitancy that we would like two teams working in voter registration. We recognize that pending your decision one of these teams may survey to discover the potential in an area. With this in mind we are eager that the second team could actually do voter registration and I am sure I would be accurate in saying that if it can fit into your purposes there would be more interest if both teams could work on actual voter registration.

I enjoyed the opportunity to begin an acquaintance with you and I hope that our future work for the voter registration project will be both helpful to you and challenging to our students.

Jw:fd

cc - Eleanor Hinton

NOTES FROM THE SOUTH

From

Mary King
and
Bobbi Yancy

February 12, 1963

COLLEGES

Harvey Gantt of Charleston, South Carolina, 20, second-year architecture transfer from Iowa State, walked easily into the administration building of Clemson College. Easily, that is, but for the barrage of newsmen who seemed at the moment to be doing more blocking of South Carolina's "progress" than anyone else.

Aerial photographs of the campus of the University of Alabama in Tuscaloosa, Alabama, are now in the files of the Federal Government which was sorry it didn't have photographs of Oxford. Back on ground, incoming Governor George Wallace cried, "I draw the line in the dust and toss the gauntlet before the feet of tyranny, and I say segregation now, segregation tomorrow, segregation forever." However his Lieutenant Governor James Allen differed and said, "Alabama's soul will soon be laid bare before the world. God grant that we may not be ashamed of it." Earlier, John Caldwell, Chamber of Commerce leader in Tuscaloosa, said, "We must tell the politicians, 'Now that (strong segregation promises) was good during campaigning...But now you are hurting my business. You just keep your mouth shut." We know of several student groups working in Tuscaloosa now in preparation for desegregation.

At the University of South Carolina which is currently preparing for the admission of Miss Henri Monteith, the school newspaper, The Gamecock editorialized on February 1, 1963, that "Capable leadership in state government was provided by Governor Donald Russell at a time when failure might have meant federal intervention." The next sentence continued, "Following Gantt's peaceful enrollment, Russell spoke before the General Assembly Tuesday endorsing tuition grants for private schools." In a final sober paragraph it stated, "We ask more than co-existence, however; we ask that it be acknowledged that Harvey Gantt and you and I and millions more are alike in one thing if no other - and that is the sharing of a human condition."

Token integration is now a reality in four Georgia schools: the University of Georgia, Georgia Institute of Technology, Georgia State College and Emory University.

Hearings which began the first week in October, recessed the next week, resumed for the next two weeks, re-resumed after a recess of three months on February 6, in Talladega, Alabama. The hearing is on the State of Alabama's petition for a permanent injunction to bar integration activity by Talladega College students and faculty, plus several civil rights groups and individuals. The NAACP which has been barred from Alabama since 1956 appealed in an effort to have the injunction lifted.

Six picketers from Tougaloo Southern Christian College were arrested shortly before Christmas as they launched a boycott of the downtown business district in Jackson, Mississippi. Groups conducting the boycott have sent a list of demands to the businessmen from whom patronage is being withheld. This list includes demands to end segregated drinking fountains, restooms and seating; to serve all customers on a first-come-first-served basis; and to use the titles Mr. and Miss in addressing all customers. The boycott is reported to be 70% effective.

(over)

4- agencies - national student assn.

Although a federal ruling acknowledged the right of a private school to remain segregated, Tulane University in New Orleans, Louisiana, admitted 11 Negro students for the spring semester.

STUDENT GROUPS

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, with headquarters at 6 Raymond Street, N. W., Atlanta 14, Georgia, has launched a direct action program in Pine Bluff , Arkansas and is working in protest areas in Alabama. The Nashville Nonviolent Movement continues its attack on segregation in downtown Nashville. Although Albany, Georgia is no longer in the national spotlight, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee continues to work at registering Negroes in the counties surrounding Albany, in the same manner with which they began a year ago. Not long ago a white SNCC worker was charged with "accosting young Negro girls" after talking with demonstrators wearing t-shirts with the words "Don't Buy Downtown or Midtown."

The Freedom Singers are 5 SNCC field secretaries who have recently been organized as a singing group to spread the story of the Southern student movement. The songs have been an integral part of the movement in various protest areas. They have appeared in Albany, Georgia; Atlanta, Georgia, with Pete Seeger; Chicago, Illinois; and in Champaign, Illinois at the National Student Assembly of the Y's. Their most recent appearance was in Carnegie Hall on February 1st, 1963, the third anniversary of the Sit-Ins. Engagements for the singers can be arranged through SNCC's Atlanta office.

Representatives from the National Student Christian Federation, American Friends Service Committee, National Student Association, Students for a Democratic Society and Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee met recently to consider voter registration projects. In meeting with the executive personnel of the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council which is administering funds for South-wide voting drives, the five student groups discussed the use of student manpower to be used in voter registration. They also discussed locations of possible projects and hope to have information gathered from several sources available for distribution nationally soon.

Four Rhodesian students arrive February 10th to begin a tour of the South which will center in Atlanta and New Orleans, arranged by the Young Adult Council, a coordinating council of 28 student groups. The Young Adult Council is presently planning a conference to be held at Chapel Hill, North Carolina, from May 2-5, which will bring together 100-150 of the top student leaders of the South, and will include a cross-section of young workers, rural youth and college students. Its theme will revolve around the changing South.

The quadrennial National Student Assembly of the YM-YWCA passed specific mandates for voter registration projects, tutorial projects and attacks on housing discrimination on campuses at its week long meeting after Christmas in Champaign, Illinois.

Students from all over the country will converge in Atlanta during Easter week for the National Student Christian Federation Frontiers Conference. The theme will be "The Church In Frontiers Of Ferment," and the conference will seek to understand the process of change in a conservative community brought on by liberal influences.

The American Friends Service Committee is hoping to have several summer projects in the South. Interested students may write to Dick Ramsey, A.F.S.C., 1818 South Main Street, High Point, North Carolina.

The Southern Region of the National Student YWCA will have a Work-Conference in Atlanta, June 2-8, centering on urban problems - an encounter with the city. The areas of housing, education and politics will receive emphasis, and the conference will be broken down into small interracial teams which will work and study together.

SO THIS IS JUSTICE....

Narcotics Charge

Two students from Michigan State University were arrested during Christmas in Clarksdale, Mississippi, on charges of possession of narcotics, when they brought food, clothing and medicine for Negroes being harassed for trying to vote. They were first held under $15,000 bond which was reduced to $1,500 and they were freed after 11 days in jail. Three doctors in Louisville, Kentucky, where the shipment originated, are reported as having made sworn statements that there were no narcotics or sedatives, but such supplies as asperin and vitamins, although local police claimed there were narcotics. The goods were intended for the Delta area where many Negroes have lost jobs, been put off the land or been unable to receive surplus foods since voter registration drives increased. Sharecroppers average $300-$400 each year, and day laborers receive $150-$160 yearly. At Thanksgiving 22,000 Negroes in LeFlore County were taken off welfare because of voting drives.

Voter registration efforts in Mississippi are being conducted by the Mississippi Council of Federated Organizations, directed by Bob Moses of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. Carry on the work of the Michigan students by organizing a collection of food, money and clothing in your area. Ship to Emergency Welfare and Relief Committee, Haven Methodist Church, 400 Yazoo Avenue, Clarksdale, Mississippi.

Clyde Kennard Freed

Clyde Kennard, a young Negro, left the University of Chicago in 1955 after completing three years, to support his mother and disabled step-father on a small farm in Hattiesburg, Mississippi. In 1958 Kennard applied for admission to Mississippi Southern University. At the request of Governor Coleman he withheld his application until after the approaching elections. In 1959 Kennard reapplied to MSU and was rejected because of undisclosed "deficiencies and irregularities" in his application.

On September 25, 1960 five sacks of chicken feed, valued at $5.00 each, were taken from the Forrest County Cooperative Warehouse. A 19-year old illiterate Negro confessed to the theft. As a state's witness, the youth testified that Kennard had initiated and planned the burglary. He received a five-year probation sentence; Kennard was sentenced to seven years in Parchman Penitentiary. Kennard has served two years of his sentence.

It has recently been disclosed that Clyde Kennard is dying of cancer. The University Hospital gives the 34 year old veteran a one in five chance of living another 5 years. Last week Ross Barnett suspended Kennard's sentence indefinitely since he had been such a good prisoner and was near death. And now the nation recognizes the case of Clyde Kennard, although the Justice Department never did.

Walled-In Ghetto

We hear that the "Atlanta Wall" has shocked the nation. We ask why? since many exist in every Northern city. There is nothing new about this one except that as former Atlanta Mayor William B. Hartsfield said in criticizing the current mayor, Ivan Allen,

(over)

"He shouldn't make a mistake that can be photographed."

Two wooden and steel barricades were constructed on two streets running between Negro and white areas in a Southwest Atlanta residential area to forestall "encroachment" by Negroes and to stimulate white buyers. Those who defend the "buffer-zone" and barricades claim them as protection from Negro "block-busting" tactics. W. L. Calloway, president of the Empire Real Estate Board (Negro) stated, "...Atlanta is experiencing another growth and expansion boom, brought on by the thousands of Negro families who have been displaced by urban renewal .... Instead of working on its 'growing pains' in an intelligent manner, a search is made for a 'scapegoat' and Negro real estate brokers are again being made the victims."

Suits have been brought against the city for the erection of the "little Berlin Wall" by both Negro and white residents who have been outraged by the inconveniences created.

Joan Browning, a white Georgia State College Student and Vice-Chairman of the Greater Atlanta Student Council on Human Relations said that the matter had been brought to the open and that, "...white home-owners now may publicly express their fears of depreciating real estate values. Negroes may inform that they have no desire to invade white homes. Perhaps there is hope for an end to discrimination in housing."

IN GENERAL

The Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission which serves as a funnel for getting state funds to the White Citizens' Council, is sending seven speakers to Iowa, South Dakota, Indiana, Colorado, Idaho, Illinois and Washington to "tell the Mississippi story on segregation and race relations."

President Kennedy's executive order banning discrimination in government sponsored housing established a President's Committee on Equal Opportunity in Housing and details a program of enforcement for direct U. S. aided housing -- a fourth of the nation's supply. It does not cover housing in existence prior to its issuance. (Anyone interested in a hasty redevelopment program?!)

In Atlanta, a Negro, Leroy Johnson, was elected to the State Senate for the first time in 50 years (Democrat.) Negroes were elected for the first time to statewide office in Massachusetts (Republican) and Connecticut (Democrat.) A Los Angeles Negro was the first of his race to win a House seat West of the Mississippi.

Dr. Donald Matthews, a University of North Carolina political science professor has recently completed a study of racial attitudes in 11 Southern states. By scientific sampling of 694 whites and 618 Negroes, the study showed that only 22 per cent of the whites realized Negroes really wanted desegregation, while a startling 53 per cent of the Negroes did not believe the majority of Southern whites favored strict segregation. "Contrary to popular opinion," Dr. Matthews said, "the Negro down here isn't very happy." His findings will be published in 1964.

IMPRESSIONS

Since there were no disturbances at Clemson College, Harvey Gantt's desire to be known as, "Harvey Gantt, that colored fellow that entered Clemson, remember him?" could come true, according to the University of South Carolina Gamecock.

Ernie Dixon, an Ohio Wesleyan University senior on being a Negro student on a Northern campus: "In time James Meredith will be accepted at Ole Miss in the same manner in which I'm accepted here. People will say hello and nod to him, but he won't be a real part of the school community."

From the editorial page of the January 26th Mississippi Free Press: "While Clyde Kennard languishes in prison, a man who 'visited Oxford' goes free. General Edwin Walker, who helped incite a mob of rabble-rousers to violence the night of September 30, failed to be indicted by the Oxford Grand Jury."

Governor Terry Sanford of North Carolina, after announcing the formation of a Biracial Job Panel: "Despite great progress, the Negro's opportunity to obtain a good job has not been achieved in most places across the country. Reluctance to accept the Negro in employment is the greatest single block to his continued progress and to the full use of the human potential of the nation and its states."

Howard Johnson, presiding over the opening of a new motor lodge and restaurant in Atlanta stated that Atlanta will find it "pretty difficult" to locate a World's Fair here without first desegregating motels and restaurants. He later added, "Desegregation in many areas is bound to come, but we feel local people have to decide. We want to see these things handled with grace and without trouble. As a company policy, we're a national institution. We abide by national laws." (We know of two people who weren't served in Atlanta's new restaurant ----but the fair isn't until 1968!)

Dr. Anna Arnold Hedgeman of New York at the end of the recent National Conference on Religion and Race in Chicago: "The walls of separation in our total American culture make it difficult for the American white man to know the breadth and depth of our Negro religious leadership. There is a tendency to use Negroes as porters, at whatever level."

State Senator Leroy Johnson of Atlanta, after he had appointed one white page for the State Capitol along with several Negro youths: "If I can appoint a white boy who has had all advantages, what moral imperative is placed upon white senators to appoint a Negro boy who has had no advantages."

Bobbi Yancy on the press: "If newsmen don't watch it, five years from now children are going to think Negro was Mr. Meredith's first name."

THINGS FOR READING AND LISTENING

Copies of a sheet containing editorials which appeared in Southern colleges as a reaction to events in Oxford, Mississippi are available from one of the three groups which cooperated in its publication: Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Atlanta 3, Georgia; Human Relations Project, National Student YWCA, Suite 301, 41 Exchange Place, S.E., Atlanta 3, Georgia; Southern Student Project, United States National Student Association, Room 701, 41 Exchange Place, S.E., Atlanta 3, Georgia.

"The Unreported Crisis in the Southern Schools," C. Vann Woodward, Harper's Magazine, October 1962.

"Negro Youth's New March on Dixie," Ben H. Bagdikian, Saturday Evening Post, September 8, 1962.

Mississippi Free Press, (Weekly) 1253 Valley Street, Jackson, Mississippi. $4.00 per year - $2.50 for six months. Samples on request.

(over)

"Freedom in the Air" (record) a documentary on Albany, Georgia, produced by The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, $4.00, 6 Raymond Street, N. W., Atlanta 14, Georgia

"Black Merchants of Hate," Alfred Black and Alex Haley, Saturday Evening Post, January 26, 1963.

A pamphlet called "Voter Registration in the South: The Student's Role," will soon be published by Students for a Democratic Society, 112 East 19th Street, New York 3, New York. Edited by Sandra Cason Hayden, the pamphlet will include political analyses of voter registration, several case studies and a critical bibliography.

"Notes from a Region in My Mind," James Baldwin, The New Yorker, November 17, 1962.

"My Negro Problem - And Ours," Norman Podhoretz (editor of) Commentary, February, 1963.

"The Ivy-League Integrationists," The Reporter, February 14, 1963, on the Northern Student Movement.

CU/SR

National Student YWCA
Southern Region
Human Relations Project
41 Exchange Place, S.E.
Suite 301
Atlanta 3, Georgia

NATIONAL STUDENT YWCA
SOUTHERN REGION
41 EXCHANGE PLACE, S. E., SUITE 301
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

ATLANTA GA.

FEB 18 1963

Mr. Jack Minnis
Voter Registration Projec
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

F O R Y O U R I N F O R M A T I O N

The attached material is a compilation of varied and sundry bits of information assembled by the Human Relations Special Project Staff Internes of the National Student YWCA, Southern Region - Miss Mary E. King and Miss Roberta Yancy.

Memorandum

March 11, 1963

WB

To: Mr. Wiley Branton
Southern Regional Council

From: Jacklyn Wilkes JW-a

MAR 12 1963

National Student Y.W.C.A.
Southern Region
Suite 301, 41 Exchange Place, S.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia
Telephone: Jackson 5-2372

Enclosed you will find a copy of the first announcement regarding the Summer Conference, June 2-8. You will note we have described very briefly the aspect we will pursue with your help.

I expect to be in Atlanta March 25 through April 12 and will contact you during this time for some more detail regarding the team work.

Many students have already said this sounds "great" to them.

JW:fd
Encl.

Signed in Miss Wilkes' absence.

THE CITY: DIALOGUE AND ENCOUNTER
June 2-8, 1963
INTERDENOMINATIONAL THEOLOGICAL CENTER
ATLANTA, GA.

SPONSORED BY THE SOUTHERN REGION
NATIONAL STUDENT YWCA

CONFERENCE SEMINARS:

ISSUES IN HOUSING
POWER STRUCTURE AND CHANGE
DESIGN FOR EDUCATION
CHANGING ROLES FOR WOMEN

"dialogue with the policy makers"

"encounter the forces of change"

Teams of four to eight students and a non-student resource will work four hours a day on the team project of their choice. Team projects will be:

AN INDEPENDENT STUDY--with the help of the community council and the League of Women Voters. Studying the resources and policies of Georgia's work with youth.

WITH THE YWCA AND THE AFSC--investigating the employment possibilities and problems for women.

WITH THE VOTER REGISTRATION PROJECT--two teams will work in the field of voter registration. One will survey to discover voter potential; one will do actual voter registration work.

WITH THE ATLANTA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS--surveying a suburban area to define attitudes related to urban renewal.

WITH THE URBAN RENEWAL STAFF--interviewing persons to be relocated in the processes of redevelopment of the city.

WITH AN INNER-CITY CHURCH-- uncovering the pressures which permit substandard housing to exist.

WITH THE LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS--discovering what the mobility patterns of our population mean with regard to citizen rights and responsibilities.

WITH THE GEORGIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS--Study of the attitudes and atmosphere of a small town near Atlanta, preparatory to developing an educational campaign. Work on printed and visual aid media.

NOTES FROM THE SOUTH

APR 3 1963

HUMAN RELATIONS SPECIAL PROJECT of the NATIONAL STUDENT YWCA in the SOUTHERN REGION

By Staff Internes:
MARY KING
and
BOBBI YANCY

YWCA Voter Registration Project

The National Student YWCA in the Southern Region and the Ecumenical Voluntary Commission of the National Student Christian Federation will co-sponsor a Voter Registration and Education Project in Nashville, Tennessee, from June 22nd through August 17th. The major goal of the project will be to stimulate qualified Negroes to vote. Other emphases are: assistance in developing citizenship, education, and organization in a specific section of the city; and the gathering of data on urban Negro political interest.

The project will work with a local committee consisting of representatives from existing civil rights and voter registration groups. The project will have a maximum of sixteen student participants. Students from all sections of the country with experience and understanding in the area of civil rights are invited to apply.

The group will live in or near the working area and will work out its own discipline and procedures. A fee of $115.00 will cover board, insurance, and administrative and leadership costs. Some scholarship aid is available. Applications are available from this office and must be received by April 15th. Selection of participants will be made by a joint committee representing both organizations by April 30th.

Conference on Urban Problems

"The City: Dialogue and Encounter" will be the theme for a work conference sponsored by the National Student YWCA in the Southern Region, June 2nd - 8th, in Atlanta, Georgia. Teams of four to eight students will work four hours a day on one of eight projects. Several of the projects are: studying the resources and policies of Georgia's work with youth with the help of the community council and the League of Women Voters; investigating employment possibilities and problems with resources from the YWCA and the American Friends' Service Committee Merit Employment Program; voter registration and survey; a survey of attitudes related to urban renewal with the Greater Atlanta Council on Human Relations.

A special seminar in "The Changing Roles of Men and Women" will be held for non-students.

COLLEGES

Atlanta University

The Henry Grady hotel in Atlanta is named after the man who coined the phrase "The New South," and is owned and leased by the state of Georgia. On March 13 five students from the Atlanta University complex (one white) "slept-in" in the lobby of the hotel after they were refused rooms. A white female student at Spelman College had made reservations for the five and when she arrived alone she was shown to her room. The Negro students arrived soon after and she accompanied them to the registration desk where they were told that there were no more rooms. When two students were arrested for refusing to leave, Negro and white students from the Atlanta University center began picketing with signs such as "Dallas, Houston, Miami - Why Not Atlanta?"

The next day about 400 students from the Atlanta University center marched on City Hall to protest hotel segregation and to ask for a conference with Mayor Ivan Allen, Jr. The students converged on City Hall singing "Freedom, freedom, freedom's coming and

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it won't be long." The mayor was presented with a letter from the Atlanta University-based Committee on Appeal for Human Rights. The letter read in part, "It is our opinion that, despite many attempts at negotiation with prominent officials of the hotels in the city, the progress being made is almost negligible.... We must say in all candor that we plan to use every legal and non-violent means to our disposal to secure full citizenship rights."

Following the demonstration, the Atlanta Journal wrote, "We have been making haste so slowly on this question for so long now that when the decision to desegregate is reached it should have no shock value at all. It will be simply part of an orderly pattern dictated by common sense."

Prior to this it was announced that the airport Hilton Inn is now desegregated.

Rice University

Trustees of Rice University asked a federal district court to authorize removal of a racial barrier included in the will that founded the school. Industrialist William Marsh Rice wrote before his death, "Texas received me when I was penniless, without friends... and now in the evening of my life I recognize my obligations to her and her children. I wish now to leave to the boys and girls ... the fortune that I have been able to accumulate." It is good that the trustees recognize that there are Negro children of Texas.

University of Kentucky

Early in March the Interfaith Council at the University of Kentucky drew up a letter requesting managers of restaurants in Lexington to desegregate their facilities. Student Congress voted to reject the Council's proposal on March 3rd, because it was felt that the letter indicated that U.K. students would boycott any establishment which would not put the recommendations into effect.

In a letter to the editor of the Kentucky Kernel, the U.K. newspaper, 27 Negro students asked, "Just what is the prime interest of the Student Congress, to protect the small businesses surrounding the University campus or to protect the best interest of the students?"

The Interfaith Council revised its' letter to read, "The great majority of our members are definitely willing to patronize an integrated restaurant." Student Congress chose to endorse the proposal.

In a survey conducted by the Kentucky Kernel 57% of the U.K.'s students said that they would object to rooming with a Negro, while more than two-thirds of the students stated that they would not object to living next door to a Negro student.

Mercer University

Mercer University in Macon, Georgia is currently agonizing over a definition of a Negro because of an application from an African student who was converted to Christianity by a Mercer graduate. (Can a student from any foreign country really desegregate an American college?)

Mississippi State University

Congratulations to the Mississippi State Bulldogs for recognizing the Union through its participation in the N.C.A.A. basketball playoffs. They won a moderate third place.

Clemson College

The Clemson College student newspaper, The Tiger, carried a letter not long ago which hits the nail on the head. It was in reaction to an article in the March 16, 1963 Saturday Evening Post

entitled "Integration with Dignity" about the recent desegregation of Clemson College. The letter said that the "Article dealt mainly with the endeavors of a few prominent politicians and businessmen. Granted, they did a fine job and should be commended. However, without the cooperation of the Clemson students and the general public of South Carolina, all their talks and planning would have been in vain." A gaping hole was left in the article when mention was omitted of the preparation by students and student groups and the fact that "the students of Clemson College were the real reason for the success of peaceful integration in South Carolina."

Morgan State College

Since 1955 Morgan State College (primarily Negro, Baltimore, Maryland) students have been working to gain admittance to nearby Northwood Movie Theatre. Recently, joined by white students from Johns Hopkins University and Goucher College, the members of the Civic Interest Group were finally successful in purchasing a ticket, but it cost the jailing of over 400 students who were crowded six and seven into small cells and overflowed into the prison corridors.

Fisk University

Eight Fisk University students were sentenced to 90 days on workhouse gangs and fined $50.00 each in Nashville for attempting to eat at the B&W Cafeteria. They were convicted of interfering with commerce and business. The main issue involved is the integration of privately owned (public) facilities and the case is probably headed for the Supreme Court.

Included in the group of students was John Lewis, Chairman of the Student Nonviolent Movement in Nashville. Also active with the Nashville Student Nonviolent Movement have been students from Tennessee A & I State University, Peabody Teachers College, and a professor and students from Vanderbilt University.

Arkansas AM&N

Fifteen students have been expelled from Arkansas AM&N College because they participated in sit-ins and anti-segregation activities. This recent violation of academic freedom is as picturesque as any that historian C. Vann Woodward highlighted in his article "The Unreported Crisis in the Southern Schools," in the October 1962 issue of Harpers magazine. As a result of these students' efforts three restaurants have been desegregated, and attacks are being continued on Woolworth's and Walgreen's. SNCC field secretary Bill Hansen was beaten and stomped on during a sit-in by a white youth while police looked on. This is the first strong attack on segregation in Arkansas since school desegregation in Little Rock.

Mississippi Southern University

About the same time that Clyde Kennard was undergoing surgery for cancer, John Frazier, president of the student body at Campbell Junior College, said that he would make another effort to be admitted to Mississippi Southern University at Hattiesburg. As a result of attempting to do the same thing in 1958 Kennard was sentenced to a seven-year prison term for alledgedly stealing chicken feed. After serving two years of his sentence and in a condition "near death," Kennard's sentence was indefinitely suspended, no thanks to the Justice Department. Frazier will continue to try for entrance during the summer quarter. Frazier said that he wanted to "prove to myself and the world that authorities at Southern are fair-minded and will accept me without a court fight."

Mary Washington College

A scheduled concert of the Williams College Glee Club at Mary Washington College of the University of Virginia in Fredericksburg, Virginia was cancelled because Mary Washington refused to

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house two Negro members of the Glee Club. Plans still called for the Glee Club to continue its itinerary for Goucher College (Baltimore) and Hollins College, (Hollins College, Virginia) both womens' colleges.

COLLEGE PRESS

University of Kentucky

An editorial in the U.K.'s Kentucky Kernel called for withdrawal from the Southeastern Conference and recruitment of Negro athletes: "We can stand up and tell the world that we, a Southern University, are sick and tired of having a doctrine of inferiority rammed down our throats." (We hope that U.K. will soon be able to swallow easily.)

Tulane University

The Tulane University (New Orleans) newspaper, The Hullabaloo, recently reprinted an editorial from the University of Alabama's Crimson & White. Following are a few lines from that editorial: "An invitation for Gus Hall, chairman of the American Communist Party, to speak at Yale University was withdrawn this month. Also, George Lincoln Rockwell, self-styled fuhrer of the American Nazi Party, was quite recently denied the right to speak at Indiana and Northwestern. We are unalterably opposed to this basic limitation on freedom of speech... Mississippi Governor Ross Barnett spoke at Harvard this month without converting the Harvard Student Body to his brand of conservatism... Despite the dim ideas of some college administrators toward the intellectual capacities of their students, the students are capable of applying reason to the speeches they hear. So the argument that these men subvert the government by speaking is discredited."

University of Alabama

Melvin Meyer, editor of the University of Alabama student newspaper, Crimson & White, was named "outstanding student editor of the year" by the United States Student Press Association for his "courageous and significant contribution to American student journalism." Meyer was attacked by his university, fellow students, governor of his state and the Ku Klux Klan. His life was repeatedly threatened, a cross was burned on the lawn of his fraternity house, and the university was forced to hire two body guards, as a result of the printing of an editorial which called for integration in the South on "moral,legal and pragmatic" grounds.

University of South Carolina

The student newspaper of the University of South Carolina, The Gamecock, in the February 8 issue carried a column by graduate student, Hayes Mizell in which he asked, "But was Gantt's entry actual progress or mere realism? Granting that progress is a relative term and that in the case of South Carolina realism might be considered commensurate with progress, it would appear that this state must prove herself in other areas before she can be considered as entering into a progressive era." He then called upon members of the General Assembly to "... Have the honesty to present (the tuition grant plan) for what it really is -- a device to side-step federal decree, promote discrimination at public expense, and further cripple our educational system."

Spelman College

The front page of the Spelman Spotlight, student newspaper at Spelman College in Atlanta, recently carried this item: "According to an unofficial Federal edict, high-level government employees are prohibited from addressing segregated groups. However, recently as in the past, Robert M. Ball, Commissioner of Social Security for the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, acted as guest speaker at a three-day lily-white conference of the

Fulton County (Atlanta) Welfare Department. Twenty Negro employees were asked to attend but all withdrew when separate accomodations were made by the owners of Atlanta's much talked about Dinkler-Plaza Hotel."

MISSISSIPPI

Delta Poverty

Greenwood, Mississippi is the "Land of Emmett Till," part of the Delta and located in Leflore County where Negroes outnumber whites 2 to 1. According to the Civil Rights Commission only .9% of the Negroes of voting age in Leflore County are registered. According to the State Education Department's Division of Finance and Administration $175.38 is spent yearly for education per white student and $9.52 for Negro students in Leflore County. The local Board of Supervisors has cut off 22,000 people (90% Negro) from federal commodity aid in retaliation for their voter registration efforts. In the past few months shootings and hunger have reached sufficient heights to arouse national attention to what it means to be a Negro who wants to vote in the Delta.

"From February 19th-21st," writes Charles Cobb, a student working on voter registration in Greenville, Mississippi, "22 persons have made registration attempts. This is directly due to our food program. The commodity roll in Washington County has been reduced by 10,000. The cotton season has been a poor one for hand pickers. Their need is much, but we have little since most goes for Leflore and Sunflower."

Contributions of food, clothing and money for Delta residents whose surplus food supply has been cut off should be sent to: Samuel Block, c/o Wesley Methodist Church, 800 Howard Street, Greenwood, Mississippi.

Near Fatal Shooting

On February 28th, James Travis, 20 year old field secretary for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, was driving from Greenwood to Greenville, Mississippi, accompanied by Robert Moses, director of the SNCC's statewide Mississippi project, and Randolph Blackwell, field director of the Atlanta-based Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council, when three white men fired into his car. According to Moses, the car was an untagged white 1962 Buick which had tailed them from the Greenwood office for seven miles. All side windows in Travis' car were smashed. Travis received a shoulder wound and another bullet entered the back of his skull and became lodged behind his spine.

Greenwood police arrested two white men in connection with the shooting, charging them with "felonious assault."

Despite his near fatal wounds Travis has vowed: "I am going back to Greenwood. People there need all the help they can get. They are hungry, and their children are hungry, but they want to register and vote."

Burnings and Lawlessness

Four buildings adjacent to the SNCC's Greenwood office were destroyed by fire several weeks ago. Samuel Block, a SNCC field secretary, was arrested and charged with "public utterances calculated to cause a breach of peace" after he said that the fire was started by persons who wished to burn the SNCC office in retaliation for SNCC's distribution of food sent from Chicago.

At midnight on Sunday, March 24th, SNCC's Greenwood office was destroyed by fire.

In the March 19 edition of the New York Post columnist James Wechsler wrote: "Nothing the U. S. government has done in Mississippi has convinced Block and his 'freedom fighters' that they have any real personal protection against the lawless local

(OVER)

structure.

"Nor do they have any faith in the willingness of the Associated Press bureau in that state to transmit the full and true story of their travail. (They have some kinder words for UPI.)

"But loneliness and isolation seem unterrifying to such men. It is a cruel joke on the white supremacists that the indestructible figure in the modern South so often turns out to be black."

(A cruel joke? Or is it merely the ironic twist of a poor experiment?)

Shots were fired late in the evening of March 26th into the home of Dewey Green, Sr., shortly after George Green, one of the students working on voter registration had entered his home. George Green's brother, Dewey Green, Jr., is a recent applicant to the University of Mississippi.

Recent Arrest

James Foreman, Executive Secretary of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and 10 field secretaries were arrested in Greenwood, Mississippi on March 27th, as they were taking groups of Negroes to register and vote. They were charged with inciting to riot.

Land of Terror

Speaking of certain sections of Mississippi and Louisiana, Senator Allen Ellender, Democrat of Louisiana, recently stated that, "The white people are just scared to death by all the Negroes in those areas where the Negroes are in the majority. If they get the vote, why they'll have all the offices in those parishes - counties - of course." He went a bit further and said, "It's the states who should determine who should and should not vote."

In thirteen Mississippi counties there are no Negroes registered to vote. Only 4.4% of the Negroes of voting age in the state are registered. Is this what the senator from Louisiana will permit a state to determine?

The Mississippi Advisory Committee to the U. S. Civil Rights Commission reported in February that, "Mississippi is a land of terror for Negroes who refuse to accept their color as a badge of inferiority." For the Travis's, the Block's and other native black Mississippians, the badge of inferiority is a gaudy and worthless antique.

Public School Desegregation

The first federal suit to desegregate Mississippi public schools has been filed by six Negro families in Jackson. They have requested a preliminary injunction hearing before Federal District Judge Harold Cox on April 12th. State law authorizes the closing of any public school to prevent desegregation.

Members of the State Board of Education, the Mississippi Economic Council and the Parent-Teacher Association said recently that the schools must remain open. State Superintendent of Education, Jack Tubb, said not long ago that, "Closing the schools would bring to a halt the wheels of industry on the borders of our state and destroy the dreams we have had for a great state whose economy would be based upon agriculture and a great industry."

The Justice Department has filed a suit involving schools in the Harrison County "impacted area" on behalf of children of Negro military and governmental personnel in that area. "Impact areas" receive federal funds to compensate for enrollment increases caused by children from families of federal personnel. Similar suits have been filed in Alabama and Georgia.

In September the Department of Health, Education and Welfare will provide on-base schools so that children living on military bases "will no longer be required to attend segregated schools at federal expense," according to President Kennedy.

According to James Quigley, Assistant Secretary of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, if the parents of military dependent children wish to continue to send their children to local schools, be they segregated or not, the government will continue to pay the local school boards "federal-impact" money.

IN SOUTHERN CITIES

Birmingham, Alabama

On April 2nd, former Lt. Governor Albert Boutwell and Commissioner Eugene (Bull) Connor will meet in a runoff for the mayoralty of Birmingham. Bull Connor is from the old school, so to speak, which permitted the riots during the Freedom Rides and attempted to punish Negroes by cutting off surplus food. In the first City Council government since 1911, the city commission which allowed Bull Connor to achieve a one-man reign of fear over the city's Negroes will be replaced. Two Negro candidates survived the primary last month and are among eighteen seeking seats on the nine-man council.

Eugene Patterson, editor of the Atlanta Constitution wrote, "The Birmingham press is speaking. Boutwell has newspaper backing. Many Alabamans are trying to lay a restraining hand on Governor Wallace. Moreover -- and with politics and the mayor's race aside -- Birmingham's long-accepting people and their business leadership are beginning to demand something better than they have been getting in bovernment-by-stridency. A great weariness of fear and foolishness is growing in the South and it can be sensed now in Birmingham."

Albany, Georgia

There is vertical integration in Albany, Georgia now which is probably a huge mistake. Because feet hurt regardless of color. And when people start telling each other about their aching feet, and leaning on each other for support, it's going to be something else down there. Carnegie Library in Albany, Georgia was recently opened for a 30-day trial period on an integrated basis..... with no chairs. The Southwest Georgia city has decided to drop all segregation ordinances and to leave the race problems to individual citizens. The Atlanta Journal cites a spokesman for the city as saying: "This action simply gets the city out of the legal position of attempting to compel any practice of any individual operating a business."

New Orleans, Louisiana

Bargain of the month: The New Orleans White Citizens Council has just warned the city of Dayton, Ohio to expect a group of reverse "freedom riders" soon. (Visit ancient New Orleans friends and ride home for freedom. The more you cooperate the quicker the Council's budget will be dissolved.)

Atlanta, Georgia

Two articles have recently appeared about Atlanta and Georgia, one in the Saturday Evening Post entitled "Progress Goes Marching Through Georgia," (February 16, 1963) and the other in Hearst class Town and Country called "The Miracle in Atlanta," (February, 1963). We hear they almost weren't published as a result of what Editor Eugene Patterson of the Atlanta Constitution called "an absurd fence across a road to wall off Negroes." One way to solve the dilemma of being forced to puncture myths about Atlanta's liberality by a full story was simply to stop short of the "little Berlin wall" incident.

On March 1, 1963 a Fulton Superior Court Judge ruled the barricades illegal and unconstitutional and within an hour the construction department had been asked to tear them down. On March 2, the roads were cleared. Just prior to that however, it had been announced that a Negro real estate man had bought a home south of the wall. Earlier, Georgia Governor Carl Sanders ("In my case, a 'moderate' means that I'm a segregationist but not a damned fool.") had unwittingly made a pun in an interview with a UPI reporter when he said, "Georgia has a great reservoir of people with fiber and moral courage. They are coming out of the walls these days."

FEDERAL FRONT

The U. S. Commission on Civil Rights presented a report to President Kennedy in February in which it was concluded that "the last battle for equal rights" for the Negro may have to be fought in the North. In the South, the report stated, "the irrestible force is moving the object which was thought to be immovable. Progress is slow and often painful, but it is steady and it appears to be inevitable." The inevitability of this force is often in spite of, rather than because of, governmental aid as any observer of the struggle in the South can say. And as far as the civil rights acts of 1957 and 1960 go, the Atlanta Journal said on March 7 that the acts "Have strong provisions which the administration has not chosen to utilize fully.

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Those working for rights in Mississippi and numerous potential Albanys know that this administration's record is clear, although not as clean as it might be, only where a stark breakdown of law and order was imminent such as at Oxford, Mississippi.

In the December 1, 1962 issue of The Nation, ("Kennedy: The Reluctant Emancipator") Howard Zinn, Professor of History at Spelman College pointed out that although voting rights are protected by specific legislation of the Civil Rights Acts, the First Amendment rights of free speech and assembly and the guarantees of the Fourteenth Amendment for equal treatment by local officials are not. He said that "The national government has an undeserved reputation, both among Southern opponents and Northern supporters, as a vigorous combatant for Negro rights." He continued that this administration is acting essentially the same as its predecessors when you compare it not to past performances but to today's demands. In the case of Albany, Georgia in particular, "The federal government showed cautiousness to the point of timidity." (Professor Zinn's full report on Albany - a study in national responsibility - is available from the Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Atlanta 3, Georgia.)

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Unsung Heroes

On January 31, 1963, the Manchester Guardian said the following about the members of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee: "They are the commandos, fighting not only the enemy but against the apathy of their own side, committed to nonviolence against an enemy who often has no answer but violence. They are no more beloved than commandos ever are --- senior Negro strategists often frown on them for stirring up trouble, especially if the strategists are far from the suffering of the front line --- but they have a panache that sends them sweeping successfully about the South with hardly a dime in their pockets....

"Deviously and subtly, the idea is being sown in the receptive minds of some senators that there must be some Reds in so militant an organisation, and this of course could be an excellent way of trying to kill off the organisation without facing what it represents....

"But if they are not in the least committed to communism, they are no more committed to the America of Madison Avenue and the Rat-Race: they are obviously much closer to a Jeffersonian idealism in their dangerous and often painful task, and their meetings are always full of Christian songs and feeling (much more so than the segregated churches of the South.)"

The author, W. J. Weatherby, continued about the fall meeting at Fisk University in Nashville, "Then, as if cleansing themselves of the bitterness... they sang out their freedom song. 'We Are Not Afraid...' went out over the Fisk campus, mocking not only the segregationists in the town but also those Negroes still sunk in apathy in the fraternities and sororities."

Freedom Singers

The Freedom Singers -- four young people with experience as field secretaries for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee -- have just begun the second part of an extended tour of Northern colleges, They have completed forty-eight concerts in the North.

Request from SNCC

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee urges that protests be made to the national offices of chain stores where segregation policies are being attacked by the Jackson, Mississippi, NAACP Youth Council. The stores include: Bakers Shoes; Bell Brothers Shoes; Bomar Shoes; Garyson's Dress Shops; H.L. Green's; J. C. Penney's; Lerner's Dress Shops; National Shirt Shops; Nora Day Shop; Owens Ltd.; Parisian; Schobilt; Shainberg's; Thom McCann Shoes: Walgreen's and Woolworth's.

IMPRESSIONS

LENA HORNE announced that she was leaving her career as night club singer to get into a production of political satire which would finally bring pressure to help the southern student movement and the cause of freedom generally. She said she was "astounded and overwhelmed by the courage and sheer power of those young students in the South. " "Let's face it," she remarked, "All Negroes have the

same problems; we're hampered and limited in no matter what we undertake." She continued, "I believe in politics and this freedom fight could also use some Madison Avenue arranging. Those Southern students are pointing the way. I'm inspired by their actions and in my way, I want to do my best. I won't sit and vegetate."

RALPH MCGILL, highly regarded publisher of the Atlanta Constitution, said last week over Atlanta television that during his extended stay in West Africa two-thirds of the questions directed to him were about racial problems in America. "We live not in glass houses, but in a glass world and something that happens anywhere is known around the world," he said. He continued that Africans know about Mississippi and Little Rock, and that in fact there had been two column headlines in one newspaper when the Atlanta wall went down.

After the demonstration about hotel segregation before City Hall by 400 Atlanta University students, BOB ZELLNER, field secretary for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee said, "During the demonstration which has just ended, a white man, obviously from the lower socio-economic level, approached me as I was taking pictures. He said, 'If you don't look out Mister Reporter, in a few years those niggers are going to take your job away from you.' Knowing that I was a field secretary for SNCC I thought to myself that I certainly hoped they didn't take my job away from me because I see this as an integrated movement."

Recently, at a public affairs forum called the Hungry Club, EUGENE PATTERSON, Editor of the Atlanta Constitution remarked, "I thought I would be full of fear, worry, and trepidation (regarding racial progress) but I, as a South Georgia born man, feel relief." He continued that, "The South may astonish itself by finding that it can solve its problems in good faith sooner than the North. We are not just discovering our problems here, we are working on them." Further, "The North is being shaken with doubt in the face of demands it had not forseen; it has some distance to go along the melancholy paths which the South has already travelled."

"The role of the Northern student," said JULIAN BOND (Administrative Assistant to the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee) "is fourfold: to raise funds, to act in supporting groups, to attack problems in his own locale, and to join in the fight wherever he finds himself."

STUDENT CONFERENCES

National Student Association

The South Central Region of the U. S. National Student Association will sponsor the second Deep South Human Relations Seminar for students from Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana and Arkansas, April 11th-13th at Xavier University in New Orleans. Five workshops will deal with such topics as: "Techniques of Change;" Academic Freedom;" Southern Religion at the Crossroads;" and "The Image of the Southerner in American Culture." The planning committee consists of students from seven colleges in New Orleans.

Young Adult Council

An All-South Human Relations Youth Conference will be held May 2nd - 5th at Chapel Hill, North Carolina sponsored by the Young Adult Council. Leaders from southern rural and labor groups, and colleges will convene to consider the relation of human relations to economics, politics, religion, international affairs and education. Mrs. Constance Baker Motley, NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund head attorney for the Ole Miss and Clemson College cases will give the keynote address.

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee

Over 300 students from every Southern state, and several Northern states, are expected to attend the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee's annual conference here on Easter weekend, April 12th - 14th. There will be workshops on Nonviolence, Voter Registration, Direct Action and the history of the protest movement for the participants who have been active in anti- segregation campaigns.

March, 1963

YWCA Project

FOR YOUR INFORMATION

Memorandum

May 28, 1963

MAY 29 1963

To: Mr. Wiley Branton

From: Jacklyn Wilkes
Conference Executive

National Student Y.W.C.A.
Southern Region
Suite 301, 41 Exchange Place, S.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia
Telephone: Jackson 5-2372

Re: June 2-8, 1963 Summer Conference
National Student YWCA, Southern Region

"The City: Dialogue and Encounter" is the comprehensive title of the conference with which you have volunteered to spend some of your time. The overall objective is to understand the social, political, economic forces that are moving Atlanta toward change. The hope is that the students will be able to understand the same forces in their home town or college town and gain experience which will enable them to work within this changing framework.

You will want to know something about these students.

1. They are evenly divided in classification, rising sophomores, juniors, seniors in college.

2. They come from such schools as: Duke, University of Kentucky, Tuskegee, Talladega, Westhampton, Salem, Grambling, Spelman.

3. They are all members of YWCAs on their campus.

WBL
JML

UNITED STATES NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION

3457 CHESTNUT STREET • PHILADELPHIA 4, PA. • AREA CODE 215 • BAring 2-1106 • CABLE, NATSTUD

July 18, 1963

JUL 19 1963

Mr. Randolf Blackwell
Director of Field Work
Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Blackwell:

This is by way of a more formal thank you for your participation in the NSA Leadership Institute. As I think you know, the students enjoyed your presentation and were able to see things more clearly because of it.

Because you and others are willing to take time from crowded schedules to work with the Institute, I feel confident that the program will contribute substantially to the development of these young leaders.

Once again, on behalf of the Institute participants and staff, our appreciation for your participation in the program.

Sincerely,

Paul Potter

Paul Potter
Institute Director

PP:rp

ASSOCIATED WITH: American Council on Education • International Student Conference • U. S. Commission for UNESCO • World University Service • Council on Student Travel • Young Adult Council • American Association for the U.N. • Nat'l Scholarship Service & Fund for Negro Students

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University of Notre Dame
Assistant to the President
DOROTHEA M. KRISCH
Saint John's University

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Loyola of the South
Director, Academic Freedom Project
NEAL JOHNSTON
University of Chicago
Administrative Assistant
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Student Government Information Service Director
MARCIA KIRKPATRICK
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UNITED STATES NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION

3457 CHESTNUT STREET • PHILADELPHIA 4, PA. • AREA CODE 215 • BAring 2-1106 • CABLE, NATSTUD

July 18, 1963

Mr. Wiley Branton, Director
Voter Registration Project
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

JUL 19 1963

Dear Mr. Branton:

Let me begin this letter by expressing my appreciation to you for the assistance your staff has given us in developing and holding the Civil Rights Leadership Institute that the National Student Association is sponsoring here this summer. It was particularly important to us to have the help of Randolf Blackwell in our opening sessions on Negro History and Movements.

As I think you know, the Civil Rights Leadership Institute is a program designed to give young leaders who are working in hard core protest areas an opportunity to study economics, politics, history and other material as it relates to the civil rights movement and to the life experience of the participants. It is our hope that you would find it possible to talk to us about voter registration and the VEP. The group clearly needs to work with material about voter registration, its progress, possible effects on the South, limitations, financing, programming, areas of greatest impact and techniques of implementation.

From Monday, July 29th, to Wednesday, July 31st*, we will be dealing with Southern Politics (see enclosed curriculum, pp. 7-8). Although the curriculum for this section has been changed substantially, you should be able to get some idea of what we wish to accomplish here by reading over it. We would like to have you speak on Wednesday morning at 9:30. Should this not be possible, another time might be arranged during this section or even during some other unit. However, the Wednesday morning time is the best for us.

Should it be possible for you to come, I will be in touch with you on more details.

Sincerely yours,

Paul Potter
Paul Potter
Institute Director

PP:rp

*WAB could not attend. JM. speak at meeting.

1 - Agencies
NSA

President
W. DENNIS SHAUL
University of Notre Dame
Assistant to the President
DOROTHEA M. KRISCH
Saint John's University

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USNSA CIVIL RIGHTS LEADERSHIP INSTITUTE

Curriculum

By way of introduction it should be made clear that this curriculum is not a final or definitive work. It will always be subject to change in light of the personal preference of the resource personnel or the experience of the staff and participants in the Institute itself. It should be stressed, however, that the curriculum combined with the paper on Teaching Method, Goals and Procedures does attempt to express a unity of approach and purpose that we hope will be shared by all of those who work with the Institute.

Generally, the seminar approach is used at a highly advanced level where it is assumed that individual students are equipped to make their own integration of the material presented by different participants and resource people. But the Institute is not such a program. Most of its participants will be receiving an introduction to these materials and the intellectual processes which allow their integration. For this reason, each resource person must be prepared to bring his knowledge to the students in pretty much their own terms. Beyond that it is our hope that through familiarity with this curriculum and the other background materials on the Institute, resource personnel will be able to see how their contribution fits into the total Institute program not simply as a category of subject matter but more importantly as part of a process of intellectual growth and maturation for a key group of young civil rights leaders.

I. NEGRO HISTORY AND NEGRO MOVEMENTS
Tuesday July 16 - Thursday July 18
Unit Teacher - Miss Ella Baker

Examination and Introduction, Tuesday morning. A brief introduction session which talks about the Institute, goals, process, rules and other mechanics. Followed by examinations which will be used to evaluate progress at the end of the Institute and also to act as staff aids in preliminary consultations with participants.

Perspectives on the Movement, Tuesday afternoon, evening and Wednesday morning. Ella Baker and Vincent Harding. Miss Baker would begin with a discussion of "The Movement as Part of History," which should introduce the students to the broad historical trends in Negro history and American history which have led to the current movement. This talk should also place the movement in the historical and contemporary perspective of the struggle of oppressed groups for freedom throughout the world.

Discussion groups -- focusing on the problem that for most students the movement is seen as something that began

in 1960. Questions: Is it important to understand the past? What can we expect to learn from history? What three or four questions should we ask of history -- quite specifically? What relevance do other struggles have to our own? What key concepts emerge from Miss Baker's talk?

Mr. Harding will discuss "The Movement as a Moral Struggle -- Values and Goals." Although this talk deals with very common themes it should be presented in such a way as to force participants to confront issues that are frequently swept under the carpet with standard rhetoric.

Discussion groups -- a fairly unstructured reaction to Mr. Harding's talk with some attempt to gather together the days conversation as a capsul of much of the material the Institute will consider.

Wednesday morning Miss Baker will speak on "The Movement as a Struggle for Personal Emancipation," a discussion of the struggle of the Negro to find identity in a society hostile to that effort. This talk should touch on some of the social-psychology of race relations theory but the main emphasis would be to draw lines between the problems of self-image and the building of a movement. One possible approach might be to examine this dilemma as embodied in the biography of various Negro leaders such as James Baldwin, George Washington Carver, Malcomb X, Thurgood Marshall, James Weldon Johnson, Felton Clarke, Bob Moses. (A possible project for several or all of the participants would be to read something by one of the above individuals and write a critical commentary on him as a cultural and political leader of Negroes. These reports could be read and discussed at a later date in discussion groups.)

Discussion -- How can we and people in our communities answer the dilemma of personal emancipation? To what extent will our answer be a personal one and to what extent will it be dictated by the conditions of our communities and nature of our struggle (i.e. Mills - the intersection of biography and history)?

Staff Consultation and Reading, Wednesday afternoon. During the afternoon there will be time for reading while staff members hold preliminary, individual consultations with participants.

Walk in My Shoes, Wednesday evening. Showing of this or a similar piece as a supplement to the above.

The Negro in American History, Thursday. This will be a full day of more detailed and factually analytic presentation than those before. Three possible lectures would be "Slavery,

Emancipation, and Reconstruction," "The Freedman in the Agrarian South," and "The Negro in Industrial America." The three lectures should contribute to the knowledge of the participants about how each of these phases contributed to the Negroes condition, his politics, his changing economic role, etc. That is, they should be seen in light of their contribution to the current situation.

As a method of getting students to focus material on their personal and community experiences, a first problem paper should be given. Each individual or groups of individuals would be asked to prepare an outline of a discussion he would give in his community on Negro history. Only three major points could be made. Groups would be asked to present their outline to larger groups and defend their selection of the three major points.

II. SOUTHERN HISTORY
Friday July 19 - Saturday July 20
Unit Teacher, Dr. Paul Gaston.

Southern History and National History, Friday morning. A discussion of how the South's history has differentiated it from the nation as a region -- economically and socially. Also a discussion of the forces that have been generated since the turn of the century which are making Southern history more a part of a uniform national pattern.

Discussion -- How are the contrasts illuminated above illustrated in partcipants own community?

Southern History -- Dominent Themes and Continuities, Friday afternoon through Saturday morning. This part can consist of two or three lectures which stress the contours of Southern history as they flow out from particularly important areas of the past -- slavery, reconstruction (compromise of 1877), populist movements.

Discussion -- if any should deal here with the Negro's concept of Southern history -- what it is, if it is and how it may be developed as one of the tools ofpersonal emancipation.

III. PERSONAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF DISCRIMINATION
Monday, July 22 - Tuesday, July 23

The Viscious Circle, Monday morning. An introductory discus-

sion which emphasises the way patterns of discrimination effect personality and self-image; a repeat in more analytic terms of much of the material that was presented in the discussion of, "The Movement as a Struggle for Personal Emancipation" (July 17).

Discussion -- would consist of work groups directed at documenting the patterns of discrimination and their effects in a number of institutions and places of daily life. For example, one group might concentrate on the effect of discrimination in jobs -- How must it feel to say "boss" or "captain" and be called "boy"? To always work in the lowest rung? Other situations would include school, downtown, mass media. Churches? The family? An effort would also be made to consider how the white person reacts to these same situations. Why is it so hard for both Negroes and whites to break the pattern? Different groups could report to one another.

Systems of Discrimination and Their Effects, Monday afternoon. A description of two or three arch-types of discriminatory systems and their effects upon individuals. Included would be the plantation slave system as a source of Uncle Toms; The Negro ghetto that produces a Black Muslim; the half-way existence of middle-class professionals that produces the black bourgeoisie. The systems could be compared for common factors as well as dissimilarities.

Discussion -- a continuation of the first work groups except now there is an attempt to understand the patterns described earlier as part of a system. The job of the work group is to describte the discriminatory system of communities that are similar (people having been grouped on this basis). Specifically, people will be asked to attempt to determine what parts of the systems described in the lecture can be found in their own communities. Which system comes closest to describing your local situation? Can your community best be described as one system or as two or three coexisting?

Conformity and the Crutch, Monday evening. Showing of the Pedigrew movie followed by brief group discussion led by resource person.

Breaking Out of the Circle Tuesday morning and afternoon. A discussion of what must be changed in order for self-image to change. Environment vs. basic personality theory. The Movement as an example of one way in which change is accomplished. Must the break from the pattern of discrimination be radical or can it be accomplished over a long period of time? What are the implications for Negro culture of both methods of change?

Afternoon. Showing of the movie "Face to Face," another in the Pedigrew series.

Discussion -- review and analysis of this section with heavy emphasis on repeating key concepts.

IV. SOUTHERN ECONOMICS
Wednesday July 24 - Thursday July 25

The South as an Underdeveloped Region, Wednesday morning. A discussion of the Southern economy in its broadest outlines with special concentration on the problemsof the South as an underdeveloped region of the country. Broad trends that are changing the South should be charted.

Segregation and the Southern Economy, Wednesday afternoon. An analysis of the impact of economic factors on the development and continued maintenence of a system of segregation. Discussion should include such factors as the need for cheap labor and an understanding of how specific economic institutions help to perpetuate the system; one plant towns, one plantation counties, business and finance as nerve centers of segregation, unmechanized agriculture.

Economic Issues and the Local Community, Thursday morning. Should attempt here to show how the problems that have been discussed for the region are reflected in the community and how they may become issues for civil rights activity. Specifically there should be a discussion of unemployment, unavailability of credit, low pay, manipulation of welfare benefits, regressive taxation, etc. Also something should be said about the Negro economic community: why some Negro economic roles are more important than the same roles held by whites; areas of concentration of Negro wealth in the South; status quo orientation of some Negroes because ofinvestment in segregation.

Discussion -- are these issues relevant to civil rights activity in communities? To what extent are these issues which effect us especially as Negroes and to what extent are they simply the problems of poor people? If economic issues are important, how can they be made more real in the local community?

Organizing Around Economic Questions -- the Labor Movement and the South, Thursday afternoon. A discussion of the history of the labor movement in the South and the past andpresent efforts to organize around economic issues. The obstacle of racism.

The implications of automation, permanent unemployment, conservative government, and "runaway" business for organizing in the South. The impact of the Movement on labor in the South.

Film? Thursday evening.

V. SOUTHERN EDUCATION AND SCHOOL DESEGREGATION
Friday, July 26.

Problems in Southern Education, Friday morning. The presentation should single out some of the outstanding historical and contemporary problems in Southern education, trace their development and similarity to other regional issues and lags. Of especial importance would be a critical treatment of the development of Negro education in South and of the role of the Negro college. In this respect, the politics of education might be discussed as an example of the traditional method of political bargaining between Negro leadership and established white political power, the variety of contacts in this relationship, and the patterns of stress that have been created by the presence of a Civil Rights Movement.

The Role of Education in the South and in the Movement, Friday afternoon. A fairly general discussion that would treat the general topic of what education should be doing for citizens and also what it must do for the South as a region. On a different level, there should be a fairly direct discussion of the responsibilities of civil rights leaders to educate the people they work with. The idea that education is something that happens in schools and not outside them should be dealt with in direct relationship to the Civil Rights Movement.

Discussion -- what kind of education is provided in our communities? What is being done by the civil rights leadership to meet the educational needs of the community? Is it adequate? How can we assist in this process of education? How might adults be convinced that they need to inform themselves or gain basic skills such as literacy?

School Desegregation, Friday evening. It is important for the Institute participants to have some knowledge of the history and impact of the 1954 Supreme Court decision. Equally or more important would be an exploration of the human importance of school desegregation, the possibilities of actually bringing about complete desegregation, the importance of starting

suits in hard core areas, and the role that young civil rights leaders might play in this field.

VI. SOUTHERN POLITICS IN STATE AND NATION,
Monday, July 29 - Thursday, August 1
Unit Teacher - Staughton Lynd.

Introduction to Southern Politics, Monday morning. Staughton Lynd. It's probably important here to present some basic notion of what politics is, i.e. bring home at the outset the notion that politics is not a separate sector of life remote from other institutions and forces, but that politics provide a process for articulations and balancing of various issues and forces. Beyond this an overview of Southern politics should be presented emphasizing themes and continuities: regionalism and racism; the continuuing coalition of conservative, propertied interests with militant racists and poor; state political machines and one party politics. Also, some picture of the impact of Southern politics on the nation, the Dixiecrat-Republican coalition and its effects.

History of Southern Politics, Monday afternoon. The development of Southern political traditions; a more detailed discussion of such events as the Compromise of 1877 and the one party system. Also some sense of regional and state politics as distinct from national politics. Perhaps this could be documented with one or two examples of state political machines, how they were built, how they worked, and to whose advantage.

State workshops, Monday evening and then Tuesday and Wednesday evenings. These will be workshops organized by the staff to study the situations in the states of each major group in the Institute. Some work will be done on state political history, especially where a machine or clear factions are involved. But the majority of time will be spent on analysis of the current situation, political representation, centers of Negro insurgency, unemployment, industrial structure, records of state and local representatives, possibilities for political breakthroughs. As a focus for getting work down on paper, each group might be asked to map out a political strategy for their state for thenext year or perhaps even longer. Different state groups could then criticise the others work.

The Current Scene - Realignment or Retrenchment, Tuesday morning. An analysis of how the established political power in the South is attempting to respond to Negro political pressure -- through both massive resistance but also through tokenism. Ivan Allen might be profiled as an example of the

new political leader. Some discussion of how to elect officials committed to more thoroughgoing change should be presented. Conceivably this discussion might best be handled with a panel, bringing together people of differing viewpoints about the current situation.

Case Studies in Southern Political Movements, Tuesday afternoon and Wednesday morning. The presentation, as case studies of two political movements, populist and progressive, and their successes and failures. These case studies should at each point show the analogies that can be made with the current movement. The tactics that were used to thwart these movements should be documented, again emphasising the possibility of the same happening to the current generation of protest. There should perhaps be an opportunity on Wednesday afternoon to discuss these case studies and draw the analogies more clearly or that time might be used to work in state groups.

VI. ANALYSIS OF A SOUTHERN TOWN AND CITY: HOW COMMUNITIES WORK
Thursday, August 1 - Friday, August 2

Understanding Communities -- What They Are and How They Work, Thursday morning. This introductory talk should deal with the conceptual problem of what a community is -- one community or two. It should emphasize the commanlities to be found in Southern communities and also present some of the contrasts. More important however is an introduction to how one would go about understanding the operations of a community -- what kind of questions need to be asked? Students should come away with sign posts to look for in each of the case studies presented to them.

Discussion might start here by looking at the community survey forms that the participants brought with them. Small groups of three or four would attempt to find out what information was lacking and how the form might be used to better understand the working of the community. As a project students might be asked to continue work on their community study with other participants from their town with the idea of preparing a strategy of action to change some sector of the community.

Case Studies -- Power , Action and Change in Southern Communities, Thursday afternoon - Friday evening. Several case studies of differeing Southern communities, how programs of action were designed to change certain aspectsof those communities, successes and failures, plans for the future, commonalities and unique problems. If possible, the individuals presenting

case study materials would be encouraged to stay through the entire period and work with students from communities of similar type.

Discussion -- There are very rich possibilities here for problem solving sessions that deal with actual situations. Community resource people could be asked to present a problem that actually occurred without revealing the plan of action that was selected to deal with it. Students could then work out solutions in groups and compare these in discussion with the actual decisions that were made. Variations on this lend wide possibilities.

(Saturday could be used for an urban league bus tour of Atlanta or for continuation of group work on case studies or local strategies.)

VII. OTHER FREEDOM MOVEMENTS,
Monday, August 5

A look at two or three other freedom movements in other countries. Again an attempt to draw lines between what is happening in the South and other areas -- stressing points in common as well as unique aspects which flow from the particular cultural and political traditions. Three good examples would be South Africa, India and Latin America.

IX. THE MOVEMENT IN THE NORTH
AFTER THE LEGAL BARRIERS ARE GONE,
Tuesday, August 6.

History of the Negro in the Urban North, Tuesday morning. A discussion ofhow the Negroes experience has differed in the North, methods that have been used to combat discrimination, political power (1960 election), Negro politics and politicians. Analysis of why, despite these differences deprivation continues with such intensity. New patterns of leadership and action. All of this should be presented in a perspective which notes that the South is rapidly moving toward a state similart to that which currently exists in the North.

Discussion -- should focus on the somber prospect that "victory" in the South means only the beginning of a new and much more difficult batte. How can people be prepared for this? How can the momentum of the Movement be sustained after desegregation.

Emergent Political Perspectives from the Northern Experience, Tuesday afternoon. A panel of three or perhaps three short presentations representing the point of view of the Urban League, Black Muslims, and Northern non-violent action.

VIII. THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT: GOALS, ORGANIZ TION, STRATEGY, TACTICS, THE FUTURE. Wednesday, August 7 - Saturday, August 11.

Examination and Institute Evaluation, Wednesday morning. An examination which repeats much of the material that was in the first exam. To be used for aid in final consultations and in evaluation of Institute. Also distribution of an evaluation form to be completed and turned in by the end of the Institute.

Goals of the Movement reconsidered, Wednesday afternoon. This might well be predominantly a full group discussion after a brief presentation in which there is an attempt to focus the material presented in the Institute on the question of goals. Are the goals we discussed the first day of the Institute an adequate reflection of the concern we hold for society given the discussions we have had during the Institute? Given a set of goals, what questions must we ask about strategy and tactics during the last days of the Institute? Are these goals readily understandable in our local communities? Will they make sense to our friends and fellow participants in the Movement?

Discussion -- during this final section discussion might best be focused in small groups on the problem of converting the experience of the Institute into something that will be useful at home. People should plan for the fall.

Strategy -- the Next Five Years, Thursday morning and afternoon. Either a joint presentation or two separate presentations that present the points of view summarized as "reform within a revolutionary persepective," and "total dissent". Both presentations should be explicit and detailed outlinning projected accomplishment, necessary procedures, possible pitfalls andblind spots where it is difficult or impossible to predict.

Tactics for the Movement -- a Coherent View Thursday evening and Friday morning. This should be a quite explicit and detailed discussion of the kinds of tactics, to be used and how they may complement one another: legal procedures; voting; running candidates; pressuring for jobs; biracial commissions; raising the housing question; economic boycott; etc. Some attempt to weigh these tactics as to effectiveness and efficacy should also be made.

Discussion -- returning to state or local groups, participants should discuss again in summary form the material they went over in state groups. They should attempt to decide which of the proposed tactical procedures are applicable to their state and local.

The Organizational Framework, Friday afternoon and evening or Saturday morning. Two or three panels of agency people discussing their work and how their organizations attempt to embody elements of a certain view of what is desireable and how to accomplish that. These sessions should in addition to bringing out organizational differences attempt to show the participants how the resources of various organizations can be used in their communities.

Discussion - should center on the way organizational resources have been used in the community and the problems this has created. The question of local organization vs. national affiliation should be considered.

January 25, 1964

Miss Deborah Jackson
National Student YWCA
600 Lexington Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10022

Dear Miss Jackson:

We are pleased to learn that the National Student YWCA has scheduled a number of voter registration projects during the period March 18 to April 6. We would appreciate your giving us a list of the places where you plan to conduct such projects just as soon as you know and, of course, we are especially interested in any programs in the eleven southern states where VEP is operating.

We mailed you, under separate cover, 250 copies of the VEP election chart as you requested.

Sincerely yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:jl

agency file

LUB
RTS
BW

YWCA

National Student Young Women's Christian Association of the U.S.A.

600 LEXINGTON AVENUE
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10022
PLAZA 3-4700
CABLE: EMISSARIUS, N.Y.

JAN 24 1964

January 22, 1964

Mr. Wiley Branton
Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Branton:

We understand that Mrs. Constance B. Motley spoke with you sometime last November about plans for a number of spring voter registration projects sponsored by the National Student YWCA, and perhaps Miss Rosetta Gardner, the regional director of the Student YW in Atlanta, has talked with you, also, concerning our plans.

In any event, several projects are scheduled and will be held between the dates of March 18 and April 6. We are tentatively planning for 200 students, whom we will be placing in various spots in North Carolina, Virginia, Kentucky, Georgia, Missouri, and possibly a Northern urban community like Oakland, California, where voter registration efforts have begun and where the students can be of real support.

We are now in the process of making up preparatory materials and were wondering if it would be possible to receive from you 250 copies of the chart designated: 1964 VEP ELECTION INFORMATION. We were happy to learn that only one more state is needed now to pass the Anti-Poll Tax Amendment, since Maine has also ratified it.

will be mailed today 1/24 J

We shall look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely yours,

Deborah Jackson

Deborah Jackson
For the Spring Voter
Registration Projects

YWCA

WB

UNITED STATES NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION

3457 CHESTNUT STREET • PHILADELPHIA, PA. 19104 • AREA CODE 215—BAring 2-1106 • CABLE, NATSTUD

April 2, 1964

Mr. Wiley A. Branton
Voter Education Project
Room 206 / 5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

APR 4 1964

Dear Mr. Branton:

Your letter of March 31 has arrived at the USNSA office in Philadelphia. Mr. Millspaugh is out of town at the present time, however, and will not be back until next week. I am sure he will give prompt attention to your letter on his return to our office.

Sincerely,

Ernestine Potter

Ernestine Potter
Secretary to the President

EP:db

agencies
USNSA

ASSOCIATED WITH: American Council on Education • International Student Conference • U. S. Commission for UNESCO • World University Service • Council on Student Travel • U. S. Youth Council • American Association for the U.N. • Nat'l Scholarship Service & Fund for Negro Students

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University of Wisconsin

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West Coast Office
1355 Westwood Boulevard
Los Angeles, California
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Special Advisor
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APR 20 1964

UNITED STATES NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION

3457 CHESTNUT STREET • PHILADELPHIA, PA. 19104 • AREA CODE 215—BAring 2-1106 • CABLE, NATSTUD

April 17, 1964

Mr. Wiley A. Branton
Project Director
Voter Education Project
Room 206 / 5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Branton:

I greatly appreciate your letter of March 31st, which enumerates the areas in which voter registration programs will take place during the coming months. Due to lack of time, money and personnel, the USNSA does not at present plan to hold an independent voter registration project in the South this summer; however, we are participating in recruiting personnel for the project run by COFO in Mississippi. The information you sent me, however, will be most useful in responding to inquiries from individual, interested student governments as they come in during the next few weeks.

I greatly appreciate the efforts you have taken on our behalf.

Sincerely yours,

Frank Millspaugh

Frank Millspaugh, Director
Community Issues Desk

FM:db

NSA

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Department of Health, Education and Welfare

Special Advisor
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UNITED STATES NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION

3457 CHESTNUT STREET • PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA 19104 • CABLE: NATSTUD
NATIONAL COMMISSION (215) 222-1106 • INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION (215) 222-5722

October 6, 1964

Mr. Wiley Brandt
Voter Education Project
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

OCT 7 1964

Dear Mr. Brandt:

Enclosed is an announcement of the first state-wide college conference sponsored by the Georgia Students for Human Rights. This will be the first such meeting of a large group of concerned college students held in the state of Georgia. The students involved in planning the conference are convinced of the need for the establishment of a state-wide student council on human relations which will serve to provide factual information on the solution of southern problems. Such an organization will provide contacts on a state-wide basis for students concerned with racial justice.

The significance of this conference will depend to a great measure on the quality of thought and discussion in the workshops. When the planning committee discussed resource persons, your name was suggested and enthusiastically received. We would like for you to be a resource person for the workshop, "Political Trends in Georgia." The students will have access to materials published by the Southern Regional Council and other groups. These materials will be mailed in advance to the participants in order to provide them with background knowledge. Perhaps you would like to draw up a reading list or to prepare an outline to aid the students in their background study.

The discussion groups will meet during the Saturday session of the conference. It is our sincere hope that fruitful discussion will emerge in terms of positive programs which may be undertaken on various campuses. We realize, of course, that responsible action must be guided by knowledge of the problems we face as citizens of the state of Georgia.

We sincerely hope that you will be able to join us for this conference.

Sincerely,

Sallyanne Tully

Sallyanne Tully, Conference Chairman
832 Sherwood Road, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia
(Telephone: 874-2825)

ASSOCIATED WITH: American Council on Education • International Student Conference • U. S. Commission for UNESCO • World University Service • Council on Student Travel • Young Adult Council • American Association for the U.N. • Nat'l Scholarship Service & Fund for Negro Students

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University of California
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Department of Health, Education and Welfare

Georgia Council ON HUMAN RELATIONS
41 Exchange Place, S.E. • 404/525-6468 • Atlanta, Georgia 30303

GSHR
Agnes Scott College
Box 326
Decatur, Georgia
30030

September 19, 1964

Dear Friend:

The world that lies before us at the beginning of this school year is a world of change. In considering the changes facing the world and specifically, the South, we are increasingly aware that students in the South must take leadership in helping to solve regional problems. It is our belief that before concerned students can assume a leadership role, there is a great need to study and discuss the complexities and problems which the South now faces and will continue to face in the coming years.

For these reasons, the Georgia Students for Human Rights, now an Atlanta group, is holding a conference on the weekend of October 30 thru November 1. This conference will mark the beginning of GSHR as a state-wide organization, affiliated with the Georgia Council on Human Relations.

In addition to setting up the organization and electing officers, our primary aim is to deal with the student role in human relations. Outstanding speakers and resource persons will present some of the political, racial, and economic problems in

DR. LIONEL NEWSOM, CHAIRMAN
MRS. FRANCES PAULEY, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
THE REVEREND AUSTIN FORD, FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
MR. A. J. MCCLUNG, SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT
MRS. HARRY V. RICHARDSON, SECRETARY
MR. JOHNNY GLUSTROM, TREASURER
THE REVEREND OLIVER W. HOLMES, ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR

Georgia, and they will be followed by workshops concerning student activities and responsibilities in solving these problems. Our aim is to assist in outlining specific programs which students may undertake on their campuses.

This first state-wide student conference will be held at the campus of the Old Gammon Theological Seminary in Atlanta from Friday evening until Sunday noon. The total cost for registration, room, and board will be $10.00 per delegate. There is a possibility that travel assistance is available. However, these funds will be in short supply. Later we shall provide you with further information.

We would like very much to have student leaders from your campus join us for the conference, and we will appreciate any assistance you may give us in locating interested students. Please encourage them to return the enclosed registration forms by October 1 to:

Dierdre LaPin
Agnes Scott College
Box 326
Decatur, Georgia 30030

Upon receiving registrations, we shall send further information on the conference.

Thank you for your assistance.

Sincerely,

Sallyann Tully, Conference chairman

Dierdre LaPin, GSHR Chairman

GEORGIA STUDENTS FOR HUMAN RIGHTS CONFERENCE

History:

GSHR was formed in February, 1964 by a group of interested students from several college campuses in Atlanta. The formation of the group stemmed from the need for communication and participation in the civil rights movement among white college students.

As interest in GSHR grew, the Atlanta meetings were attended by larger numbers of both white and Negro students, some of whom were interested in direct action. Others served in community work projects, and/or surveys and research for the Atlanta Council on Human Relations.

Of particular interest to the Atlanta students is a day care center project. Within the following year, they will work with community leaders in obtaining and renovating a building, raising funds, and later participating in volunteer staff work when the center opens.

Many students attending other colleges throughout Georgia, particularly the University of Georgia, expressed interest in expanding the organization on a state-wide basis. Also, students on many campuses have expressed a desire to participate in a state-wide conference of student leaders.

Recently, Mrs. Francis Pauley, executive director of the Georgia Council on Human Relations, has offered the assistance of the Council in setting up an organization and publishing a newsletter.

Conference aims:

1. To set up a state-wide organization, including a discussion of membership procedures, creation of chapters, relationship to the Georgia Council on Human Relations, and elections.

2. To examine the political, economic, and racial problems facing Georgia today and the student role in solutions.

3. To outline specific programs that students can utilize on their campuses.

Contents:

1. Speakers

2. Movie: "Right Now"

3. Workshops:

    a. Southern Political Trends

    b. Poverty in Georgia

    c. Educational Development in Georgia

4. Organizational meeting and elections

NSA file

copy for Jack Minnis

NSA SOUTHERN CIVIL RIGHTS LEADERSHIP TRAINING SEMINAR

Tentative Program Outline

3 days I. Negro History, Negro Movements, and the Problems and Goals of the Present Movement--Ella Baker.

3 days II. Southern History--Staughton Lynd.

2 days III. The Movement in Perspective: Various Routes to Social Change--Howard Zinn and Staughton Lynd (with Rustin, King, etc.?)

2 days IV. Anatomy of the Southern Town and City--Howard Zinn.

5 days V. Southern Politics in State and Nation--Howard Zinn, Staughton Lynd, and Jack Minnis? (with Bill Higgs, Wiley Branton, et al, doing local state descriptions?)

5 days VI. Patterns of Discrimination--Tom Kahn, Vivien Henderson?

10 days VII. Goals - Organization - Strategy - Tactics
Where Should Movement Head and How? 2 days, Vincent Harding?
The Movement Today --one day, Tim Jenkins?
How Organizations Work --2 days, Tim Jenkins?
General Strategy and Tactics --5 days, Vincent Harding and Tim Jenkins? (with Higgs, Moses?)

4- agencies - National Students assoc.

Outline

NSA Southern Civil Rights Leadership Training Seminar

(Basic chronology--30 days)

I. Negro History, Negro Movements, and the Problems and Goals of the Present Movement

A general introduction, highly personal, on the heritage of the Negro, particularly in America and in the South, and the various attempts of the Negro and his friends to unite for a better situation. Including a first statement of the possible goals of the present movement and its problems (civil liberties, need for national support and a clear strategy, etc.). Might include some mention of the myths and reality of race, the changing place of the colored man in the world today, the legal and social advances as well as difficulties of the Negro in America, how the Negro is to view his society. Approximately three days. Led by Ella Baker with perhaps other speakers on Negro history, civil liberties and the white resistance (Marion Wright, etc.).

II. Southern History--Including a General Outline of Political and Economic Changes

The place of the South in the nation and as a microcosm of the world's problems; its economic lag and one-party politics (Compromise of 1877) as an obstacle to the nation; the liberal tradition in the South--its failures (labor defeat, etc.) and victories (cooperation and planning in the thirties, etc.); unity of white and Negro interests and goals; a vision of what the South could become with the proper changes and leadership. A general review of Southern history--chronology and commentary. Approximately three or four days. Led by Staughton Lynd.

III. The Movement in Perspective: Various Routes to Social Change

What are the goals and various routes of social change--evolution, legal appeal, political action, direct action, "reform", "revolution", etc.; who are the "agents" of social change--the Negro as such an "agent" in America today. Negro as related to World "revolution of expectations" of colored peoples and "underdeveloped nations". How "movements" are organized, rationalized, motivated--America case studies: Abolitionists, Women's Suffragettes, Labor Movement, etc. How individual incidents, "cases", communities, make the difference (Montgomery, Greensboro, Albany, Oxford, etc.). How the "Negro movement" is related to other concerns in American society: poverty, civil liberties, foreign policy, political reinvigoration, congressional reform, etc. Approximately two days. Led by Howard Zinn and Staughton Lynd with possibly outside speakers in various areas--Bayard Rustin, Martin Luthter King, to make keynote addresses?

IV. Anatomy of the Southern Town and City: How Communities Work

Using case studies of variant places like Albany, Birmingham, Atlanta, Ruleville, Raleigh, etc., demonstrate the variety of community situations, the non-homogeneity of the "white man" in the South, the need for varying "strategies for change in different communities, and some of the problems faced. How the community is organized in segregated and semi-segregated ways: power structure, government, business, "influentials", churches and social groups, Negro as dependent on the white community and the variety of roles in the Negro community--levels of leadership, relative vulnerability and independence of different whites and Negroes in the community, role of county, state, nation, in local affairs. Responsibilities of state and federal governments in local communities--protecting citizens' rights, instituting local change, etc. Impact on communities of internal stimuli (greensboro sit-ins, Albany Movement) and external stimuli (federal force in Little Rock, Oxford; federal support to Fayette, Haywood; national publicity on Little Rock, Birmingham), etc. Where are the "pressure points" and "openings" for change in communities for improvement in Negro's situation. Goals of community change. Need for broader perspective. Need to discover "felt needs" in community to develop broader political and social consciousness. Approximately two days. Led by Howard Zinn with other speakers on local situations, etc.

V. Southern Politics in State and Nation--General Pattern

The one-party system and the coalition in Congress: Woodward and Key on racism as the cement of the conservative coalition; variety of Southern pattern: factionalism, personality politics, the Republicans since Reconstruction (a rising two-party system in the South?). What is politics--politics as more than voting; offices, party localism, "machines", relationship between economic and political power, how "the system" is rigged against Negroes. The legal system--courts, police, lawyers--how it is both an opportunity for and a weapon against Negroes. The organized white resistance and how it operates. Overlapping power centers: precincts, city hall, county courthouse, statehouse, ad hoc bodies (industrial commissions, welfare boards, utility commissions, etc.). Voting: registration, poll taxes, primaries (Smith vs. Allwright to present day), general elections, Changing Negro role in politics: case studies of different salient situations--Atlanta, Liberty County, Birmingham, Richmond, Memphis, Nashville, Savannah, etc. Importance of "Negro immigrants" in the North and the national "Negro vote." Past the narrow-minded "bloc vote"...toward change for the whole South and nation. "Issues" and how small, personally felt issues can get great response. Who are Negro's political allies: unions, businessmen, white liberals? Negro politics' impact on national political scene: "realignment" of political parties? Separate sessions for the various states represented at the Seminar detailing the state and local situations: laws, political machinery, trends, etc. Approximately five days. Led by Howard

(V). Zinn, Staughton Lynd. Speakers from VLP and local Negro political groups discussing variety of Negro politics--Jack Minnis? Speakers from different states leading "local" seminars on particular political situations for persons from those states--Bill Higgs, Wiley Branton, etc.?)

VI. Patterns of Discrimination.

General survey and case studies. "Public" discrimination--legal segregation, public facilities, law enforcement, transportation, recreation, hotels, athletics, hospitals, Educational segregation and discrimination--limits of present Negro educational system: paternalism, curricula, materials available (libraries), just what ideas and opportunities the average Negro is allowed to discover--need for reform from within and without. Discrimination in public programs--housing, welfare, agricultural extension, area development programs, job retraining, federal loan programs, surplus food. The Negro and the economy--agricultural revolution, high skill needs, educational demands, automation, unionism, urban trend, vicious circle of segregation and discrimination. "Private" discrimination: employment, business credit and opportunities, training and upgrading opportunities, housing. Anatomy of various Southern economic institutions: one-plant town and "industrial promotion", sharecropping and one-plantation counties, connection of finance (credit) to power, how businesses cooperate (chambers of commerce, industrial promotion groups, etc.), use of racism to defeat unionization, the Negro future in agriculture, how Southern town have sometimes "sold out" to industry: promised discrimination, soft tax plans, land and building giveaways, anti-union and low-wage pledges. How "economics" and "politics" cannot be separated. Approximately five days. Led by Tom Kahn (general discrimination and economic trends) and Professor Vivien Henderson? (specific cases of Negro problems of educational underdevelopment, unemployment, poor housing, rural and urban "tenantry") along with perhaps special lecturers on specific problems (William Nicholls on the future of the Negro in agriculture?). (In addition spend at least part of one day discussing basic research techniques, basic bibliography, where to look for socio-economic-political info; group work projects, surveys, etc., all during Seminar--by Henderson, Minnis?)

VII. Goals - Organization - Strategy - Tactics

A. Where Should the Movement Head and How? What are our values? Judao-Christian, humanist, democratic? Should we assume the present American context? What are our "rights"? Do we want integration and "reconciliation" or just a "larger share"? Do we have a basic unity with poor whites, all mankind? What kind of a society do we seek? Ends and means: nonviolence,

civil disobedience, eschatology and ethics. Approximately two days of intense discussion. Led by Vincent Harding?

B. The Movement Today Who's who--civil rights and community organizations on a national, regional, local level--where to get help. Emphasize importance of direct action and political battles in addition ot legal battles Approximately one day. Led by Tim Jenkins? (With outside speakers?)

C. How Organizations Work --with emphasis on the local level. Who leads and follows, touchstones for unity, what institutions and people build Movement around (churches, "notables", "political leaders", etc.), how to gain community support; communication media, common denominators, unity symbols, "felt needs" and "higher goals". Relations with other groups: white friends, bargaining power, etc. Internal operations: finances, records, agendas, and how to organize meetings, group dynamics, policy-making structures, general organizational techniques. Leadership training. Speaking techniques. Use of research and information. Approximately two days. Led by Tim Jenkins?

D. General Strategy and Tactics These concluding days of intensive study are to relate previous study on problems and techniques and goals all together into specific thinking about ways to achieve particular and general ends in the most effective and personally acceptable ways... discussion of different types of remedies and approaches (tactics) and use of different you-be-the-leader case studies of different community situations.

General Strategy--power and what it is, what potential Negro power in community, state, and nation; economic-social-political "pressure points", Southern white values and Negro openings; legal, executive, and political remedies, sanctions, and opportunities--relate remedies to pervious discussion of "problems" and "patterns".

Community Development--how to discover general local needs, projects desired, aim toward registration and political action and power, use of candidacies built around issues, etc. Political action--registration and voting and cadidate-running; issue-orientation and general appeal; ad hoc committees, delegations, letter-writing, petitions (registered voters!), party and independent pressure, neighborhood and local "machines", legislation and specific program goals beyond "rights" and anti-discrimination (welfare, public works, housing, education) on "behalf of entire South and entire nation".

Direct Action--as related to voter registration, "community" action and politics, and legal-executive remedies--when appropriate--goals must be clear--how fit into total strategy; building a "movement" on different actions--how organize and carry out--sit-ins, wade-ins, lie-ins, demonstrations, strikes, jail-ins (jail or bail?), pickets, selective buying, etc.--how to get maximum public sympathy and political-legal assistance--civil disobedience in contrast to legal appeal. Role-playing "practice sessions"?

Last day or so of Seminar devote particularly to voter registration, citizenship training (schools), etc.--perhaps some time on "teaching methods" and way to communicate--as prep for voter registration and voter education for the rest of the summer--During VR stage of project (second month) will also hold more discussion and training sessions while participants in from "the field" and "practice teaching". Might also have inspirational speakers and program the last day or night of the Seminar proper. Approximately five days total. Final days on "General Strategy", including final send-off, led by Tim Jenkins? and Vinvent Harding? Also special speakers on areas (Higgs on legal? etc.) and Bob Moses?

Urban League

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE, Inc.
14 EAST FORTY-EIGHTH STREET
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
PLAZA 1-0300

August
Fourteenth
1 9 6 1

Dear Mr. Currier:

Complying with the group's decision at the meeting in your office on July 28th, the National Urban League is submitting the following description of our structure, along with some indication of how this network might be more effectively utilized in a major voter registration effort. We are limiting this to our southern region inasmuch as it was our impression that the decision was made to concentrate our efforts in this section of the country. We are, therefore, referring only to our affiliates in thirteen southern cities including the one in the nation's capital. This would take in the following cities: Atlanta, Fort Worth (inactive), Jacksonville, Little Rock, Memphis, Miami, New Orleans, Oklahoma City, Richmond, Tampa, Tulsa and Winston-Salem.

Our programming in these affiliates has been greatly weakened in recent years by attacks from segregationist forces in the South. These attacks have resulted in reduced budgets or, as is true in five cases, in the League being completely dropped as a community chest agency. We have managed, however -- with the exception of Fort Worth -- to retain our professional staff, active boards and committees. In fact, as a result of the attacks, there has been demonstrated by the Negro community and the few liberal individuals among other racial groups greater appreciation of our specialized services and value to a local community.

Each of these Leagues, as is true of Urban Leagues all over the country, has a major arm of its program effective liaison and direct communication with most of the civic, social, business and religious groups in the Negro community. It

is through these that we channel our programs of interpretation on matters of full utilization of welfare resources, vocational guidance and information on housing and employment. Basic professional tools and time-tested techniques are used in this connection. We might mention that in addition we have been required, for the purpose of community chest and League membership campaigns, to develop organization and machinery for practically door-to-door contact.

We see no reason why, with additional financial resources, we could not cooperate in an effective effort greatly to increase registration and voting activity by Negro citizens. We would feel justified in including this activity in the legitimate program of the Urban League from the standpoint of education for citizenship and assisting the Negro community to live up to its full responsibility as good citizens.

While we cannot emphasize too much the value of such a structure as described in this effort, we would also have to point out that its most effective utilization in such an effort would require additional resources for the purposes of (a) increasing staff, (b) in-service training for existing staff, (c) staff at regional level for coordination and supervision, (d) secretarial help, (e) travel, (f) printed materials for distribution.

We would like to make two final points: One, voter registration is an activity with which the League has had considerable experience. Either as National Office-inspired or as local League activities, campaigns have been conducted in other cities that have substantially increased both the registration and voting of Negro citizens. Recent cases in point are San Francisco and Los Angeles and, to a lesser degree, St. Louis and Cleveland. For many years, we have cooperated with other agencies in the South in this effort where the need of our facilities and contacts were obvious and necessary. As recently as May 25, 1960, a memorandum was submitted to the Urban Leagues in the South on this particular matter, with specific ideas

for our effective participation. Lack of funds, however, has hampered this effort to the point of little identifiable result.

Point two, we believe that our conference group, at its meeting on the 23rd, should review its decision to limit our activity only to the South. We are convinced that the most effective political leverage for some time to come will be found in the many northern urban cities where fifty per cent of the Negro population now lives; for this group has yet to produce registered voters in such substantial numbers as the needs of the times require. We feel that with sufficient added resources we can put on such an effective program in our other fifty affiliates as will inspire a step up in voter registration in other areas of the country.

Inasmuch as the committee had no idea of the financial resources at its disposal or what its potential in this connection might be from other sources, we assume that no specific suggestions should be made at this time for actual grants of money. We are prepared, however, to make more specific suggestions in this regard at the appropriate time.

Very sincerely yours,

/s/Lester B. Granger
Executive Director

Mr. Stephen R. Currier
President
The Taconic Foundation
666 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

/mh

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE, Inc.

FOR EQUAL ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY

14 EAST FORTY-EIGHTH STREET, NEW YORK 17, N. Y. — PLAZA 1-0300

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September
Twenty-second
1 9 6 1

Dear Les:

This is to inform you officially that I have read closely your memorandum of September 13th regarding the role of SRC in the proposed voter registration campaign - and to register both our understanding of the arrangement and our agreement with it.

I am confident that a substantial contribution can be made to the cause of better human relations through this project, and I am equally confident that SRC will proceed with efficiency and fairness in carrying out its important responsibility.

Sincerely yours,

Whitney

Whitney M. Young, Jr.
Executive Director-Elect.

Dr. Leslie Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, NW
Atlanta 3, Georgia

cc: Mr. Currier

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AFFILIATED WITH NATIONAL SOCIAL WELFARE ASSEMBLY, NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON SOCIAL WELFARE.

NUL

National Urban League
14 East 48th Street
New York 17, New York

January 12, 1962

PLAN FOR THE NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE'S PARTICIPATION
IN THE SOUTHERN VOTER REGISTRATION CAMPAIGN

Submitted to: Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council

by: Whitney M. Young, Jr.
Executive Director,
National Urban League.

:::::

Background

The National Urban League is an interracial, educational, service agency that follows social work principles and practices in attempting to improve the living and working conditions of America's urban Negro population. It is a non-profit and non-political agency.

It was organized in 1910 as the "National League on Conditions Among Negroes" which sought practical answers of problems of Negroes who were shifting from the Rural South to Northern Cities.

The League concerns itself with programs that are designed to expand job opportunities for qualified Negro workers and guide young people into desirable and rewarding careers in keeping with their potentialities and is particularly concerned with improving the family life and neighborhood conditions of Negroes. It works with leaders at the grassroots level in an effort to stimulate their awareness of their own citizenship responsibilities for improving their role in our American society.

An important aspect of this community program is civic education. In this regard, we are concerned with the individual citizen's role as an active participant in community affairs. The League encourages adult education classes to improve the literacy rate among Negroes where this problem exists as a deterrent to citizenship and conducts voter-registration programs through the community organization process as a part of its community services program.

The Urban League is composed of a National Headquarters in New York City, a representative in Washington, D. C., a Western Regional office in Hollywood, California and a Southern Regional office in Atlanta, Georgia.

The Southern Regional office was organized in 1919 as a arm of the National Headquarters for the purposes of organizing new affiliates in the Region and to offer more adequate service to existing affiliates. The Southern Regional office serves twelve Southern states in which there are twelve local affiliates. These affiliates

are located in Atlanta, Fort Worth, Jacksonville, Little Rock, Memphis, Miami, New Orleans, Oklahoma City, Tampa, Tulsa, Richmond and Winston-Salem.

The Leagues in this Region represent stable, locally supported social work agencies with strong community services programs and are administered by Boards composed of influential community leaders of both racial groups. These affiliates have had uninterrupted records of community service for many years. They, therefore, present ideal community machinery through which a voter-registration and/or civic education program might be successfully planned and conducted.

Statement of the Problem

It seems that the first step in the organization of a voter-registration (educational) campaign is to determine the extent of the problem. This would mean having a clear concept of the social, cultural, educational, political and race relations aspects of the setting; the attitudes of the political and business leaders, registrars, public officials and Negroes; the legal requirements for registered voters; and the registrar's interpretation of these requirements. It is vitally important that all Negro sponsored civic and political organizations be encouraged to participate in the unified, non-partisan, area-wide civic education program.

Establishing the Objectives

The objectives of the campaign should be clearly stated and understood by the sponsors and the leaders of the area where the campaign should be twofold. First, it should be designed to increase the number of registered voters and, secondly, it should stress the importance and intelligent use of the ballot.

In establishing the objectives, which simply represents a proposed goal to be achieved, an evaluation of prior efforts should be made. It would seem, therefore, routine that the number of registered voters should be secured; the number of Negro registered voters should be ascertained; the potential number of Negro registered voters should be known; anticipated problems should be enumerated and a time limit set before a realistic campaign goal of registered Negro voters should be established.

Methods of Procedure

A voter-registration and education campaign may be organized and conducted on several geographic levels. It may operate on a national, regional, state, county, city, neighborhood or even the census tract or block level. The National Urban League's program would be designed to operate on a city basis through affiliates that are served by the Southern Regional office.

The local Urban League, as referred to in the background statement, operates a continuing program of community services which include civic education and voter-registration. The National Urban League's proposal for launching an all-out concentrated effort to encourage Negroes to register and use their ballot intelligently would be accomplished by securing the sponsorship of such campaigns to be conducted by the local Urban League affiliates. This would require re-organization of program emphases for a two-year period; re-organization and new assignments for existing staff and/or the use of an expanded staff (part-time) to direct this program. This would be done by the establishment of a local Urban League civic

education committee which would assume responsibility for calling together all interested organizations and individuals in an effort to review the problem, establish objectives and plan a program of action. Such a program would be developed by the local League in cooperation with a professional staff person in the Regional office with specific responsibility for assisting in the preparation and execution of the plan.

At the local level, the organizational structure of the project might be organized as follows:

1. Administrative responsibility would be in the hands of a local Board of Directors of the Urban League.

2. The program responsibility would be lodged in a city-wide voter-registration and education committee and would include representatives of the important existing organizations that are interested in this problem. Several sub-committees should be established by this All-Citizens Group. These might include an organizational committee, a steering committee, a speakers bureau, a public information committee, a mass communications committee and other such appropriate committees as would be required to achieve the objectives. The executive and staff of the affiliate would have professional responsibilities under this plan.

Organization Technique

The recommended organizational technique at the city level would be the census tract-block organizational plan. Maps should be secured to determine the census tract in which Negroes live in large numbers and leaders might be secured in each of these. Since there are several blocks in each census tract, ideally, a block worker should be secured for door-to-door coverage in each of these blocks. This house-to-house canvas should be planned in such a way that every household is contacted by the block-worker and reports made to the leader who would in turn report to the steering committee in order to compile its report to the sponsoring organization.

Transportation to and from home to the place of registration is important. Therefore, machinery should be established to offer free transportation for all persons desiring to register.

An education committee should assume responsibility for following up the newly registered voter with an education program designed to assist the newly registered voter in the intelligent use of the ballot.

Budget

It costs money to get people to register to vote. Each succeeding group of unregistered voters is more difficult to reach than the preceding one. This means that the cost of reaching each new prospect correspondingly increases.

There are several ways that voter-registration campaigns can be organized and directed. Each method has negative and positive aspects. Although the approach may differ from place to place, the community organization process always applies.

In one of the Urban League's experience experience in conducting a voter-registration campaign on a county-wide basis, it was determined that the most effective approach was to secure the services of a group of selected ministers who worked under the supervision of the local sponsoring committee. This scheme required the ministers to recruit non-registered voters from a specific area on a systematic basis and transport them to and from the registrar's office. The ministers performed this service at a nominal fee for each person recruited and who completed the registration process.

In another Urban League experience, a city-wide campaign was conducted. In this situation a plan was devised whereby there was a full-time paid worker stationed permanently at the county courthouse where the registrar's office was located, in order to encourage the registration of all Negro citizens who entered the courthouse during the rush period for other services. This staff person was well trained and reported to the Citizens Committee.

In a state-wide effort, a local Urban League initiated, planned and directed a full day workshop for community leaders. The participants represented such groups as voter-registration leagues, masonic orders, fraternities and sororities, church groups, civic groups, NAACP, political parties, social work agencies, PTA groups and other interested citizens and organizational representatives. The purpose of this workshop was to encourage local groups to unify themselves into a single coordinated voter-registration effort at the local level so that they all might profit from the pooling of resources, thus benefitting from the values of an organized effort. Several organized united local campaigns resulted.

The Urban League offers machinery that is stable, yet flexible enough to serve in the roles of planning and organization consultants, supervisors, advisors, coordinators or directors of full or part-time campaigns in the eleven cities where our affiliates in the Southern Region are, as well as to serve as consultants to non-league cities.

The following budget is presented to show that the Urban League, through its Southern Regional office and each local affiliate, might plan and conduct local registration campaigns for the amounts indicated. The budget suggested for the Southern Field Division includes monies for part-time professional staff who will assist in the planning, organization and supervision of the local campaign efforts. The budget that is indicated for the local affiliate presupposes that the local Urban League would organize the local resources into an effective coordinated sponsoring registration unit to effectuate a successful local registration drive.

SUGGESTED BUDGET FOR ONE YEAR'S OPERATION FOR URBAN LEAGUE'S PARTICIPATION IN VOTER-REGISTRATION (CIVIC EDUCATION) PROGRAM

I. For Southern Field Division - National Urban League

A.	Part-time professional staff	$4500.00
B.	Part-time clerical staff	2100.00
C.	Printing and promotional materials	1200.00
D.	Travel	1000.00
E.	Office Supplies	360.00
F.	Telephone	300.00
		$9460.00

II. For a Local Affiliate

A.	Part-time professional staff	$2500.00
B.	Part-time clerical staff	1200.00
C.	Materials and supplies	200.00
D.	Rent and maintenance	None
E.	Telephone	None
F.	Transportation	300.00
G.	Printing and promotional materials (Covered in SFD Budget)	None

This budget is based on the establishment of a city-wide citizens committee whose activities would include - under the leadership and guidance of the local Urban League - determination of overall planning, including the raising of additional funds as might be needed by the local sponsoring committee.

:::::

January 18, 1962

Air Mail

Mr. Whitney M. Young, Jr.
Executive Director
National Urban League, Inc
14 East 48th Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Whitney:

Thank you for your letter of January 12, and the attached program statement of the Urban League. The latter I have passed on to Wiley Branton, with the comment that the plans outlined appeared to me both carefully conceived and realistic.

Your news about Herman Sweatt is interesting. I have heard good things of him.

Much as I personally want to agree with you, I don't think a public announcement can be delayed much longer. The latest issue of Jet reminds us again that there is public interest which has to be satisfied and should be accurately informed.

As to your handling the announcement, I think this idea, attractive as it might be, can be dropped, especially in view of your reluctance. Both you by letter and the SCLC and the SNCC orally have suggested that Branton's office release the statement, and we have no objection. In fact, this may be the only practical plan. CORE, incidentally, approved of your role; I have not heard from the NAACP.

On the other hand, Martin King has discussed with me the possible value of reversing the earlier decision and holding a press conference. He has some interesting reasons, and I asked that he write me a letter setting them forth. If Martin decides to do this I shall share his letter with you and the others.

To: Mr. Whitney M. Young, Jr.
January 18, 1962

I think your point about emphasizing in the announcement that each agency would play a role consistent with its traditional methods is a good one. I am sure this will make sense to the other agencies, and will therefore amend the announcement.

Regarding the statement of aims, SCLC and SNCC orally have expressed general satisfaction, and CORE has written approval. You may be right that it is not needed. I believe still that there would be value in some such statement, issued at the time of the announcement, hopefully designed to put the campaign on an elevated plane in popular opinion and to put its critics on the defensive. As to the particular draft, we have no pride of authorship.

I'll be in touch with you again.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb

cc: Mr. James Farmer
Mr. Charles McDew
The Rev. Wyatt Tee Walker
Mr. Roy Wilkins
Mr. Wiley Branton

AMERICAN TEAMWORK WORKS

National Urban League, Inc.

14 EAST FORTY-EIGHTH STREET, NEW YORK 17, N. Y. • PLAZA 1-0300

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Charles S. Zimmerman

January
Twelfth
1962

Dear Leslie:

Your draft of an appropriate release for the kick-off of the voter registration project, as well as your suggestion that the announcement be released from our regional office in Atlanta, have been reviewed by our Executive Committee and Staff. Our reaction is as follows:

While we are impressed with the suggestion that the release be handled from the regional office of the Urban League, and that I personally handle the subsequent press conference, we have serious reservations about both the practicability and the administrative soundness of such a procedure. It would seem to us to be awkward for an agency which does not have the direct administrative responsibility for the project, or financial control, to be placed in the position of interpreting policy or defining the method of operation.

We are also inclined to feel that a release prior to some rather definite decisions as to how the project is to be operationally implemented, and who will be responsible for what might be somewhat premature. It is our understanding that each cooperating agency is now preparing for your office a plan for its participation, as well as a request for funds to implement that plan. These, we assume, would be discussed by the group and decisions made that will be realistic with the amount of money available for the overall project, and the roles of each agency clearly delineated so that our efforts would be complementary and not duplicating, and so as to insure maximum regional coverage.

When these decisions are made, it seems to us that an announcement would then be forthcoming from the office of that agency having final administrative authority. Such a release should include the names of the several agencies to be involved, as well as their particular roles and the areas in which they would operate, so as to prevent at the very outset any misunderstanding or suggestion of competition.

We do not feel that it would be necessary to belabor the historical reasons relating to discrimination which prompts this effort, and certainly we do not feel that there is any necessity to go into the whole matter of urban versus rural power struggle, or our desire to unseat enemies of the struggle for civil rights. These, it seems to me, are obvious to all involved, and would simply be waving a red flag. Personally, we would prefer that the announcement be geared to encouraging good citizenship and participation in the democratic process, with emphasis on the educational and community organization aspects, rather than on the establishment of a massive voting bloc which will revolutionize the southern way of life.

If, as I gather, you feel that due to leaks about the project already circulating some announcement is immediately necessary, then I would suggest that the announcement be as simple as possible. It should state the fact that a voter registration project has been established through the cooperation of the various agencies participating, and that Mr. Wiley Branton has been appointed by this group as the director of the project. I would strongly hope that it would also be indicated that the separate roles to be played by the participating agencies would be consistent with their traditional methods of programming, and that when final plans are decided each agency would make its own announcement as to the particular role it would be playing in the overall effort to increase the number of registered Negro voters.

I would use as the mailing address - as well as telephone contact - the office of the project director, and would let him handle whatever inquiries could from the press.

As far as the statement of aims is concerned, which was enclosed in your letter, I can see no immediate value in having this released along with the announcement of the project. It is an excellent statement which could serve as a good guide and reference for Wiley and for the educational materials which will be developed in connection with the project.

I am enclosing with this letter the requested statement on the role we see as realistic for the Urban League and what represents almost a minimum budget if we are to effectively implement the program. It is conceivable that due to the dearth of funds and the possibility that other agencies might more effectively cover some of the southern cities where we have Urban Leagues, that our budget could be cut by limiting the number of cities or communities in which we would program.

You will note that a minimum of approximately $9500 would be required for the regional office, and $4200 for each participating local League.

Incidentally, you might be interested to know that if the funds are made available we have secured an agreement from Heman Sweatt, a graduate of the Atlanta University School of Social Work, who has made an outstanding record in community organization with the Cleveland Urban League, and who has had great experience with voter registration drives in the South, to join our staff there in Atlanta.

Finally - the two points I would want most to emphasize are: (1) the necessity for interpreting this as a sound, professional, educational and community organization effort designed to increase citizen participation in the affairs of government; and (2) that it be clearly understood that the agencies, while joining together in a single cooperative effort, will be in fact still playing the different roles which they are best qualified to play historically, philosophically and realistically in light of their personnel qualifications and sources of income.

Sincerely yours,

Whitney

Whitney M. Young, Jr.
Executive Director.

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, NW
Atlanta 3, Georgia

cc: Mr. James Farmer, National Director
Congress of Racial Equality

Mr. Roy Wilkins, Executive Secretary
National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People

The Rev. Wyatt Tee Walker, Executive Director
Southern Christian Leadership Conference
208 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta, Georgia

Mr. Charles McDew, Chairman of the Executive Committee
Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee

Mr. Clarence Coleman, Director
Southern Field Division, National Urban League

AIR MAIL

March 15, 1962

Mr. Whitney M. Young
Executive Director
National Urban League
14 East 48th Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Whitney:

We still do not have any information regarding our request for tax exemption with Internal Revenue, and I must admit that the article in this week's issue of JET does not help the situation any as it raises a red flag for southern congressmen.

Les Dunbar and I had discussed several days ago the possibility of talking with you and others in New York next week regarding the Voter Education Project, but at the time we first discussed it we were optimistic about a favorable ruling having been handed down by that time. Even though we do not yet have the ruling we think it is still a good idea to talk with you.

We will both be in New York next week, arriving on Monday, March 19. I phoned your office today but learned that you would be out until Monday. If it is at all possible, we would like to talk with you and such other members of your staff as you feel you would like to call in to discuss informally matters relating to the Voter Project. Taking into consideration other appointments which we have, we could meet with you on Tuesday, March 20, at any time after 3 p.m., or at any time on Wednesday morning, the 21st. Because we will both be traveling on Monday it will be impossible for us to check with you until we arrive late Monday afternoon, and if neither of these times is convenient we will just have to work something out after we arrive.

Sincerely yours,

Wiley A. Branton
Project Director

April 23, 1962

Mr. Whitney M. Young, Jr.
Executive Director
National Urban League, Inc.
14 East 48th Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Young:

This is to acknowledge receipt of your letter of April 19, which will brought to Mr. Branton's attention as soon as he returns to the office.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Margaret R. Rilling
Secretary to Mr. Branton

APR 23 1962

AMERICAN TEAMWORK WORKS

National Urban League, Inc.

14 EAST FORTY-EIGHTH STREET, NEW YORK 17, N. Y. • PLAZA 1-0300

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April
Nineteenth
1962

Southern Field Division
250 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Attorney Wiley Branton
Director
Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Attorney Branton:

Pursuant to the discussion by the participating agencies in the Voter Education Project on April 17, 1962, and in line with your request, the National Urban League wishes to submit the following supplement to the material already submitted to you, dated January 12 and March 21, 1962:

May I state at the outset, that the Urban League has a long history of concern and interest on the part of its affiliates in the South about voter education. Most specifically, we feel we bring to this particular project the existence of local agencies, professionally staffed, with long experience and residence in these communities, and a vast array of volunteers on boards and committees that are broadly representative of the community with definite loyalty to the agency.

In the routine implementation of the program, as well as through the various drives carried on in the community, we have had to, of necessity, organize the community down to the block level, which gives us a knowledge of leadership and communication existing over a long period of time. As a national agency with some fifty years experience, we bring also, through our affiliates, sound standards of operation, effective administrative relationship between the National and local agency, professional supervision, fiscal stability and responsibility, and a quality of service, responsibly pursued and rarely found in many organizations. Our skills and contributions to a voter registration drive must, therefore, of necessity, be shown in terms of our

qualitative performance through the establishment of effective relationship and the maintenance of professional standards, rather than on the basis of quantative procedural criteria.

As you have probably already gathered from your knowledge, experience and research, every successful drive in voter registration efforts in a city where an Urban League is located, is dependent historically on this agency to provide many of the ingredients needed for success. Such things as office facilities, community organizational skills, recruitment and in-service training for local volunteers make us uniquely qualified. Probably our greatest asset is the ability of our staff to work effectively, but quietly, behind the scenes, promoting lay leadership in both visible and satisfying roles. We are extremely proud of a record of working cooperatively with groups toward the accomplishment of common community goals.

Further, in view of the fact that we are a tax-exempt agency, we are also quite conscious of operating within the framework of such a status. With this as a background and conscious of the limited funds for the projects, we have reviewed in detail both the task to be performed and the capacity of our twelve local affiliates in the South to make a substantial contribution to this program.

Below we are identifying six of our Leagues as those which we feel will meet all criteria for effective work in this area. I cannot over-emphasize the importance of standardized roles which will be placed in the Regional Office in the area which carries continuing responsibility and supervision of all working programs of the Affiliates. This will assure a high level of performance for the program, not only in cities we have indicated, but will assure cooperation with organizations that may be carrying responsibility for the Project in other cities where we have local Leagues. The six cities which we offer and recommend strongly as areas to be seriously considered by the Project Director as targets for the Urban League are as follows:

1. Jacksonville, Florida
2. Fort Worth, Texas
3. New Orleans, Louisiana
4. Little Rock, Arkansas
5. Winston-Salem, N. C.
6. Richmond, Virginia

In each of these cities there is not only the enthusiastic interest and cooperation on the part of staff and board, there is also a history of cooperative activity from the leadership in each of these cities. From the standpoint of the latter, complete confidence in the capacity of these cities to do an effective job, supervised by the Regional Office, can be fully relied upon.

May I again point out that the Urban League finds pleasure and satisfaction in the hope of working in this project with other agencies which have similar goals. It is also our desire to help develop, through this cooperative effort, not only the immediate results of greater voter education, but an example of teamwork of which we shall all be proud.

As to finances, we could, of course, easily and productively utilize a budget of some $70,000 in the cities indicated above. We are, however, aware of the limitations of the Project's presently available funds and are extremely appreciative of your very able direction in the difficult task of allocating these funds, and we, therefore, will accept realistically your judgment as we are sure you will make a wise decision necessary for this mammoth and unending effort.

As we indicated to you at the meeting, our contact person for the program details will be Clarence D. Coleman, Director of the Southern Regional Office. Allocation of funds, however, should be made directly to the National Office, where extreme caution will be observed in the separation and keeping of this account to comply with the requirements of the Project.

Please indicate the period for which the grant is being made.

Sincerely yours,

Whitney M. Young, Jr.

Whitney M. Young, Jr.
Executive Director

May 4, 1962

Mr. Whitney M. Young
Executive Director
National Urban League
14 East 48th Street
New York 17, New York

RE: VEP 2-7

Dear Mr. Young:

This will confirm a telephone conversation which I had on May 3, 1962, with Mr. Clarence Coleman regarding the immediate participation by the National Urban League in the voter registration program. Because of the fact that we do not have sufficient funds to enable us to give all of the participating agencies the full amounts which they have requested for their voter registration programs, and the further fact that we are currently negotiating with other foundations for financial assistance to our Project, we have decided to concentrate all of our efforts for the next 90 days in the following six states where registration deadlines have not yet passed: Louisiana (June 27), Tennessee (July 3), Mississippi, South Carolina (May 12), North Carolina (May 12), Virginia (June 9).

We note that the National Urban League has three affiliates interested in working in the voter registration program in the six states where we are currently concentrating our efforts: Winston-Salem, Richmond, and New Orleans. We have a request pending from the coordinated group in New Orleans, and there is some possibility that AFL-CIO will advance the funds for the greater New Orleans registration campaign. While reserving an opinion regarding the New Orleans participation, we are prepared to make a grant to National Urban League in the amount of $5,750 to carry on a 90-day program in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, and Richmond, Virginia.

We leave it entirely to the discretion of National Urban League as to the amount which will be spent in either of the

assigned areas because we recognize the fact that you may want to carry on a crash program in Winston-Salem in advance of the May 12 deadline, although it appears that you could still carry on registration efforts after the registration deadline. During the next 90 days we will be working on a long range program for the eleven southern states in which we intend to operate, and we will notify you at the earliest possible date as to our decision regarding the participation of your organization in the long range program.

In keeping with certain legal requirements which we are obligated to follow, it will be necessary that the proceeds of this grant be deposited in a separate bank account and all expenditures be supported by vouchers and proper records maintained and available to our staff for auditing at all reasonable times. Within the next few days we will furnish you with a statement of the statistical information which we shall expect you to furnish the Voter Education Project regarding your activities in the voter registration program.

We are enclosing a statement containing the conditions under which this grant has been made to your organization. Please acknowledge receipt of this letter and your understanding of the conditions of the grant as stated on the enclosure by signing the carbon copy of this letter enclosed herewith and returning the same to us at once.

Our check in the amount of $5,750 is enclosed. $750 of this amount is for your administrative overhead, and you are free to use it in any manner that you deem proper in connection with your total registration efforts. The remaining $5,000 must be spent on your voter registration program in the areas assigned to you herein.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton
Project Director

Enclosures

Copy to Mr. Clarence D. Coleman

WAB/mr

AMERICAN TEAMWORK WORKS

MAY 11 1962

National Urban League, Inc.

14 EAST FORTY-EIGHTH STREET, NEW YORK 17, N. Y. • PLAZA 1-0300

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HENRY STEEGER

Senior Vice-President
MALCOLM ANDRESEN

Vice-Presidents
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Thomas G. Young
Charles S. Zimmerman

May
Ninth
1 9 6 2

Dear Mr. Branton:

This is to confirm acceptance of the 90-day assignment which you have given the Urban League as a part of the Voter Education Project, and to acknowledge receipt of your check in the amount of $5,750 to underwrite our efforts during this period. As you suggest, we will deposit this money in a separate account, and will closely follow the intent as well as the specifics you have outlined as conditions governing the use of these grants.

Specifically, it is our plan to use this grant to partially underwrite a portion of the services which will have to come from the Regional Office in Atlanta, and for part-time personnel and clerical services in the two cities assigned to us -- Richmond, Virginia and Winston-Salem, North Carolina. In addition, travel and necessary materials in connection with the project will be taken from the grant.

We will make available to you at any time a detailed accounting of the disposition of the funds received for the project. I am hopeful that we will so demonstrate our effectiveness that voting will be greatly stimulated in these areas, and that the League will be used to an even greater extent in the programs projected after the 90-day period.

Sincerely yours,

Whitney Young

Whitney M. Young, Jr.
Executive Director.

P.S. Unless we hear differently, we will assume that the 90-day period covers May 1st through August 1st.

Mr. Wiley A. Branton, Project Director
Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Street, NW
Atlanta 3, Georgia

June 22, 1962

Mr. Heman M. Sweatt
Associate Director
Southern Regional Office
National Urban League, Inc.
250 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Re: R-1-62

Dear Mr. Sweatt:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of June 21 in response to our R-1-62 request.

We fully understand the situation regarding the National Urban League as we were aware of the fact that the deadline for registration in Virginia and North Carolina was very close behind the date of our grant. I had talked with your Urban League Secretary in Richmond and learned that a fall campaign was planned.

As soon as you have developed plans for your Winston-Salem and Richmond Projects, we would like to have this information. We hope at an early date that we can make some commitment to the Urban League regarding long-range participation by some of your other affiliates.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton
Project Director

WAB:gwc

AMERICAN TEAMWORK WORKS

JUN 22 1962

National Urban League, Inc.

14 EAST FORTY-EIGHTH STREET, NEW YORK 17, N. Y. • PLAZA 1-0300

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Boyd L. Wilson
Frank H. Wyman
Thomas G. Young
Charles S. Zimmerman

June
Twenty-first
1962

Send Reply To:
Southern Regional Office
250 Auburn Ave., N.E., Room 511
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Mr. Wiley Branton, Project Director
Voter Education Project
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Room 206
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Branton:

As of your R-1-62 request for specified information on the progress of organization and results achieved under local Urban League coordination of Voter Education Projects in Richmond, Virginia and Winston-Salem, North Carolina, we wish the acceptance of the following statements as preliminary compliance occasioned by circumstances peculiar to campaign schedules of these cities.

RICHMOND, VIRGINIA

Ninety-day period approved for campaign is September 15 - December 15, 1962, as official Registration period in Richmond is at conflict with ninety-day period prescribed by Project.

Moreover, Registration is predicated on prior payment of Poll Tax; hence the wisdom in the above approved dates, and the inability to supply at this time a meaningful "progress report."

WINSTON-SALEM, NORTH CAROLINA

Ninety-day period approved: June through August, with organization getting underway June 15.

Yet the specifics of R-1-62 relating to staffing, local registration statistical data, participating

organizations, etc., have been requested and will be forwarded early next week.

Both of these cities submitted preliminary plans on which we recommended approval; however, as we interpret R-1-62 to relate to the specific experiences transpiring in the unfolding of these plans, the above particulars set forth the conflicts in time-tables that delay compliance as of the requested date.

Nevertheless, please be assured that we are sensitive to the operational and reporting demands of our participation in the Voter Education Project and, in the case of Winston-Salem, will follow through for supplying the requested data as hurriedly as possible.

May we suggest that communications of the nature of R-1-62 be sent directly to the Southern Regional Office in order that they may be processed with the minimum of delay.

Again hoping that the particulars noted above with respect to the two approved projects of Urban Leagues will explain the problems posed for us in meeting your initial deadline for progress reporting.

Yours very truly,

Heman M. Sweatt

Heman M. Sweatt
Associate Director

HMS:MW

June 26, 1962

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Mr. Heman M. Sweatt, Associate Director
National Urban League, Inc.

FROM: John Walker, Assistant to Project Director

You have been mailed copies of The Negro and the Ballot, a pamphlet by Margaret Price. We think you will find this pamphlet informative and helpful, though it is slightly out of date (the figures are based on the 1959 Census Estimates).

NUL

AMERICAN TEAMWORK WORKS

JUL 16 1962

National Urban League, Inc.

14 EAST FORTY-EIGHTH STREET, NEW YORK 17, N. Y. • PLAZA 1-0300

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Charles S. Zimmerman

July
Thirteenth
1962

Dear Wiley:

After conferring with members of our staff, including Clarence Coleman and Heman Sweatt, we do not see any indication of a substantial change in the original proposal which we made to your office as to the role and participation of the Urban League.

I might mention one or two possible exceptions: One, it now appears that the Jacksonville Urban League will not be able to provide the leadership; two, a number of leaders in Birmingham have expressed the hope that even though we do not have an affiliate in that city, the Urban League might assume major leadership (through its Regional Office) in their efforts. A more detailed recommendation on this is being developed by our Southern Regional Office.

I must commend you for the excellent leadership you have provided this project and the extensive and favorable press coverage which it has received. This cannot help but result in a greatly increased number of registered voters, and subsequently, a better overall racial climate for the South.

Sincerely,

Whitney

Whitney M. Young, Jr.
Executive Director

Mr. Wiley A. Branton
Project Director
Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

cc: Clarence D. Coleman

AMERICAN TEAMWORK WORKS

National Urban League, Inc.

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Send Reply To:
Southern Regional Office
250 Auburn Ave., N.E., Room 511
Atlanta 3, Georgia

August
Seventh
1962

AUG - 8 1962

Mr. Wiley Branton, Director
Voter Education Project
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Room 206
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Wiley:

We are enclosing two kits of promotional material that we have in bulk for use in Voter-Education Campaigns.

As you will note each piece of material has been adapted for service in all types of working relationships into which either a local Urban League or the Regional Office might be called upon to play in the project.

For example, if the consultative role Coleman has volunteered in Birmingham would be of continuing assistance to the program there, or if certains of this kit material would be helpful, we stand generally geared to playing our part to make the Voter-Education Project a success.

Yours very truly,

HMSweatt

Heman M. Sweatt, Associate Dir.
Southern Regional Office

HMS/as
Enc.

NON-PARTISAN
VOTER
EDUCATION CAMPAIGNS

Sponsored by THE NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE • 14 East Forty-eighth Street • New York 17, N.Y. • PLaza 1-0300

SUGGESTIONS FOR ORGANIZING AN EFFECTIVE NON-PARTISAN VOTER EDUCATION CAMPAIGN

INITIAL STEPS IN ORGANIZATION

If no effective organization exists in your community for promoting a non-partisan voter educational campaign, it is advisable to begin by calling together representatives from as wide a cross-section of local community organizations as possible. This would include grass-root leadership from the neighborhood level.

If the need is simply that of strengthening an existing organization, it would be wise to encourage others interested in organizing this kind of a campaign to join forces with the group already established.

In either event, care should be taken from the beginning to insure against the entrance of partisan political expressions or promotions into the discussions of plans or promotional speeches and publicity.

ESTABLISHING GOALS

In setting the goals of your campaign, you need to know the total number of individuals from all groups in the community who are registered at the beginning of your campaign. Additionally, you need to know the total number of persons who are registered from the specific group toward which the campaign is directed. Finally, you should know the total number of persons within the group from which you wish to increase registrants who meet the legal age requirement for registering.

TIMING

The best results from a voter education campaign are usually obtained through the timing of the program with the approach of an election. This means that any election which arouses local citizen interest provides a stimulating force for response to the efforts of your campaign.

Additionally, planning should be targeted far enough in advance of the opening date of registration books to insure full preparation and readiness when the books open.

A specific period should be set for the campaign, including widely publicized beginning and closing dates. By so doing you help to create the very important sense of urgency in Registering Now, without delay. Also, it will encourage volunteers and paid workers alike to take full advantage of the interest generated by the approaching election as guards against the discouragement and tiring that sets in when campaigns are allowed to last too long.

OTHER CONSIDERATIONS IN PLANNING

In planning your campaign, you should consider making use of every available community meeting for stimulating interest. Churches, lodges, social clubs, and labor unions are a few examples of good resources for getting across repeatedly the message of the campaign.

The first experience at registering, which is frequently accompanied by fear, may be made easier by encouraging a friend who has registered previously to go to the Registration Office with the new prospect.

Another stimulant to registration may be free transportation for unregistered individuals to and from the Registration Office, as provided by volunteer car pools.

Registration "schools" should be established for persons who are in need of assistance in meeting the requirements of registering.

Appropriate committees should be set up for handling the varied responsibilities connected with the campaign, and to insure full involvement of participating volunteers.

Finances necessary to make the campaign a success may be obtained from the participating organizations, and a campaign budget should be established and supervised by a competent committee. As the budget permits, provisions should be made for full-time or part-time staff and for a campaign headquarters. Regardless of budget, however, the cost of operating any campaign of this nature can be greatly reduced by adequate recruiting and making proper use of volunteers.

Don't forget the importance of continuing publicity that points up the benefits to come from registering and intelligent voting.

Finally, behind all that you have done to get the unregistered Registered is the more far-reaching goal of increasing votes. Thus, the reminder must be kept ever present that Registering is merely the qualifying step to Voting, and that ... THE PROOF OF THE PUDDING IS IN INTELLIGENT VOTING.

AN INFORMATION KIT FOR

PLANNING EFFECTIVE NON-PARTISAN VOTER EDUCATION CAMPAIGNS

AMERICAN TEAMWORK WORKS

MAY 23 1963

WBB

National Urban League, Inc.

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Send Reply To:
Southern Regional Office
250 Auburn Ave., N.E., Room 511
Atlanta 3, Georgia

May
Twenty-second
1 9 6 3

Mr. Wiley A. Branton, Director
Voter Education Project
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Wiley:

This comes to review with you the prospects of participation of the National Urban League in the forthcoming program period of the Voter Education Project.

As we understand matters, Fort Worth, Texas, Little Rock, Arkansas, and Richmond, Virginia, where we have held previous campaigns, are not being considered for further VEP activity because of decisions relating to the poll tax payments as an annually timed requirement of voting eligibility.

At Jacksonville, Florida, where our Urban League affiliate is very interested in undertaking a campaign, it is our understanding that the NAACP is to assume responsibility as part of a state-wide arrangement.

In this connection, Clarence discovered much unhappiness in Jacksonville over last year's allocation through NAACP channels of $200.00 for their campaign and the limited results necessarily achieved.

This is not related to plant seeds of inter-agency discord. Rather, it is to reaffirm the interest of the Jacksonville Urban League in helping to improve the productivity of VEP funds placed there.

As we interpret the New Orleans request to apply to a community-wide coordinated program, funds to be allotted there will be under the administration of a specially created committee free of standing agency connections or supervision.

This, then, means that Winston-Salem looms as the only city wherein the Urban League will carry direct program responsibilites for the grant period beginning June 1, 1963.

If this summary is accurate, we wish to renew our commitment of availability and desire to be of assistance in any way that we can to the successes of the campaigns in the communities where VEP funds are to be channeled.

With warm personal regards,

Yours truly,

Heman

Heman M. Sweatt, Associate Director
Southern Regional Office
National Urban League

HMS/acs

Memo from JACK MINNIS

URBAN LEAGUE agency

6-19- 63

I would not favor any additional grants to UL until they have shown in each case that they have the staff and structure to make effective use of what they request. In Winston-Salem I found only very limited structure. Plus the fact that the few people that were registered is claimed by three different groups.

R. Blackwell

Memo from JACK MINNIS

6-19-63

This looks to me like a request for $3,500 in overhead. I think it would be a mistake to turn any of the agencies loose with any amount of money without definite commitments as to the resources they will supply to specific projects for specific times.

This is, I think, a request that we "channel funds".

Minnis

AMERICAN TEAMWORK WORKS

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Maida Springer
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Harry Van Arsdale, Jr.
William O. Walker
Frank H. Wyman
Thomas G. Young

Herbert B. Evans
Legal Counsel

JUN 3 1963

May
Thirty-first
1 9 6 3

Dear Mr. Branton:

This is to request that the Voter Education Project consider an additional grant of $3,500 to the National Urban League which would permit us to provide supportive and supervisory services from our Southern Regional Office of the type which we supplied during the past fiscal year of the program.

Despite the fact that VEP efforts will not be conducted in poll tax states, it seems most desirable that the National Urban League continue to work closely with the effort which has already been approved for Winston-Salem, North Carolina, as well as with the ongoing community efforts in New Orleans, Louisiana, and certain other cities which received such help from our staff last year. The figure of $3,500 would represent a portion of the professional and clerical staff time of our Southern Regional Office staff, as well as an allowance for travel and related incidental expenses.

We appreciate the fact that the $5,000 grant for the Winston-Salem project has been approved and received and hope you will be able to take favorable action on this supplemental request.

Sincerely yours,

Whitney Young

Whitney M. Young, Jr.
Executive Director

Mr. Wiley A. Branton
Project Director
Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Room 206
Atlanta 3, Georgia

cc: Clarence D. Coleman

EQUAL OPPORTUNITY DAY DINNER

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 19, 1963
GRAND BALLROOM
THE WALDORF-ASTORIA HOTEL
NEW YORK CITY

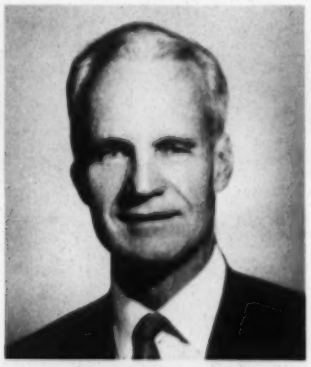
NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE

EQUAL OPPORTUNITY DAY / NOVEMBER NINETEENTH

On the 100th anniversary of the Gettysburg Address . . .
In the 100th year of the Emancipation Proclamation . . .
Equal Opportunity Day . . . November 19, 1963, reminds us of past shortcomings. . .dedicates us to their immediate and ultimate correction.
Sponsored by the National Urban League, celebrated by official proclamations and citizen meetings, Equal Opportunity Day points toward fulfillment of the promise of our moral and political systems.
On this day, leaders of American industry — management and labor — reaffirm their belief that each man, woman, and child, without regard to race, color, or origin, must have equal opportunity to make his maximum contribution to society and to the world.

MARTIN E. SEGAL
Chairman
Honorary Dinner Committee

WHITNEY M. YOUNG, JR.
Executive Director
National Urban League



HENRY STEEGER
President
National Urban League

MENU

Supreme of Fresh Fruit Lucullus
Decorated with Berries of the Season

□

Key West Turtle Soup

□

Hearts of Celery
Ripe & Green Olives

□

Filet of Beef Chasseur
Champs Elysees Potatoes
French Stringbeans Saute with Almonds

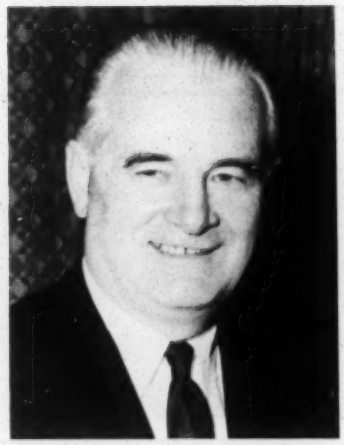
□

Frozen Souffle Alaska
Brandied Cherries Jubilee
Petit Fours

□

Demi Tasse

The 1963 EOD Awards



MR. HARRY VAN ARSDALE, JR., is president of the New York City Central Labor Council and Chief spokesman for one million workers in the metropolitan area. A leader for more than thirty years of Local 3 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, AFL-CIO, Mr. Van Arsdale has distinguished himself as a pioneer in negotiating a wide variety of social, educational, cultural and welfare benefits for his union. He embarked successfully on a campaign to increase substantially the number of Negro and Puerto Rican apprentices in the electrical union. He is a director of organizations covering many endeavors, such as the National Urban League, the 1964 New York World's Fair Corporation, the Carnegie Hall Corporation, and the Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts. To all of these activities he devotes his boundless energies, and a vast impatience to "get the job done" in helping to make our city a better place for all to live and work.

MR. H. I. ROMNES is president of the Western Electric Company, the manufacturing and supply unit of the Bell Telephone System, and a distinguished leader in the cause of equal opportunity. He has demonstrated this by being one of the first to sign the President's "Plan for Progress." He and his company embraced the letter and the spirit of this program, and, in so doing, Western Electric has been placed in the vanguard of American industry that strives to offer equal employment opportunities to all. An engineer by profession, Mr. Romnes' notable Bell System career, which spans more than thirty years, earned him an honorary Doctor of Laws degree from his Alma Mater, the University of Wisconsin, as "one of the eternal infantrymen of technology who consolidate the conquests of science into useful products." Equally, he has earned the mantle as a champion of human rights by his dedication to the cause of employment without regard to race, creed or color.

PROGRAM

NATIONAL ANTHEM

MISS LORETTA FOWLKES

INVOCATION

THE REV. EDLER G. HAWKINS
St. Augustine Presbyterian Church

HENRY STEEGER
President, National Urban League

MARTIN E. SEGAL
Dinner Chairman

WHITNEY M. YOUNG, JR.
Executive Director, National Urban League

GEORGE MEANY
President, American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
President, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, AFL-CIO

HARRY VAN ARSDALE, JR.
President, New York City Central Labor Council, AFL-CIO
HONORED GUEST

THOMAS J. WATSON, JR.
Board Chairman, International Business Machines Corporation

H. I. ROMNES
President, Western Electric Company
HONORED GUEST

THE HON. LUTHER H. HODGES
Secretary of Commerce

MISS LESLIE UGGAMS

NAT JONES
AND HIS ORCHESTRA

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National Urban League

14 East 48th Street New York, N. Y. 10017

file Urban League Conference

MAY 1965

April
Ninth
1965

MEMORANDUM

TO: DELEGATES TO THE COMMUNITY ACTION ASSEMBLY

FROM: Mrs. Isobel Chisholm Clark
Associate Director - Special Programs
And Assembly Coordinator

: : :

Enclosed please find the promised Guidelines, as a result of the Community Action Assembly, held last December, sponsored by the National Urban League.

We do hope these guidelines will serve as an additional stimulus for local leadership, in your efforts to develop community action in achieving full equality of opportunity for all citizens.

I have also included Job Corps Facts from the Office of Economic Opportunity as another informational piece, for interpretation to the youth of your community.

Thank you for your continued support in these significant programs of mutual concern.

:

GUIDELINES FOR COMMUNITY ACTION

A publication of the . . .

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE
14 East 48th Street
New York, N. Y. 10017

OFFICE OF ECONOMIC
OPPORTUNITY

PUBLIC AFFAIRS
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506
382-5216

Job Corps Facts

The Job Corps is a national voluntary program that will give poor youngsters a new chance to help themselves.

Young people from the ages of 16 through 21 who are largely unemployable because they lack education and job skills to move ahead will be placed in Job Corps Centers where they can develop skills and self-confidence. The youngsters are carefully screened and must be willing to work hard to improve themselves.

Some centers will be located on public lands operated by conservation agencies such as the Departments of Agriculture and Interior. Other larger centers will be in unused federal government facilities near metropolitan areas. They will provide a new educational approach.

This approach offers a residential environment and a total learning experience tailored to develop new habits and attitudes. Young men and women will receive basic education, skill training, and sound work experience.

The purpose is to enable youngsters to obtain and keep jobs in which they can advance, return to school, or join the military service.

The Job Corps is aimed specifically at one million young people who have not completed secondary education, who have been unable to find a satisfactory job, and whose reading and arithmetic skills range from the 4th to the 7th grade levels. Some high school graduates will be enrolled in exceptional cases.

The Corpsmen

About 40,000 young men and women, from all sections of America, can be enrolled in the first year, and 100,000 in the second year. They will come from rural and urban areas. They will include members of different religious, racial and ethnic groups. Criminals, addicts, and others with serious emotional or psychological disorders will not be eligible for the Job Corps.

Many of the youngsters will have been estranged and insulated from the main stream of society by their environment. Many have been victims of substandard housing, overcrowded schools, and disrupted homes. Some live in areas removed from work and training opportunities.

Although their school achievement may have been low, their intelligence level is about the same as the population as a whole.

To be enrolled in the Job Corps, they must show promise of success and must want to join. Their reading and other needs will be diagnosed on an individual basis. Each will be assigned, insofar as possible, to training that fits his interests and aptitudes. The enrollee and an experienced counselor will decide together what kind of Job Corps Center he should enter.

Job Corps Centers

Centers in rural areas composed of 100 to 200 corpsmen will perform long-needed conservation work on the nation's forests, parks, and natural resources. The youngsters will work in small groups under the supervision of experienced members of the Forest Service, National Park Service, Bureau of Indian Affairs, and the Bureaus of Land Management, Reclamation, and Sport Fisheries and Wildlife. They will learn basic surveying, forest technician skills, weed and pest control, farm skills, fence construction, carpentry, masonry, elementary entomology, equipment operation and maintenance, fire control and prevention skills, cooking, and typing. They will receive personalized instruction by teachers and trained VISTA volunteers. There will be emphasis on the development of civic responsibility and wholesome attitudes.

For every 100 corpsmen, there will be a staff of 21 professional and administrative personnel, including VISTA volunteers. The Job Corps and the Departments of Agriculture and Interior are responsible for operation of the camps. The trainees themselves will handle most of the administration and maintenance, and will take part in setting rules and regulations. VISTA volunteers will work closely with corpsmen in all activities. Physical fitness training will include nutrition and personal hygiene. Basic education will include arithmetic, reading, writing and speaking. Vocational training will include how to get and hold a job, good work habits and attitudes. The program will employ self-teaching, including the use of programmed learning materials, individual tutoring, and group instruction, when that is appropriate.

Other Job Corps Centers of 1,000 to 2,000 corpsmen will be housed in unused military and other government facilities near urban areas. These centers will offer more intensive and more specialized vocational training. Operation will be contracted to colleges, universities, and other organizations The program may include on-the-job training with local businesses.

Among the occupations for which youngsters are expected to be trained are office machine operator; shipping, accounting and file clerk; data processing machine operator; sales clerk; hospital orderly; waiter, cook, and counter worker; custodial-maintenance jobs; farm equipment operator; appliance and automotive repairman; laundry and dry cleaning work; meat cutters; machine tool operators; and so on. Skills taught will vary from one center to the next. Some centers will specialize in certain occupational categories.

Universities and other institutions interested in operating a larger Job Corps Center may submit proposals to the Job Corps under guidelines set up by the Office of Economic Opportunity. The details of how the center will be operated, the rules and regulations, will be worked out by the Job Corps and the contracting university.

Centers for Women

The women's program will be similar to the Job Corps Center program for men. In addition to basic education, vocational training, and work experience, young women will be trained in family responsibilities. They will be taught how to establish a stable home atmosphere and to rear emotionally and physically healthy children. They will learn about managing money, caring for the home, buying food and clothing, and good health habits.

Selection of Corpsmen

The recruiting of Job Corpsmen will depend largely on referrals by interested individuals and agencies. U. S. Employment Service offices, churches, schools, settlement houses, public and private welfare agencies, boy's clubs, selective service boards, and others will assist in the selection process.

Job Placement

Congress has authorized that Corpsmen may spend a maximum of two years in the Job Corps. However, the average corpsman or woman will spend about a year in the corps. The corps

cannot guarantee a job, but employment chances will be greatly increased. The placement effort begins at the time an enrollee enters the corps. The Job Corps works closely with industry and private agencies to develop job opportunities specifically for corps graduates.

Allowances and Services

Congress has authorized that corps members be paid a "terminal allowance" of $50 for every month they have spent in the corps. Up to $25 of this amount may be alloted to a dependent, and the government will match such allotments with an equal amount. The trainee will receive daily pocket money ($30 a month), room, board and his clothing. The corps will arrange for his medical and dental care by local physicians and dentists, in federal facilities if necessary.

FACTS ABOUT RURAL CENTERS

Selection of center staff personnel is a key part of the Job Corps program. All will receive special training.

Each staff for a rural center includes a Director, a Deputy Director for Education, a Deputy Director for Work Programs, and an Administrative Officer. The center director will, in many cases, be a career Interior Department or Forest Service employe with 10 to 25 years experience, who has demonstrated leadership and the ability to work with young men. The Deputy for Education, experienced or trained in teaching, psychology, or social work, will supervise an experienced counselor and two senior teachers in a 100-man center, and three teachers in a 200-man center. The Deputy for Work Programs will head a staff of three work supervisors in a 100-man center, five in a 200-man center, and technical specialists who will lead work details. The administrative officer, supervising the clerk and two cooks, will keep records and care for the physical needs of center personnel. In addition, VISTA (Volunteers in Service to America) Volunteers will be assigned as advisers to small groups of corpsmen.

Education Program

The purpose of the centers is to provide a specialized education for young people who have not benefited from conventional schooling. The Job Corps can adopt and develop new techniques and materials to offer a full-time learning experience. The techniques will include "self-teaching"

through the use of newly-developed programmed learning courses; association with adult leaders and learning by their example; audio-visual methods; tutoring; classroom instruction, and social relationships with other corpsmen in group activity. Corpsmen will learn how to fill out job applications, how to go about getting a job, and how to keep a job. This environment is expected to give the corpsman the confidence and healthy attitudes with which to use his new skills.

Work Program

Job Corpsmen will not displace local workers. The work will include construction of campground and picnic areas, property line surveys, road and nature trail construction, erosion control, fire hazard reduction, reforestation, landscaping, sanitation, fencing, logging and sign making. Corpsmen will also work in the kitchens, in supply rooms, offices and maintenance shops.

Benefits to Communities

The main long range benefit to local communities will be the conservation work done by corpsmen. The economic impact of a Job Corps Center will be a more immediate benefit to nearby communities. It is estimated that a 100-man center near a community would bring $180,000 a year in business to local merchants.

It is estimated that corpsmen will spend about half of their living allowance in local communities. Many center staff members will live in nearby communities. Those who do will spend an estimated $300 a month on housing, food and clothing. Where possible, clerks and cooks for the camp will be hired locally. A center will buy most perishable foods and a good portion of its nonperishable items locally, especially in the first year of operation.

Center Locations

The Office of Economic Opportunity plans to open 150 rural centers. A large portion of the centers will be located in the western half of the country because much of the federal land is there.

Free Time

Both corpsmen and staff will receive periodic home leave. Supervised recreation in the center will include group

participation sports, special hobby activities, and other projects. Corpsmen may develop sports teams that can compete with local teams. Men will be encouraged to attend special classes to broaden their education in off-duty hours.

All corpsmen will have an opportunity to attend religious services, either in local churches, or if that cannot be arranged, in the center. It is expected that corpsmen will volunteer some off-duty time to work in local community projects.

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WB

An Address by

The Honorable Lyndon Baines Johnson

THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

★ ★ ★

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE

Community Action Assembly

THE SHERATON-PARK HOTEL

WASHINGTON, D. C.

DECEMBER 10, 1964

NEGRO AMERICAN LABOR COUNCIL

217 WEST 125th STREET • NEW YORK 27, N.Y. • MOnument 2-5080

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440

February 16, 1962

Mr. George Barrett, Attorney
Stahlman Building
Nashville, Tennessee

My dear Mr. Barrett:

I have enclosed a blind copy of my letter and statement to you and Mr. Wiley Branton, on the outside chance that you might miss Monday's meeting.

Trusting that this will meet your needs, I am

Respectfully and sincerely,

Horace L. Sheffield

Horace L. Sheffield, Vice President
Negro American Labor Council

HLS:em

February 16, 1962

Messrs Wiley A. Branton and George Barrett
Voters Educational Project, Room 206
No. 5, Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Immediately upon hearing of the formation of the Voter Education Project, I contacted our President, Mr. A. Philip Randolph, regarding a statement of support and cooperation from the NALC.

I am delighted to advise that Mr. Randolph has authorized the following, on behalf of our organization.

~~"The recent announcement that the NAACP, the National Urban League, CORE, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and the Student Non-Violent Co-ordinating Committee were uniting in a drive to increase voter registration in the South.~~

The Negro American Labor Council views the recent announcement that the NAACP, the National Urban League, CORE, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and the Student Non-Violent Co-ordinating Committee were untting in a drive to increase voter registration in the South as a most significant development and one that should give real impetus to the civil rights' struggle.

While the success of this drive will have its greatest impact in the South, its effect will be felt all over America. The service that it will render in enlarging the dimensions of full citizenship for all Americans regardless of race or color, will be of inestimable worth in remolding the image of America as the land of the free. The Negro American Labor Council wholeheartedly endorses and supports this "Voter Education Project."

With best wishes, I am

Respectfully and sincerely,

Horace L. Sheffield, Vice-President
Negro American Labor Council

HLS:em

Reprinted from

THE NEW YORK TIMES, SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 25, 1962.

NEGROES HELPED TO GAIN COLLEGE

Northern Student Movement Offers Tutorial Aid

By THOMAS P. RONAN

The Northern Student Movement, organized a little more than a year ago, is making a significant and rapidly expanding contribution to the solution of educational problems among minority groups in Northern communities.

Using volunteer college students as tutors, it is holding classes for high school students, most of them Negroes, in an attempt to remedy educational deficiencies and prepare as many as possible for college.

It is also trying to interest more members of minority groups in going to college and to persuade colleges to recruit them as students.

The movement began in discussions by a handful of students at a conference sponsored by the New England Student Christian Movement in June, 1961.

The idea was to create a Northern student civil rights movement to fight discrimination in the North and to assist similar movements in the South.

Gather at New Haven

In October of that year, student representatives of 20 colleges gathered at New Haven at the invitation of a committee set up at the conference to form an organization and adopt a program.

From that modest beginning, the movement spread until now it has affiliated groups at 65 colleges and universities in New York, Pennsylvania and New England.

With the help of a permanent staff of three at its New Haven headquarters, the Movement acts as coordinator for these groups in their civil rights and educational activities.

Heading this staff as executive director is Peter Countryman, who was a junior at Yale when he left in November, 1961, to devote full time to the movement.

Philadelphia Project

AIDES FOR EDUCATION: Peggy Dempsey, in wheelchair, a Temple University junior, tutors Dianne Bouman, a 10th grade pupils at Philadelphia's Simon Gratz High School, in Spanish. With them is Timothy Parson, area tutorial director of the Notrhern Student Movement, an organization of college students dedicated to aiding minority groups.

Perhaps its most outstanding success, and one that has tended to turn the movement's emphasis more and more to education, was its tutorial project for high school students in Philadelphia last summer.

The movement sent 20 college students, Negroes and whites, to the city to lay the groundwork. Living with the Negro community, they obtained jobs ranging from iceman to office worker and recruited 155 college volunteers to help them.

Throughout July and August the tutors gave free instruction in academic subjects to 375 high school students. Two nights a week they held 90-minute classes in boys clubs, churches, agencies.

Some of the beneficiaries were white, but at least 80 per cent were Negroes.

Mr. Countryman noted recently that Negroes in Philadelphia, like those in other urban centers, are confronted with crowded schools, poor teachers, inadequate facilities "and what probably is most harmful, downshifted curriculum requirements."

The result, he said is a high drop-out rate, discipline problems and a low number—2½ per cent—of students going to college.

The success of the project was demonstrated by the citation given it jointly by Philadelphia's Board of Education, its Commission on Higher Education and its Commission on Human Relations.

Further evidence was the extension of the work. About 350 students in the Philadelphia area are now receiving similar instruction from approximately 300 volunteer student tutors. The aim is individual instruction on a one-to-one basis.

Similar projects are being tried in Chester and Bethlehem, Pa., in Boston and Springfield, Mass., and by the College of New Rochelle in Westchester County, N. Y. The movement plans to extend this work to 15 Northern cities next summer.

In Harlem last summer, 25 volunteers tutored 75 high school students. The movement has now assigned Miss Kathy Rogers, a graduate of Sarah Lawrence, and Carl Anthony, a Negro on leave from Columbia University, as full-time workers, to organize a year-round tutorial program here.

Their immediate objective is to raise funds to make the program possible. The movement thus far has covered its expenses through contributions from charitable foundations, civic groups, churches, labor unions and individuals.

During a recent visit to New York, Thomas K. Gilhool, of Scranton, Pa., chairman of the movement's executive committee and a student at the Yale Law School, said tutorial projects had proved students could do "significant and new things in helping solve educational problems in urban minority communities."

"Our aim is not only to excite the minds of youngsters and to encourage leadership in minority communities but also to introduce in a real way the students of Northern colleges to the complex problems of race and education in urban affairs," he said.

SUMMER TUTORIALS -- 1962

A report on the Philadelphia Tutorial Project and the Harlem Educational Project. Northern Student Movement, 404-A Yale Station, New Haven, Conn.

"The building up of a mass of unemployed and frustrated Negro youth in congested areas of a city is a social phenomenon that may be compared to the piling up of inflammable material in an empty building in a city block. Potentials for trouble -- indeed possibilities for disaster -- are surely there."

James B. Conant
Former President, Harvard University

these reports must be viewed by the reader as retaining the most unique aspect of the summer tutorial projects: they are the product of purely non-professional, but highly creative, students.

we must, however, acknowledge the professional assistance without which the projects would not have succeeded:

> Miss Helen Faust and Dr. Helen Bailey of the Philadelphia Board of Education; Mr. William Cannady, Simon Gratz High School; the Philadelphia Commission on Human Relations; the ministers and social agency heads of North Philadelphia; Rev. Walter Bowen, Tioga Presbyterial Church.

in New York we are indebted to the staff of the Harlem Neighborhood Association and to the Harlem Branch YMCA.

a preface . . . on the problem

North Philadelphia is 85% non-white . . . 80% of its workers are unskilled . . . half of the families are on public assistance . . . some 60% of the students do not finish secondary school . . . the average household unit consists of five adults and five children all living in an apartment of five rooms . . . 50% of the fathers finished ninth grade or less . . . 2% went to college.[1]

Public schools in North Philadelphia stand on alien territory. They receive each year a new throng of small children who are already behind their middle-class counterparts, and the gap is quickly widened by large classes, inadequate teaching and a consistently uncooperative environment. By the time these students reach secondary school the battle has usually been lost: the drop-out rate rises, the disciplinary problems become more intense, the curriculum requirements are forced down and the number of potential college students dwindles.

In this situation the efficacy of teaching large classes at the secondary school level can seriously be questioned. A large proportion of the students have basic deficiencies in reading and mathematics. The teachers, for obvious reasons, are not able to deal with these deficiencies and at the same time complete a prescribed course of study. The students learn little and understand less of the content of these courses. Thus, education, seen as the communication of knowledge from teacher to pupil, becomes lost in mutual discouragement and uncreative mechanics.

Even the trade and commercial courses hold little interest for these students since racial discrimination in employment limits the possibility of a financially secure position in these fields. As a result the adolescents of North Philadelphia seem to have a tremendous drive for higher education as the only sure way out of their present life. For most, however, this drive only tarnishes the value of a non-academic curriculum. Those who do gain entrance to the academic course of study find themselves with the task of moving into the middle-class intellectual environment of college or of attempting to find employment without specific job skills.

The dilemmas to be faced by the student in the depressed communities are many and one wonders at even the few who do survive.

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[1]Information supplied by the Philadelphia Commission on Human Relations.

PHILADELPHIA SUMMER TUTORIAL PROJECT

Introduction

The Philadelphia Project was sponsored by the Northern Student Movement, a coordinating body for sixty campus civil rights groups in the Northeast. The Project grew out of a need on the part of the leadership and staff of NSM to understand the problems of depressed communities in the North and to develop methods for students to work with these communities. A decision was made in March, 1962, to selec a group of campus leaders who would live in an urban Negro community, participate in seminars and administer programs bringing both this staff group and a large number of college students in close contact with people of such a community. Philadelphia was chosen because of close relationships with a number of Negro clergy and educators there

The concept of the tutorial for "underprivileged" youngsters came from a project in Stamford, Connecticut, run by a Yale undergraduate in the summer of 1961. Similar programs had been organized during the academic year 1961-1962 at Yale, Simmons, the University of Chicago, and the University of Pennsylvania. It became our purpos to test the tutorial as an instrument of massive uplift of educationa levels and aspirations as well as meeting our own needs outlined above.

Organization

The project was discussed first with clergy and social agency personnel in the Negro community and then with individuals in the school system. Advice was sought from the Board of Education, the Center for Community Studies at Temple University, prominent professional people and city human relations and welfare agencies. In earl

April, a prospectus was written and staff application forms were sent to the campus groups affiliated with NSM.

In May, the Philadelphia Board of Education agreed to publicize the program in six high schools, to instruct guidance counsellors to cooperate with the Project in the referral of tutees, and to allow us to visit the high schools when the full staff arrived. Letters were sent to some twenty churches and social agencies in the Negro community asking for their co-sponsorship of the Project, financial support,the use of their facilities, publicity and the referral of students. An Advisory Board was formed consisting of representatives from the school system, the Philadelphia Commission on Human Relations, and professional people from the white and Negro communities. An attempt was made to find employment for the coming staff, but this was largely unproductive.

The staff, consisting of twenty-three students from eighteen colleges in the Northeast, arrived in Philadelphia on June 11th. We lived first in a state-supported vocational school but moved later to the parsonage of the Tioga Presbyterian Church. It was three weeks before the entire staff found employment and many had to accept part-time work at subsistence pay. This created a situation of financial insecurity which persisted throughout the summer.

The staff was divided into committees responsible for the tutorials, seminars, publicity, and the extra-curricular programs. It was originally proposed that one member of the staff be hired by the Project as a full-time coordinator; this was changed to two, however, when a foundation grant was received in late June. The grant also provided for the hiring of a high-school guidance counselor, Mr.

William Cannady, as an Education and Community Advisor. The functions of the two coordinators were principally the daily administration of the program and fund-raising. The Advisor counselled the tutors when they encountered academic or psychological problems and served as a liaison between the Project, the community, and the school system.

The first three weeks of the project were spent in an attempt to recruit as many participants as possible. Interracial groups visited the six assigned high schools, and spoke to classes, study halls and individuals. Interested students were urged to see their guidance counselors and fill out application forms which were then sent to the Project. Staff members also spoke to the congregations of local churches, distributing application forms to parents and youth groups. Nineteen churches and social agencies agreed to the use of their facilities two, and in some cases, four times a week. To recruit tutors, staff members visited the Temple and University of Pennsylvania summer schools and talked personally with students from their colleges who lived in Philadelphia. Radio stations and newspapers were asked to publicize the Project and did so throughout the summer.

In the week before tutoring was to begin two orientation sessions were held for prospective tutors. Mr. Cannady, the main speaker, discussed some of the problems which the tutors would encounter. Since the second of these sessions was also devoted to the final recruitment of tutors, matching and placement of the tutors and tutees was delayed until the night before the tutoring was to begin. As a result, the first week of tutoring was somewhat confused, with many people unsure of whom and where they were to meet. Despite this, the initial loss of participants was remarkably low, and by the second week, the Project

had settled down with approximately 175 college s[illegible] secondary school students. Most of the tutees were from public high schools, a few from junior high schools. Approximately 85% of the tutees were Negro; some 60% of the tutors were white.

The project ran for eight weeks, beginning the first of July and ending in late August. Each tutor worked with 1-3 tutees twice a week in the same place. The subjects taught included English, history, physics, chemistry, reading, arithmetic, algebra, geometry, biology, bookkeeping, French, and Spanish. Books were given to the Project by the Philadelphia school system, the Plymouth-Whitemarsh Township high school and the Salvation Army. The semi-week sessions lasted approximately an hour and a half. Each staff member was in charge of one of the tutorial centers and an attempt was made to develop a group consciousness among the participants of the individual centers. All of the tutors at each center met weekly after one of the tutorials to discuss the particular difficulties they were having. Seminars dealing with the community problems of North Philadelphia especially as they related to adolescents were held occasionally for the staff and the tutors. Information on concerts, ballgames, plays, etc. was provided and groups of tutors and tutees frequently attended these "extracurricular" events. Several centers brought in social workers and professional men to speak to the group; one center visited several of the Philadelphia area colleges. In august a picnic was held for all of the Project participants. On the last night of the Project a college opportunities forum was held for the tutees and their families, the principal speakers being a local guidance counselor, and representatives of the National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students, the Board of Education and the Board of Higher Education in Philadelphia.

Evaluation

Staff:

Probably the greatest deficiency in the Project was our inability to utilize effectively the staff's corporate energy and talents. The reasons for this were numerous. First of all, the daily schedules were far too intensive. Five days per week of work followed by four nights of tutoring and semi-weekly staff meetings or seminars left the staff too exhausted to undertake any administrative responsibility beyond heading centers. The two coordinators, therefore, had to adjust and expand the tutorial program, structure the extracurricular program as much as possible, attempt an evaluation of the tutoring and also raise money.[2] As a result only the tutorials were effectively administered (and these were run as much as possible at the center level) and a number of other potential resources were left undeveloped. These included:

-- the work of the Advisor. His function was never clearly outlined and his knowledge of the community and great sensitivity to the problems of the tutees hardly tapped. While it is essential that students work closely with skilled professionals, respective responsibilities and working relationships must be closely defined.

-- the staff's ability to work with the delinquent youth. The presence of twenty-three college students in an interracial grouping could have had a profound effect on the jumbled world of the adolescents in the community. As it was, this effect was limited to tutoring a comparatively small number of students, the weekends were spent in frustrated recuperation out of contact with the

[2]Money was needed for the Project supplies and also to cover the cost of food for the staff.

surrounding community, and those adolescents who would not volunteer for the educational program were never reached. Only toward the end of the summer were informal relationships established with a few "gang" members who began to come occasionally to the parsonage.

-- the staff's ability to develop there a greater concern for education. We were always in a teaching relationship to the community, a temporary island of people who were always too busy even to come to know the people across the street. The Project was co-sponsored by NSM and several community agencies but only two of the community leaders were involved enough to participate actively in the workings of the Project. We became merely an extension of the public school, a service for which the community felt little responsibility.

Tutorials:

Considering the goal of the Project as defined early in the summer, i.e., to test the tutorials as an instrument of massive uplift of educational levels and aspirations, the Project was a success. There was however no way to determine how much of an uplift the tutorials provided, either in terms of the abilities and motivations of the tutees, or the concern for education in the community, or in terms of the sensitivities of the tutors.

The tutors were left, for the most part, to their own teaching devices. They were urged to be as sensitive as possible to their tutees' deficiencies as they appeared. The process of volunteering two nights a week brought to the Project an excellent group of tutors who were interested in their studies and gratified at the chance to

teach. The tutors' concern for intellectual content enabled them to approach their tutees on open terms rather than as subjects in need of benevolence or paternalism. The semi-structured relationship of teacher-pupil plus the informality of the situation and the gregariousness of the tutors led the tutees to be much more absorbed, creative and free to express themselves than they were in school.

In most cases the academic value of the tutoring was small compared to the degree of motivation and confidence imparted to the tutees. This merely verifies the assertion that tutoring is designed to supplement the school curriculum. As illustrations of this one can point to the tutor who found her student's difficulty with biology lay in his inability to read the text, so she substituted a simpler one. In a number of cases the teaching of algebra became the explanation of fundamental arithmetical concents. (Several tutors complained of having trouble teaching grammar, saying that they could speak grammatically but had forgotten the rules.) In other situations the work was more forward-looking, especially where history, English, or a foreign language was taught. Here new material was introduced (a great deal of Negro history was taught; it apparently does not receive much attention in the public schools) and the tutee was asked to write a good deal more than he does in the school. In one case the use of new techniques for teaching geometry induced an eleventh grader to indicate that she wanted to be a mathematician.

Three attempts were made to delineate the dynamic elements in the summer tutorials. A forty item questionnaire was given to the tutees midway through the program, an evaluation form was filled out by the tutors at the same time, and a set of ten questions was sent to all the tutees with a corresponding set to their counselors early

in the fall. Unfortunately none of these forms brought forth reliable information -- the questions put to the tutees were too obvious in their positive and negative values, and the tutor-counsellor forms were too vague.

Several interesting concepts which emerged from these attempts should be noted: Educational motivation seems to be high in the adolescents of the community, dropping off sharply in later years. Parental pressure to join the program was noted in only 7% of the cases. Another illustration: 90% of our tutees indicated that they would like to go to college -- a lower percentage, however, indicated that they expected to go. The tutorials, with their total emphasis on academic subjects and the unconscious pervasion of middle-class educational values, seemed to heighten the drives for and thus anxiety concerning college. The following is a quote from a tutor who had one of the two larger classes:

> "Three of the girls have had Algebra and have received D's and E's. The other two have never had Algebra since they are majoring in dressmaking and practical nursing. The first three are looking forward to going to college: the latter two are unsure of college and do not know what they want to do after finishing school. All five attend sessions regularly...They do not have a great store of knowledge but catch on to ideas very quickly. Except for future ambitions, the group seems to be quite homogeneous and certainly functions well as a unit."

Twenty-five percent of the tutees felt it was true that Negroes cannot get into many New England colleges. The counselors, during the fall, indicated consistently that the tutees showed an increased interest in college and have made greater demands for counselling in this area. Nevertheless, one of the "limitations" of the summer program was that it created needs for greater resources

when these resources do not exist. In an attempt to meet this challenge the summer tutorial in Philadelphia is being carried on through the academic year but this only partially meets the situation.

The effect of the tutorials on the college students can only be termed positive. For the most part they found the teaching intriguing but demanding and it can be said that the tutorials served as a paactical introduction to a possible vocation. The task of teaching a particular subject, in most cases related to their major field of study in college, also gave the tutors a greater insight into their own educational experience. Finally the close personal involvement in the social and educational problems of North Philadelphia tended to both disturb the college students and to give practical bases to their concern for social problems.

Extra-curricular program:

Unfortunately the extra-curricular program began haphazardly and only gained momentum toward the end of the summer. Tutors were encouraged at the first orientation meetings to take their students to concerts, plays, and other events related to the academic work. A calendar of events in Philadelphia was published weekly by the Project and distributed at each center. Center heads tried to organize extra-curricular programs for their own groups. Almost every center attended at least one outdoor concert of the Philadelphia Orchestra. Others went to baseball games, films, and in one case had "reverse tutoring" when the tutees took their tutors to a rock and roll concert. A Sunday afternoon picnic with sandwiches and soft drinks provided by local church groups drew more than three hundred Project participants. Without financial support, however, it was difficult to run a well-planned program of outside events specifically related

to the tutorials.

Again, the tutees were overwhelmingly in favor of the activities planned. One tutor wrote:

> "I was a little skeptical, after a particularly gruelling session on quadratic equations, about suggesting that we spend any more time together that week. I asked, rather timidly, if any of them were interested in going to a Dell concert the next night. To my surprise all three said without hesitation that they wanted to go and what time should they be ready."

This enthusiasm can be easily traced to the comparative narrowness of the lives of many of the tutees, both as adolescents and as members of a depressed community. But it also seemed evident in the summer that the two contiguous programs, tutorial and extracurricular, were extremely complementary. The tutoring gave the extracurricular relationship a firm, constructive base, and the extracurricular activities gave the tutoring both openness and relation to the non-academic world. Education became for the first time not a daily chore with vague rewards fixed in the future, but an experience which was integral to the problem of living from day to day.

Recommendations

A number of specific recommendations have come out of the summer's experience:

1. that in future summer projects the staff number from three to ten students. The larger the staff the more time there will be to involve the community in the project. Once the tutorial is set up and running, the staff could spend the remainder of its time working to develop a greater concern for education among people in that area. Emphasis could be placed on developing leadership potential among youth and involving present leaders

in a comprehensive attempt to deal with the community's educational deficiencies. Methods might include attending social gatherings (church meetings, dances, etc.), speaking before civic groups and church congregations, arranging forums on higher education and leading discussion groups among high school students.

An increased staff also should be able to elaborate on concept of the tutorial, running tutorials for secondary school students, adult education programs and remedial reading for grade school children coextensively. College students could also be involved in the community in a number of non-academic programs such as producing a newspaper, directing plays, etc.

2. that the project begin with a clear definition of the responsibilities and relationships between the staff and any professional help. While as much professional help as can be used should be sought, the students should retain their essential independence, both from individuals and groups.

3. that some professional college guidance should be arranged in preparation for an increased interest in higher education. Perhaps a study should be made of available public and private guidance sources and contact made with these sources before the project gets underway.

4. that an orientation program for tutors should be planned carefully with much emphasis placed on tutees' environment as it relates to their education and educational needs. This information should be continually supplemented during the course of the summer by well-planned seminars, possibly including high school students.

5. that the energies of high school students be used in setting up the project. These students can help with recruitment in schools, churches, and social groups, and with tutoring younger children.
6. that the extra-curricular program be more closely integrated with the tutorial. A substantial item in the budget is required to finance such a program and some time should be spent with the tutors in planning at the beginning of the project.
7. that a system of evaluating tutee progress be set up and carried on throughout the program. Attention should be paid both to academic progress and increased motivation of tutees. A university research staff might be interested in running such an evaluation.

HARLEM EDUCATIONAL PROJECT

OBJECTIVES

The broad purpose of both the Philadelphia and Harlem projects is similar: to help overcome the educational disadvantages of minority-group secondary school student needs. More specifically, HEP was initiated with these objectives: 1) to improve the academic performance of the students; 2) to give the students some contact with college men and women and thereby interest them in higher education; 3) to expand the pupils' awareness of their community, their history, their culture, and educational, vocational, and cultural opportunities available to them; and, 4) to give interested college students an opportunity to observe the complex social problems of a large northern city.

The last two objectives were set as a part of a conscious effort to develop informed and sensitive leadership in both the college and high school students, and to encourage responsibility for what happens in the community. The summer's experience indicated that the development of youthful, responsible local leadership is essential for progress in Harlem.

ORGANIZATION

HEP was organized in May of 1962 by college students working with the Harlem Neighborhoods Association (HANA), a community organization with 80 church and civic group affiliates. The college students realized from the beginning that any such effort must have the acceptance and active support of the community. The planning and administration of the project was the responsibility of two co-chairmen, a secretary, and a steering committee. All work was done on a part-time, voluntary basis.

The recruitment of high school students was initiated at HANA's Annual June meeting, attended by several hundred teachers, parents, and civic leaders. The project was announced and applications were distributed. This procedure was supplemented by individual contacts, some publicity, and a registration evening, when the program was discussed with the students. Admission to the project was based on the students' interest. Enrollment was limited to 50 to test out the program on an experimental basis. As the summer progressed, more students joined and many more applied who could not be accommodated.

The tutors were recruited primarily through the contacts of the Northern Student Movement. Twenty-five were chosen from over forty applicants, partly from their academic qualifications and previous interest in civil rights, and partly from their immediate interest in HEP.

The tutors met regularly during June to plan the program and to learn about the community. The project began on July 10, with fifty high school students and twenty-five tutors representing more than ten colleges and universities.

Classes were conducted on Tuesday and Thursday evenings, from 7:30 to 8:30 and from 9:00 to 10:00, in the club rooms of HANA and the neighboring Harlem Branch YMCA. Each tutor met with from one to five students. Basic academic subjects were offered: math, sciences, languages, English, and history. Most of the students chose two subjects, each of which was taught two evenings a week. Books and syllabus materials were supplied by the Board of Education and by the tutors.

One vital and unique aspect of HEP was the Wednesday evening

program, when tutors and students met together for lectures and discussion on Negro and African history, Negro literature, Jazz, and the needs of the Harlem community.

EVALUATION

This evaluation is based upon observation of the tutorial sessions, reports of the tutors, questionnaires answered by students and tutors, and discussions with all involved in the program.

A. Successes

These sources indicate that the program was, in general, a success. The very fact that fifty students in Harlem voluntarily gave up three summer evenings every week to study, consistently attended classes, and expressed great interest in continuing the project, indicates that HEP provided a positive educational impetus for the students. There were also signs of real academic achievement -- in the study of new subjects and the review of previous work. Tests given by some of the tutors demonstrated that the students prepared their assignments and many advanced in their courses. One girl remarked that her Geometry classes had improved her performance on the state regents examinations.

Through classes in English literature and frequent use of the small HEP library (supplied by the tutors), the students read many books over the summer, from Camus' The Stranger to teen-age mysteries. One student said that before participating in the project, he had not read a book for months.

The students and tutors evaluations of HEP point to the program's success. In response to the question, "Do you think that HEP has been helpful to you?" we received answers like these from

the students:

> "I think that HEP has been helpful to me because I have accomplished more during the past six weeks than I have learned through my two years of taking Geometry....."

> "I definitely feel that HEP has done irreparable damage to my failing marks in French and Math...."

> "The review I got was priceless."

On the non-academic aspects of the program, these remarks were typical:

> "I have learned about college and college students."

> "It (HEP) gave me a chance to observe how a group of young people can promote the realization of their goals...."

The students also commented on the value of the Wednesday night meetings:

> "I enjoyed the programs very much. They had almost the effect of a revolution on my mind."

One girl hopes to participate in the program next summer as a tutor. She writes:

> "I hope that HEP will continue its good work for many years. This year I will be a freshman at CCNY. Next summer, if another tutor is needed for English, History, or French, won't you please call on me?"

The most common suggestion for improvement of the program was expansion:

> "You should have a lot more room for students to come."

> "We should have many more teachers and a big building to teach us in."

As originally planned, the summer's experience also had

positive effects upon the tutors. First, it showed them that HEP was meeting a desperate need of the community. One tutor writes:

> "I have been often overwhelmed, and depressed by the gravity of the educational and social problems facing the youngsters of Harlem. This project has made the situation all the more real to me, not a very pleasant reality to be sure."

The project also awakened the tutors to the complexities of the civil rights problem.

> "HEP," one tutor comments, "has shown me that I must be more thoughtful about racial questions and has left me uncomfortably, but honestly, confused about problems for which I previously had pat, unworkable, or naive answers."

Another observed:

> "I found that the negro problem is far more complex than I believed it to be."

HEP also stimulated interest in teaching as a career. One college student notices:

> "I have become really interested in teaching and have begun to think about it for after college."

Another writes that:

> "Teaching has really interested and challenged me greatly, and I have thoroughly enjoyed it."

Finally, the tutors came to the encouraging realization that those who take a responsible and active interest in their community can bring about constructive changes. A college student who lives in Harlem writes:

> "The project has helped me to see Harlem as a community of possibilities, and has shown me the comparative ease with which interested individuals can play an integral part in community life,"

This same student worked with one of the high school pupils on a special housing program outside of HEP. A dilapidated apartment house was canvassed for tenant support to improve the building. By the end of the summer, the tenants were behind the idea, a joint letter had been sent to the landlord, and the tenants were prepared to take further action.

The important theme of individual responsibility to the community is prominent in the comments of a Negro tutor who sums up the feelings of many of the college students:

> "Besides having the opportunity to work with a varied and really fine group of students in assuming responsibility for what happens to the human race, I have learned a great deal about the problems of the Negro in America -- perhaps things that I've felt for quite a while but didn't really understand. HEP has allowed me to act rather than just study; to give back a very small quantity of what I have received all of my life, while at the same time it has made me more aware of the complexities of America's race problem and has encouraged me to look further and do more. It was one of the most memorable summers I've had."

B. Limitations

With these encouraging signs, there are also many areas for improvement of HEP. Because there was no full-time staff, and because organization of the program did not begin until late in May, the recruitment and placement of students was not adequate. There should be closer contact with the schools than was possible this summer to find out which students need what kind of assistance. The selection procedure also failed to reach those students who need help but lack sufficient interest to participate or are not in contact with the community agencies used for recruitment.

Again, closer contact with the schools would help. There

should also be more individual recruiting through visits to homes, schools, and community centers. The present high school students could also be effective in recruiting others. More publicity would also help.

Once students are recruited, there must be a more efficient machinery to make sure that there are not great differences in the grade levels of students working with the same tutors.

Similarly, HEP's organization did not permit the most efficient selection procedure for the tutors. It was difficult to assess their abilities with any certainty. Almost without exception, however, the tutors did a competent and often sensitive job. They prepared for their classes with great enthusiasm and imagination, responded to the students with sensitivity, and willingly gave many hours of their free time to the project. Many of them will tutor during the school year. This is probably an exceptional group and recruitment in the future might be more selective. Applications, supplemented by interviews, should seek more information about abilities and experience in tutoring.

The non-academic activities of HEP have not lived up to expectations. The Wednesday night meetings -- while attended regularly by almost all the tutors -- attracted only half of the high school students.

Those that came showed interest but most did not participate actively in the discussions. There are indications that the program could be quite successful with more planning and a greater appeal to the students. In an initial registration meeting, the pupils showed great interest in questions that immediately concerned them, such as why there are problems in their families and

community, why there is juvenile delinquency, why girls marry so young, etc. Future programs should be adapted to these immediate concerns as well as to broader questions.

The project did not give the tutors a full understanding of the Harlem community -- its political structure, economic composition, and community organizations. A full-time staff should overcome this shortcoming by organizing an orientation period for the college students, and by introducing them to members of the community.

REPRINTED FROM TIME MAGAZINE MAY 17, 1963

Down-to-Earth Idealism

Northern collegians have in recent years gone South on freedom rides, tried to integrate Louisiana lunch counters, been shot at for helping Negro voter registration in Georgia. Out of such idealistic activism, so strikingly missing in the apathetic '50s, has come a more down-to-earth student project. The newest task is tutoring thousands of Northern Negro children who lack the skill or the incentive to keep up in school. A timely push from a collegian can change their lives and the tutor's as well.

Such is the aim of the Northern Student Movement, a loose-knit, Yale-based fraternity of 2,200 collegians at 50 campuses, from M.I.T. to Oberlin to Swarthmore. They give several nights a week to tutoring about 3,500 Negro youngsters in cities all over the Northeast. Results have been undramatically good. In Philadelphia, a survey of 240 kids showed 50% of them doing "a little better" in school and 41% doing "much better." In Hartford, Conn., 13-year-old Pearley-Mae Sampson has hiked her average from C to B under the guidance of Trinity College Senior Henry Whitney, 21. In Harlem, Tutor Carl Anthony took a seventh-grader with third-grade reading ability and in two weeks helped her to get 90 on a seventh-grade spelling test. Step by step, the kids are getting with it.

Countryman & Co. The main force behind N.S.M. is its paid ($50 a week) director, Peter Countryman, an intense Chicagoan of 21 who normally would have been a senior at Yale this year. Countryman got stirred by Southern Negro student sit-ins in 1961, began to see the academic world as "pretty sterile." Cutting classes, Countryman in two weeks collected 6,000 books for a hard-pressed Negro college in Virginia, wound up spearheading a Northern campus fund drive for sit-ins. He dropped out of Yale to run N.S.M. because "I felt a call to do it."

Last summer Countryman & Co. set up classes for the school-less Negro youngsters of Virginia's Prince Edward County, and also tackled North Philadelphia, where the high school dropout rate is 60% and only 2½% of the kids get to college. N.S.M. recruited 175 tutors (including about 70 Negroes) at colleges from Amherst to Sarah Lawrence, put them to work with 375 youngsters for four hours a week all summer. One by-product: Countryman's marriage to Tutor Joan Cannaday, a Negro Sarah Lawrence graduate and daughter of a Philadelphia high school guidance counselor.

Building Confidence. In Hartford this year, N.S.M.'s 100 tutors from Trinity and other colleges have worked with 300 kids in evening sessions at three high schools. Hartford Seminary Student Peter Morrill, 22, who says that "this is the only way to actualize the things in the Bible," set up a shabby N.S.M. office in Hartford's heavily Negro North End. Going beyond tutoring, Morrill and 25 co-workers get people to the polls and campaign against rent gouging. "We're showing these people they have a chance," says Joe Norman, 18, a Negro student at the Hartford Art School.

Countryman, who is duly wary of white Lady Bountifulness, is now searching for a Negro to take over his job. He plans to return to Yale next fall, aims to leave fulltime N.S.M. offices running in Boston, Hartford, New York, Baltimore, Philadelphia, Washington and Chicago. His summer agenda is to muster 2,400 collegians to tutor 4,000 high school students. To foot the bill, he has $30,000 from foundations and a Philadelphia drug house. N.S.M. clearly can make only a dent in the great mass of Negro slum kids who consider education strictly square, but it has started something worth doing well.

Collegians Join Equality Battle, Tutoring 200 Harlem Youths

Six young people with a social conscience are working overtime in the fight for racial equality. As full-time staff workers in the Harlem Educational Project, they supervise the tutoring of about 200 Negro high school students in the central Harlem area for $50 a week (when they get paid.)

"What we're trying to do is combine the educational pattern in the street with the educational pattern of the schools," says Kathy Rogers, sandal-clad Sarah Lawrence graduate ('62) and head of the tutorial phase of the project.

Financed by Grants

Financed by a $10,000 grant from the Marshall Field Foundation and $3000 from a private donor, HEP is a branch of the Northern Student Movement, an organization of northern college students dedicated to the fight for racial equality.

The six HEP staff members, operating from their rented office on 8th Ave. between 136th and 137th St., work with more than 150 college students from the New York area who have volunteered to tutor 200 Harlem junior and high school students. Each tutor meets individually with one or two students for two evening sessions each week.

The sessions give students the chance to improve low grades in school or to explore any subjects of special interest. And a general discussion follows each tutoring session.

"We talk about anything—the South, relations between black and white, job opportunities, any subject they want to know about," Kathy says.

Playgrounds Planned

Carl Anthony, 23, who left Columbia to work for HEP, heads another phase of the project called Neighborhaod Commons.

"There are 82 lots lying around the Harlem area which nobody uses for anything," Carl says. "We want to convince the people in these neighborhoods that they can use them for something of value."

So far the HEP workers have leased two lots from the city with the cooperation of the City Planning Commission and hope to re-design the lots at 147th St. between Bradhurst and 8th Ave., and 115th St. between 7th and 8th Ave.—as playgrounds.

Personal Contacts

Much of HEP's value comes from personal contact rather than organized programs Roger Seigel, 21, a shaggy-haired, affable, "off and on" student, spends hours "just sitting on the stoop. Everybody sits on the stoop in Harlem. That's how I work, just by talking to people."

Roger has become a familiar figure in Harlem. Little children, hardened hustlers, restaurant owners — they all talk to him, or greet him with a smile, perhaps because they feel his involvement with them.

"Income is not important at all now," he says. "I eat, breathe and sleep my job. In working with these people, I have found a whole new intensity of life."

Reprinted from

New York World Telegram and Sun

June 20, 1963

CHICAGO 'PEACE CORPS' FILLS CLASSROOM VOID

EACH-ONE-TEACH-ONE CONCEPT AIDS POTENTIAL DROPOUTS

By BOBBIE BARBEE

Like the weather, everyone talks about the school dropout problem. Tiring of needless talking, some youthful collegians have instituted projects in Chicago to do something about it.

In a "domestic Peace-type program" that dips into some of the most densely populated Negro sections of the city, inspired college students (mostly white) are aiming their talents and time toward bridging the educational gap that invariably confronts victims of ghetto culture.

At present three separately operated volunteer projects, with similar aims ("To overcome the need for our existence"), have started a home-grown movement to "help young citizens of 'socially isolated' areas."

Beginning their second year of operation after trial

Coordinators of the Wentworth program (l-r) John McGrath, Hildred Honore, Robert Ballinger and Ed Lewis discuss plans.

SWAP Aims At 'Essential Students' (Slow Learners)

runs last year are the Student Woodlawn Area Project (SWAP) in the University of Chicago area on the South Side and the Northwestern Student Tutor Project (NSTP) in the teeming Lawndale area on the West Side. A "pioneer" project was initiated in the Stateway-Wentworth Gardens public housing area in the central South Side.

Aired primarily at high school "essential" students (those regarded as slow learners) SWAP is probably the most ambitious of the three projects. Headed by Ann Cook, a University of Chicago grad student who also studied at Sarah Lawrence College, Hebrew University in Israel and the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Harvard, SWAPS is operated on an informal basis with no more than two tutees (designation given those being taught) per tutor. The tutor and tutee mutually agree on the ways and means of covering a subject. (Example: a 16-year-old youth with a fourth grade reading level is aided in reading James Baldwin's *The Fire Next Time* because "it is more stimulating to his reading interest than a Peter Rabbit book. He is making rapid progress.)

A self-governing unit, SWAP has a tutee advisory committee composed of 10 teen-agers who help set up tours, skits, programs and "think problems" with Miss Cook and her assistant, Herb Mack. The unit also has the volunteer aid of noted educational expert Dr. Harland Randolph.

"We are not laying the blame for these children being unable to read on the school system," remarked one of the volunteer tutors, "many dedicated teachers are doing the best they can, but in a classroom of 40 students, a slow reading youngster may become discouraged when he can't keep up with the class. This is the void we are trying to fill."

The Northwestern project differs from SWAP in many areas of operation. According to Robert Holding, NSTP's director at the Sears Roebuck YMCA in the heart of the Lawndale Dist., an area jammed with 30,000 people for each square mile, the program there is more concerned with the "more responsive" 11 to 15 age group. Four

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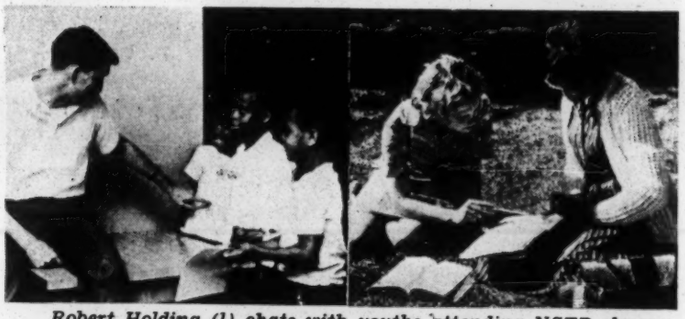
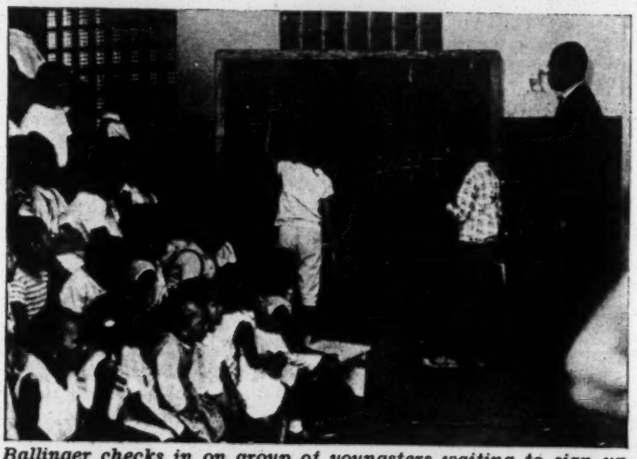
CHICAGO 'PEACE CORPS' FILLS CLASSROOM VOID



Robert Holding (l) chats with youths attending NSTP classes; Caroline Jones of SWAP aids Kathy Jones (r) with algebra.



Ballinger checks in on group of youngsters waiting to sign up for Wentworth uplift classes being taught by IIT students.

Paul Stepan (l) of Notre Dame, helps Virginia Tolliver with spelling. SWAP's Ann Cook aids Earl Martin with reading.

Martin switches from tutee to tutor as he shows (l-r) Ann Cook, Lillian Hunter and Janet Erfring the elementary steps in pool.

Advisors (l-r) Tim Black, Herb Mack, Harland Randolph and Ann Cook hold meeting with SWAP tutors at U. of Chicago.

Some Students Have First Contact With Negroes

tutoring locations are set up in semi-classroom style in the area. The tutors have to travel nearly 25 miles from their suburban Evanston campus to conduct the sessions and generally are more formal in their tutoring than the SWAP group. This stems from the fact that most of the Northwestern students have had little or no contact with Negro youngsters.

Holding said: "At first some of the tutors are actually fascinated by the experience of getting away from their all-white, inexperienced suburban existence to get a closer, more understanding look at urban ghetto living where children have been in the street and coping with life since their diaper days."

The Wieboldt Foundation recently bestowed a grant upon the project.

The Wentworth program is just getting underway—with help from the Chicago Housing Authority. It is basically concerned with youngsters from five to 12. We think that if youngsters get started right they'll keep going in the right direction," says Robert Ballinger, a community and tenant relations aide who helped start the program, along with Housing Mgr. John J. McGrath and fellow aides Ed Lewis and Hildred Honore.

Akron Project to Aid High School Students

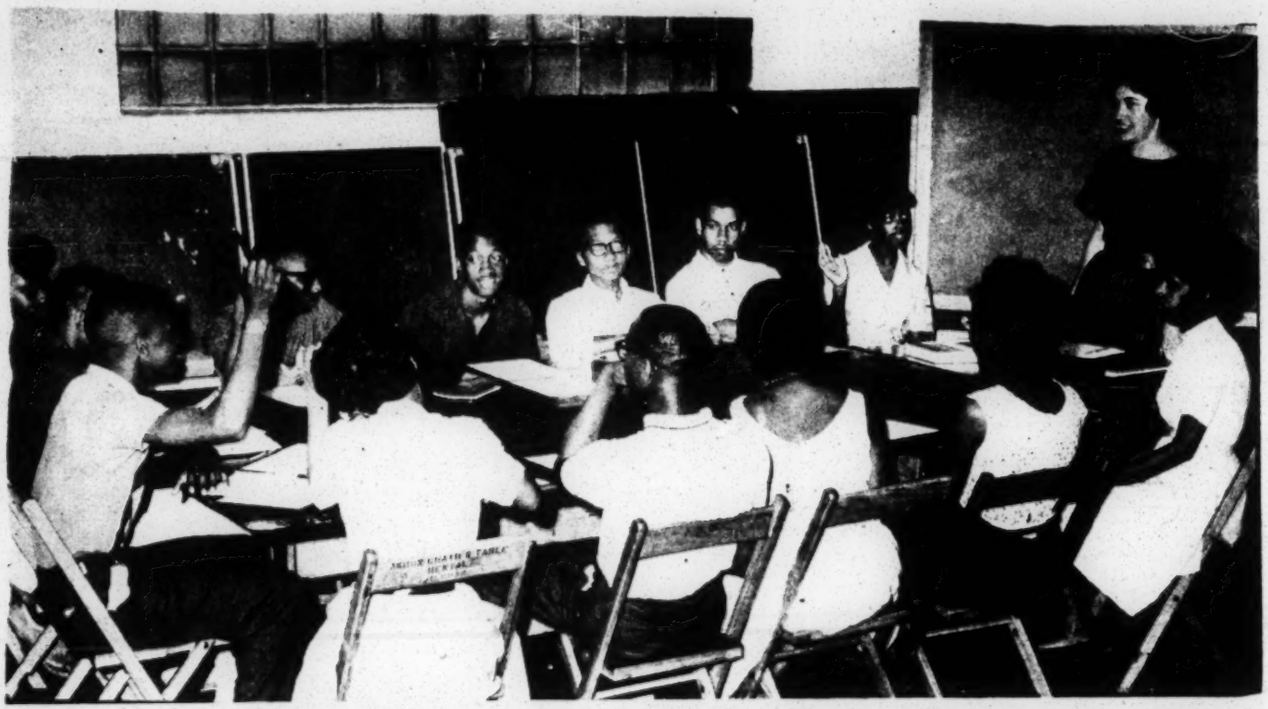
AKRON--Judging from the attendance at its classes, held four nights a week, the Tutorial Project of the Northern Student Movement has met with very favorable success here.

The project, in which college students from schools throughout the country volunteer their time to help junior high or high school students to overcome any difficulities they may have in their academic studies, was begun in Akron this summer by two Yale University students-Tom Roderick, a senior, and Gary Piper, a junior - in cooperation with the Akron Community Service Center and the Urban League.

Like the successful tutorial projects conducted in North Philadelphia and in New York's Harlem, during the summer of 1962, 80 per cent of the beneficiaries in Akron have been Negroes.

The Northern Student Movement, a coordinating body of some sixty-five college campus civil right groups, was organized two years ago to fight discrimination in the north and to assist similar movements in the south through educational endeavors.

The tutorial project was an idea of Peter Countryman, a Yale junior, who tutored a number of Negro students in the New Haven, Conn. area.



PARLIAMENTARY PROCEDURES-Akron--Miss [illegible] Mary Grove College in Detroit, instructs students in how to conduct a meeting according to parliamentary procedures. *(All photos by Stewart).*

Reprinted from

Cleveland CALL and POST

July 27, 1963

CHEMISTRY-Akron--Lee Wallace is being assisted with his chemistry by William Bart Saxbe, son of Ohio Attorney General William L. Saxbe.

ENGLISH LITERATURE-Akron--Martha "Marty" Briggs of Oberlin College is tutoring North High student Huey Cleveland in English Literature.

7/30/63

APPENDICES

1. Northern Student Movement
2. Boston Northern Student Movement
3. Hartford Northern Student Movement
4. The Harlem Education Project
5. Baltimore Area Youth Opportunities Unlimited
6. Student Woodlawn Area Project
7. Detroit Education Project

NORTHERN STUDENT MOVEMENT

History

The Northern Student Movement (NSM) originated at a conference sponsored by the New England Student Christian Movement (SCM) in June, 1961, when a committee was formed to investigate the possibility of creating a Northern student civil rights movement. The following October representatives from twenty colleges gathered in New Haven at the committee's invitation to adopt a structure and a general program. The movement was then publicized through the SCM and the National Student Association, and a full-time staff began operating out of offices at Yale University.

In its first year NSM worked to provide support for the Southern student movement and to develop programs relating to the Northern civil rights problems. Some $9,000 was raised and sent South for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee's voter registration program. Busloads of New England college students participated in weekend sit-ins on the Eastern Shore of Maryland. A large conference dealing with discrimination and deficiencies in the areas of employment, education, housing, and politics was held in April, 1962, at Sarah Lawrence College. NSM's last action in the spring term was to send 10,000 books donated by students from eight schools to Miles College in Birmingham, Alabama.

NSM implemented four projects during the summer of 1962. In Philadelphia a group of twenty college students lived in the Negro community, held jobs and administered an educational program for high school students from the community. The program involved 175 college students voluntarily tutoring 375 high school students in local churches. A similar though smaller project was run by NSM in Harlem. In Prince Edward County, Virginia twelve college and graduate students taught school and ran recreational programs for some of the county's 1400 Negro children who have not had schools for three years. Teams of Negro and white students followed up the winter demonstrations by working in three Eastern Shore towns to build a community consciousness and an indigenous leadership among the Negroes.

In the course of this past year NSM has grown to include active groups on fifty campuses and project offices with full time student staffs in eight cities: Boston, Hartford, Harlem, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington, Chicago and Detroit. In addition, students stimulated and trained by NSM have established volunteer-run projects in eight other cities. All of this represents an involvement of some four thousand college students and five thousand youth from depressed areas.

Structure

General policy for NSM is formulated by a student Executive Committee with the aid of a non-student Advisory Board and a Board of Sponsors. The Executive Committee is composed of one representative from each of the project offices and an equal number of members elected at large by representatives from the campus groups.

The Advisory Board advises both the staff and the Executive Committee, and approves the latter's formulation of a budget and employment of persons. At present this Board is composed of the Reverends William S. Coffin, Jr., Arthur Brandenburg, David Byers and Gaylord Noyce of Yale; Dr. John Maguire of Wesleyan University; Rev. Samuel Slie of the New England Student Christian Movement, Mr. Vernon Eagle, Director, New World Foundation, and Karl Linn, Director, Washington Neighborhood Commons.

The sponsors presently include Dr. Hans Spiegel, Community Tension Center, Springfield College; Dr. Robert Johnson, N.Y.U.; Dean Frederick Berthold, Dartmouth College; Dennis Clark, Catholic Interracial Council; Canon John Crocker, Brown-Pemboke; James Luther Adams, Harvard Divinity School; Rev. Leon Sullivan, Zion Baptist Church, Philadelphia; Dr. John Bennett, Union Theological Seminary; and Professor Louis Pollack, Yale Law School.

Program

The NSM program is implemented by the campus groups and city projects. The central staff serves these groups by developing techniques for local programming, compiling background materials, securing funds and professional aid, maintaining a flow of communications among the groups, and coordinating regional actions.

The campus groups work in several areas: educating college students to the race problem, recruiting Negro students for their college, collecting funds and other materials to support the work of the Southern students, and, in cooperation with community leaders, developing programs dealing with the youth in the local area, such as tutorials.

The city projects, operating now with an interracial staff of fifty fulltime people, are the main vehicle for action within NSM. Their offices are located in the lowest income areas of eight major cities and their work constitutes in many cases the only attempt being made to involve the residents of these areas in the democratic process of change.

The basis of their activity is the tutorial program operated with volunteers teaching one or two high school students in community centers and churches. Using this as a vehicle for the involvement of large numbers of socially unorganized youth, they also run a number of non-academic programs: newspapers, neighborhood renewal, art and drama classes, trips, athletic programs, etc. Finally, feeling that in order to be creative in the learning process a youth must have the opportunity to be creative with his social environment, an effort is made to involve the youth and their families in the alleviation of their community problems such as housing, employment and voter registration.

7/30/63

College Students Plan Expansion of Program to Tutor Negroes

By DAVID P. WELSH

A child's education, Oliver Wendell Holmes wrote, should begin at least 100 years before he is born.

Today, according to the premise of a group of tough-minded college students, many Negroes are coming into adulthood, 100 years after emancipation with a legacy of educational and human neglect.

The young leaders of the Detroit Education Project (DEP), heartened by the success of a tutorial project begun here last summer for Negro teen-agers of the inner city, are planning an expanded program to begin Nov. 1.

"We don't expect miracles," said Frank Joyce, 22, coordinator, "but we believe that college students interacting with members of a depressed society can help to bring about constructive social change. And judging by the flood of applications, it's catching on."

200 TUTORS SOUGHT

Joyce, who dropped out of college to organize the project, said DEP hopes to recruit more than 200 tutors and 500 students for its fall program.

The summer tutorial enlisted some 175 volunteer tutors of both races to work with 375 students at 14 centers in Detroit's core. Most students were enrolled in junior high and high schools, although some had dropped out.

Subjects ranged from reading skills to physics in twice-weekly, 1½-hour sessions. The ratio of tutors to students in no case exceeded one to three, Joyce said.

"A sensitive tutor," he tells recruits, "should recognize that he is not engaging in social work but acting as an agent of social change."

RACE 'HIS PROBLEM'

Tutors are expected to develop a personal relationship with pupils, getting to know their families, teachers and ministers and taking part in events of the Negro community.

"A tutor," Joyce says, "must realize he is not 'helping the poor Negro,' but that his life is bound up with that of his students, that race in America is his problem and not just an inconvenience that his tutee must overcome."

Encouraged by the summer's results, DEP is already branching out, last month with a new recreation program at Franklin Settlement House. Next year they hope to organize student-run theater groups and newspapers.

DEP's counterpart in Baltimore recently formed a drama group which was so successful that its production of "Antigone" is being filmed for television, Joyce said.

'ENTREE INTO GHETTO'

In addition, tutors are being urged to broaden the tutorial with general discussions, outside reading and field trips.

Sponsored by the Northern Student Movement, which has similar programs in seven other cities, DEP hopes to use it as an "entree into the urban ghetto."

College students, as demonstrated in other Northern cities, can be used to help organize the community with such programs as voter registration, publicizing job opportunities for youth or alleviating consumer problems.

"Our aim," Joyce says, "would be the spawning of stable, locally led units to express community needs and educate the citizenry."

GRADUATES ALSO JOBLESS

To the five staff members of DEP, these are not overly ambitious goals. The problem, they say, defies timid attempts at solution.

In one of Detroit's predominantly Negro high schools, according to an unpublished study just completed, not only were 76 percent of the school's dropouts unemployed, but 72 percent of its recent graduates as well.

DEP hopes to attack the problem from its human side, "the rejection day after day, the alienation of men from the larger society which all but destroys a man's motivation and capacity to learn."

Jones says, "we are dealing with a disenfranchised people, not in the sense that they don't have the vote but that they feel it would do them no good to vote, that they are victims of their environment rather than actors in it."

'RULE AS CATALYSTS'

"This is almost true of many college students in America. Students in other countries have played a role as catalysts of social change—but not here.

"The tutorial program is a two-way street, giving a sense of purpose to tutor and tutee alike, as both work for the changes that will make the need for a tutorial obsolete."

DEP has an $18,505 budget for the coming year, of which $10,000 is to come from a grant recently announced by the McGregor Fund for use in the tutorial program.

Contributors and new participants may reach the DEP offices at 7632 Twelfth. (872-4688).

DETROIT EDUCATION PROJECT
(DEP)

ANALYSIS OF COMMUNITY

1. Schools

a. General Enrollment in the Detroit Public Schools for 1963 totalled 296,689 pupils.* Contract personel, i.e. administrators, counselors, and teachers totalled 10,875 There were, therefore, for each administrator, teacher, or counselor 27 pupils.

In 1963 there were 145,185 Negro pupils (49%) and 2,648 Negro contract personnel (24%). Thus for every Negro teacher, counselor, or administrator, there were 58 Negro pupils. In 1963 there were 154,624 white pupils and 8,238 white contract personnel. The contract personnel: pupil ratio for whites was 1:18.

b. Administration. The Detroit school system is divided into nine administrative districts. DEP is currently working in three of these districts, Center (in which most of our efforts are concentrated), South, and Southeast.

The Center, South, and Southeast districts are the principal areas in the city in which urban renewal is taking place. They are the lowest socio-economic areas of the city and traditionally have been the place of residence for the majority of the Negro population of Detroit. The heaviest movement from these districts is taking place into the East, Center, and North districts.

The Center district, which in 1961 had 20% of all pupils in the city, is the most crowded of the nine districts. Elementary schools in the district have, on the average, 300-400 more pupils than other elementary schools in the city. In addition, eight schools have a population of 1600 and up, substantially higher than schools in any other district.

c. Segregation. The largest number of Negro pupils attend school in the Center district. In fact, in 1961 more than one-third of all Negro children in Detroit schools were in that district. The district itself was 95%Negro.

The other districts follow closely behind: the East district is 74% Negro, Southeast 73% Negro, South 62% Negro, and the North 43% Negro. With only a few salient exceptions, Negro teachers have been placed only in schools

that have Negro pupils. In schools that are partially integrated the faculties are usually integrated in abou the same proportion as the pupils.

d. Quality of Staff. The average percent of Emergency Sub stitutes in Regular Positions (ESRP) and Probationary and II's in the city is 24%. The three districts in which DEP is working have a disproprotionately high nu ber of these teachers, the Center having 28.3%, South and the Southeast 37.6%. Some districts, such as the Northeast and the Northwest (predominately upper-middl class white districts) have only 13 and 14 %.

e. School Facilities. All districts in which DEP is work are in Detroit's old city or Inner City. "Since schoo are built as families with children move into a neighb hood, the school buildings of Detroit's Old City are g erally as old as the homes. Twenty-four schools now i use in the Old City were built before 1890. They are fireproof. These schools were built before gymnasiums auditoriums, or other special rooms had a place in the curriculum. So when they were converted to a platoon organization, classrooms were converted to these rooms in the best manner possible. Outdoor space usually co sists of a small yard...*

f. The drop-out rate in Detroit has fallen slightly in th last ten years. Many people hypothesize that students are staying in school simply because there are no jobs available in the city for students of high school age recent graduates, particularly if they are Negro. Sin 1962 there has been a drop of more than 60% in employm of 16 and 17 year olds. 76% of the drop-outs of a hig school in the East district are unemployed. 72% of th graduates of that same high school are also unemployed This same school graduated 164 students last June; dur the last school year, the same school had over 215 vol tary drop-outs. Although the Detroit Public Schools h a wide variety of apprentice training programs, these of little incentive or practical help to Negro youth b cause with one exception they practice almost total di crimination. In 1961 there were 2559 students enroll in the Public School apprentice programs. Only 125 o these students were Negro and 100 of them were enroll in the stationary engineer program.

2. General Community

a. Housing. Of the nearly 515,000 housing units in the of Detroit, Negroes occupy 129,000 or 24%.** Of thes

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*Community Action for Detroit Youths Request for Planning Grant,

**Most of the statistics on housing were taken from the Commissi on Community Relations analysis of the 1960 census, Racial Charac istics of the Detroit Area Complex.

50,000 units or 39% are owner occupied while 65% of wh housing units are owner occupied. Of 330,000 new housi units built in the Detroit area between 1950 and 1960, only 3% were made available to Negroes and much of this was public housing. 27% of Negro housing in Detroit is substandard as compared with 11% of white housing. The median rent paid, however, is about the same, $78 for whites and $76 for Negroes. The median family income differs greatly, for Negroes it is $4,370/year and for whites nearly $3,000 a year more, at $7,050/year. Thus with far less money to spend, the average Detroit Negro family pays about as much for frequently substandard housing as the white family for generally more satisfactory shelter.

b. Employment.* Despite the fact that Negroes comprise le than one-third of the population of Detroit, they frequently account for nearly half of the unemployed. The largest concentration of unemployed persons are in the districts in which DEP is involved. These three school districts account for 72% of the city's relief cases. Not only do Negroes receive fewer jobs because of more rigid standards applied to them, but the jobs they do receive are frequently lower paid than the job a white person with a comparable education might get. Thus, th Negro with one to three years of college earns on the average $4,643/year. This is $4 less than the earnings of the average white person with only an eighth grade education. The average Negro man working in the operatives earns $4,393 per year and the average Negro woman $2,449 per year. Together their salaries just about eq that of the average white man in the operatives who mai $6,518. The implication of this is, of course, that be the Negro mother and father must work to provide for th children what the white father can provide by being the sole wage earner in the family.

3. General Comments

Although there is distinct housing segregation in Detroit i differs greatly from that of almost any other large Norther city. Instead of being a solid ghetto, the Negro community is segregated into neighboring pockets. These pockets have not in the past corresponded to any single political distr thus dispersing the potential political power that resides in any closely tied, dense ghetto. Most of these pockets o Negro population run from North to South and are separated on the East and West by areas populated by newly arrived Southern white people or by businesses. In two cases smal towns, stuck right in the middle of Detroit result in furth division of the Negro community. As a result some leaders has arisen in isolated areas in Detroit but it cannot speak for the entire community by itself. Competition has been

*Most statistics on employment are from the Committee on Communit Relations.

fierce and the usual means of resolving it has been the surface amalgamation of leadership. Since total support from th Negro community for any single leader has been impossible - this leadership has looked to the white community, in particular the unions and the Democratic party, for further reinforcement. Until the last few months most civil rights effor in Detroit (with the exception of a brief successful selectiv patronage compaign conducted by ministers last Spring) have been directed toward desegregating upper middle income and - middle income housing. This has been at a time when employment for unskilled Negroes was at its highest. It was a time in which extensive urban renewal programs were getting under way that would displace a minimum of 50,000 lower incom people to make way for city owned (and thus integrated) luxury housing. It has been estimated that out of every 100 persons to be dislocated 98 will not return to the area. Many of these people are migrants from the South having enormous problems of urban adjustment. No sooner have they gotten settled and somewhat used to urban life than they receive notice that they have to move. Where, they do not know. This a large scale problem with which the "established leadership" has not even attempted to deal.

PRESENT PROGRAM

1. The Detroit Education Project summer tutorial involves some 175 tutors working with approximately 380 junior high school and senior high school students in twice weekly 1 1/2 hour sessions. Tutoring takes place from 4-8 p.m. Mon.-Fri. and 10-2 on Saturday in 15 tutorial centers. Centers are comprised primarily of churches, one YMCA and various community facilities. (A complete list of-tutorial cneters is attached The project is staffed by 4 full-time paid and 4 full-time volunteer students.

More students are being tutored in mathematics than any other subject. Due to the demand for assistance in both mathematic and English, it has been impossible to maintain a one to one ratio of tutors to tutees in these subjects. In no case, however, does the ratio exceed one to three. The pragmatic value of aid in secretarial skills, coupled with a lack of tutors in business subjects, has made it necessary to set up a typing program which involves two tutors and 15 tutees and one tutor to 10 tutees in shorthand.

Some 17 college students with experience in remedial reading, either through practice teaching or course work, have been assigned to approximately 25 tutees who specifically requested remedial help in reading. These 17 tutors have undergone continuing counseling throughout the summer from the Language Arts consultant of the Detroit Public Schools Great Cities Project.

For purposes of organizing discussion groups and field trips, 9 of the tutorial centers have been designated as such; the remainder are known as session centers. Each tutorial center is serviced by a center supervisor who acts as liason between the tutors and the staff.

Discussion groups have been held in a partially successf attempt to get tutors to begin placing the tutorial and thei relationships with their tutees in the larger context of the urban ghetto syndrome. Workshops with professional educators in the specific subject areas have been conducted to provide tutors with the opportunity to find solutions to the technical problems of transmitting academic knowledge. Plans call for tutor-tutee discussion groups to begin the week of August 12th.

Tutors have, on their own, taken tutees to concerts, museums beaches, college campuses and civil rights demonstrations. This process has been aided by the distribution of information sheets and pamphlets about places to go and things to d

Tutees have been recruited to assist in general office work and to aid in the preparation of the second issue of the DEP Newsletter. They will also be partially responsible for establishing and implementing the organization of the Detroit Education Project library which will occupy one room of the office.

A bibliography of books, magazines and pamphlets relating to education, Negro History, and social problems has been prepared. Materials from this list which DEP does not alrea have will be added as funds become available.

In conjunction with a number of graduate students at the University of Michigan as well as Detroit psychologists, educators and sociologists, research is presently taking place as to means of evaluating and augmenting the success of the Tutorial Project.

Cooperation from the Detroit Public School system has been received in the form of material, publicity, assistance in recruiting of tutees and advice - particularly from the staf of the Great Cities Project.

Investigation is presently being made into the desirability and feasibility of having a tutorial culmination at which tutees will have the opportunity to display work which they have done over the summer. Should this plan be implemented, tutors, tutees, their parents and other interested parties will be invited to hear an address by the University of Mississippi's first Negro graduate, James Merideth.

Beyond the strong non-academic emphasis placed on the tutori project proper, programs have been or are being developed in psycho-dramatics, recreation and the DEP newsletter.

Facilities at the Franklin Settlement House have been procured for a recreation program scheduled to begin on August 8th. The reasons for establishing this program are twofold: first, to gain an entree into a geographic area of the city in which we are not presently working but where there is tremendous need for program; second, the recreation program is intended to attract some young people who would not otherwise be attracted to the tutorial project per se. By no

means supplemental to this is the experience which will acc to the staff in working with kids who are not so highly motivated as those in the tutorial tend to be.

Plans are also underway to begin with small groups of tutee in psycho-dramatics. This program should begin by mid-Augu provided the necessary facilities and personnel can be foun

A DEP staff member has undertaken the organization and advi ing of the Brewster Friends of SNCC (Student Nonviolent Coo dinating Committee), a group comprised of 25 high school aged tutees from the Brewster-Douglas housing project. Brew ster Friends of SNCC, who met recently with a SNCC field secretary, are extremely enthused at the prospects of assist ing in getting out SNCC mailings, fund raising and corresponding with "pen-pals" in the South.

Make file
Northern Student
Movement

NSM

THE NORTHERN STUDENT MOVEMENT
73 MORNINGSIDE DRIVE NEW YORK 27 MO 3 0800
Baltimore Boston Chicago Detroit Harlem Hartford
Philadelphia Washington, D.C. 65 College Campuses
William Strickland Executive Director

November 27, 1963

12-6-63

Mr. Wiley Branton
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Goergia

Dear Mr. Branton:

We would like to ask your cooperation in a matter of extreme importance to us. NSM is being considered by the Ford Foundation for the kind of long-range financial support for which we have long hoped. This grant is not yet, however, a reality, only a very tantalizing possibility.

It would be of great benefit to us if we might have a letter of endorsement from you that we might pass on to Ford.

We here have been greatly heartened by the prospect of assistance from the Ford Foundation not only for the significant aid that would accrue to us, but also because we hope it may mean that in these most tragic times, bridges may be built between peoples and groups and organizations where none have existed before.

And the need for that now - especially now - with the story of Dallas affronting all sense of law and taking its place beside Birmingham, and Oxford and Jackson in the long long line of horrors, may at last make clear that no one - no one at all - is untouched by evil.

With my best for a happy holiday season and thanking you in advance, I remain

Yours sincerely,

William Strickland

William Strickland
Executive Director

WS:jw

March 4, 1964

Mr. William Strickland
Executive Director
The Northern Student Movement
73 Morningside Drive
New York 27, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Strickland:

It is true that we administered the grant for the law student program last summer at the request of Bill Higgs. We have no information regarding any desire on his part that we serve in a similar capacity this year and so had not thought about it. Therefore, we have no opinion one way or the other. The activity of the law student program is a little outside the normal scope of VEP activities and it would seem to me that it is more in line with the work of the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc., and that Bill really should discuss this matter with Jack Greenbert with reference to the possibility of the Legal Defense Fund administering the program this year, if there is to be another one.

I do not fully understand the purpose for which you received tax exemption and, therefore, cannot give you a recommendation as to whether you should or should not take on this project. I would suggest that you send me a copy of your request for tax exemption so that I might fully appreciate your status, together with a copy of your tax ruling.

In VEP's request for tax exemption we explained to Internal Revenue that we would be making grants to non-tax-exempt agencies in support of their non-partisan voter registration efforts. We insist that no portion of VEP funds be used to

NSM

support direct action activities, and we try as much as possible to get participating agencies to use entirely different personnel for VEP-supported voter registration projects and that such persons refrain from engaging in direct action activities while working in voter registration. We also try to get the agencies to refrain from direct action activities in a community where registration programs are being conducted. We realize that this is a very difficult control but, on the whole, I would think that we have been rather successful.

The registration program should be strictly non-partisan on your part though I realize that in some states a new registrant has to declare his party affiliation. The important thing is that you not dictate his party preference. A mock election might very well be considered a legitimate voter education project but would depend upon the purpose of the "mock election." It clearly could not be carried on for the purpose of engaging in partisan politics or in support of or against a particular candidate or a particular piece of legislation.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:jl

NSM

THE NORTHERN STUDENT MOVEMENT
73 MORNINGSIDE DRIVE NEW YORK 27 MO 3 0800
Baltimore Boston Chicago Detroit Harlem Hartford
Philadelphia Washington, D.C. 65 College Campuses
William Strickland Executive Director

WB

MAR 2 1964

February 27, 1964

MAR 2 1964

Wiley A. Branton
Project Director
Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Branton:

Bill Higgs was in our office last week in order to ask us about being a conduit for his summer project this year since we are tax exempt. Last year I understand that VEP performed a similar function for him. Is there any particular reason for your not serving in a similar capacity this year? Would you recommend that we do so?

In reading over the materials that you sent, I notice that money has been awarded to SNCC and CORE both of which are activist groups and not tax exempt. Are there any particular qualifications field workers must stay within so as not to violate your tax exemption or are they perfectly free? For example: could we have a mock election in Harlem? Or, if we registered voters, should it be outside of a particular party affiliation?

Hope this is all clear to you. Wish we had sufficient money to hire you as an official consultant but short of that, we can only send our sincere thanks.

Yours very truly,

William Strickland
William Strickland
Executive Director

WS:jw

NORTHERN STUDENT MOVEMENT

PROSPECTUS

SEPTEMBER 1963 - JUNE 1964

Northern Student Movement
73 Morningside Drive
New York City 10027
MO-3-0800

NORTHERN STUDENT MOVEMENT
PROSPECTUS
SEPTEMBER 1963--JUNE 1964

INTRODUCTION

The Northern Student Movement (NSM) is now comprised of student staffed projects in eight cities: Boston, Hartford, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington, Detroit and Chicago. In addition, at least fifty campus groups will resume programs in the fall aimed at deficiencies in the life of both the college and the local community.

To maintain these programs over the next academic year the Northern Student Movement requests grants of $133,550.00.

NEEDS

The critical inadequacies of the urban Negro ghetto, especially the educational needs of its youth, have been documented many times. There are, however, two areas of need with which we feel NSM is working in unique ways.

First, urbanization, racial discrimination and economic insecurity have had a profound effect on the ghetto residents; that is, they have denied the individual the opportunity and thus the ability to participate in the democratic process. The ghetto resident cannot effectively communicate his desperate needs to the larger society; he has no vehicle through which he can influence the social institutions which relate to these needs. He is a victim of his environment rather than an actor in it. It is our feeling that this disenfranchisement syndrome all but destroys the individual's motivation and capacity to learn, to carry out his social obligations, to be creative in his work, and to contribute positively to the life of his community.

More specifically, we believe it to be useless to provide educational and cultural resources to people who have no opportunity to act as valuable and effective members of society. The act of providing such resources must be related to the act of enabling people to see and express their needs and to exert influence in the direction of having those needs met.

Second, the recent increase in racial tensions has sharpened the necessity to bridge class and racial separations by creating situations in which whites and Negroes can learn to understand and respect each other's background and personality. While the educational need for and benefits of tutoring are obvious, we cannot overestimate the value of the interpersonal and intergroup growth and insight which take place within NSM.

PROGRAM

The programs which the NSM city staffs have developed can be divided into three areas, though in reality each activity is designed to fit into the larger framework of education the ghetto residents - and the tutors, Negro and white - to the utilization of individual and community resources in creative and responsible participation in the society.

First, the tutorial will continue the basic pattern of using individual college volunteers to teach one or two secondary school students on a semi-weekly basis in churches and social agencies within the Negro community. Variations of their format now include larger remedial reading classes for grade school students, the teaching of commercial courses to groups of high-school students, science and mathematics workshops for advanced students and experimental programs for pre-school children. The tutors will be given continuing orientation in the education and social problems of their pupils and tutors and tutees will participate together in weekly discussions of common problems such as the value of education, vocation, race, etc. In addition, we will work with several universities and the Office of Education, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare in evaluating the effect of the tutorial, developing and testing new curricula and methods for the tutorial situation, and providing vocational guidance ro the youth of the community.

It is estimated that some five thousand tutors and tutees will be involved in the city projects and several thousand more in the campus group programs.

Second, each project staff, with the help of the tutorial participants, will continue or initiate a number of cultural activities such as drama and art workshops, sessions in Negro history, visits to colleges nnd cultural institutions, athletic programs and tutee-edited newspapars.

Finally, the tutorial participants will engage in programs designed to involve a wider constituency in the process of social change and renewal. These programs include the organization of tenants to redevelop vacant common land (the finished product is know as a "neighborhood common") or to seek responsible management of property on the part of the landlord, voter education and resistration, the recruitment of homes for use as study centers and the publicizing of job opportunities for youth. The aim of these programs is the spawning of stable, autonomous organizational units with indigenous leadership wiich can serve as a vehicle for citizenship education and the expression of individual and community needs.

A similar program, with most of the emphasis placed on the tutorial as such, will be resumed by the various campus groups. Thes groups, in cooperation with the NSM Central Staff, will also conduct an intensive program of educating college students to the critical nature of the race problem and of recruiting Negro students for the particular college.

PROPOSAL

The NSM Central Office will have a six-man staff whose tasks will include the overall direction for all NSM efforts, the maintenance of communication between the city projects and campus groups, the development and publicizing of new programs and techniques, the review and interpretation of research material, and the solicitation of aid from professionals and institutions in the field.

Each city project will have a fulltime staff of five people to administer the various programs outlined above.

The formation of policy and the direction of staff will be the responsibility of an Executive Committee composed of representatives from each of the city projects and an equal number of representatives elected at-large from the campus groups.

NSM STAFF

The Executive Director of NSM will be Mr. William Strickland. Mr. Strickland graduated from Harvard College magna cum laude with membership in Phi Beta Kappa and will receive an M.A. in psychology from Harvard this September.

The City Project Coordinator will be Mr. Robert Knight. Mr. Knight has a B.A. from the University of Illinois and has served for the past several months as Coordinator of the Harlem Education Project.

The Campus Group Coordinator will be Miss Christine Philpot. Miss Philpot received her B.A. from Bryn Mawr College. Since then she has worked two years for the Philadelphia Commission on Human Relations and completed one year at Yale Law School.

The Campus Field Secretary will be Mr. Julian Houston. Mr. Houston graduated from the Hotchkiss School and completed one year at Boston University. During the last year he has worked with the Boston Northern Student Movement.

The Research Director will be Miss Sharon Jeffrey. Miss Jeffrey has a B.A. from the University of Michigan. She worked on the Central Staff of NSM during the spring of 1963 and on the staff of the Philadelphia Tutorial Project during the summer of 1963.

The City Field Secretary will be Mr. Dan Schecter. Mr. Schecter completed three years in labor economics at Cornell University. He served as Coordinator of the Baltimore Area Youth Opportunities Unlimited during the summer of 1963.

A STATEMENT OF INCOME

June 1962 to September 1963

I.	Summer 1962 *	
	Taconic Foundation (Prince Edwards County)	$ 6,000.00
	Fels Foundation (Philadelphia)	2,000.00
II.	Central Office Income, September 1962 to June 1963	
	Campus fund drives	$ 5,800.33
	Individual contributions	3,264.95
	Taconic Foundation	3,890.54
	Total Central Office	$12,955.82
III.	City Project Income, September 1962 to June 1963 *	
	Field Foundation (Harlem Education Project)	$10,000.00
	Philadelphia Fund (Philadelphia)	5,000.00
	Phoebe Waterman Foundation (Philadelphia)	5,000.00
	Smith, Kline & French Foundation (Philadelphia)	5,000.00
IV.	Summer 1963 **	
	New World Foundation (Central Office, Hartford, Baltimore, Washington)	$20,000.00
	Taconic Foundation (Central Office, Detroit, Harlem)	8,000.00
	Stern Family Foundation (Chicago)	2,000.00
	Charles E. Merrill Fund (Boston)	5,000.00

* The city income is stated exclusive of local fund raising from individuals and churches.

** An audit of the finances of the summer projects will be availab on September 10, 1963.

THE NEW YORK TIMES

HARLEM BACK LOT TO BECOME A PARK

Volunteers Plan to Clear Rubble for Play Area

A white station wagon borrowed from the Department of Sanitation was parked on 147th street between Eighth and Bradhurst Avenues for five hours Friday night, blaring rock 'n' roll from the speakers on its roof.

More than 400 persons jammed the street to celebrate the inaugration of a program to build a neighborhood commons in a rubble-strewn backyard behind the block's tenements.

The volunteers who served soft drinks and frankfurters were from the Harlem Education Project, New York's branch of the Northern Student Movement. HEP, as the project is known, is the force behind the neighborhood commons programs. The HEP coordinator for the program is Carl C. Anthony, a 24-year-old civil rights worker from Philadelphia.

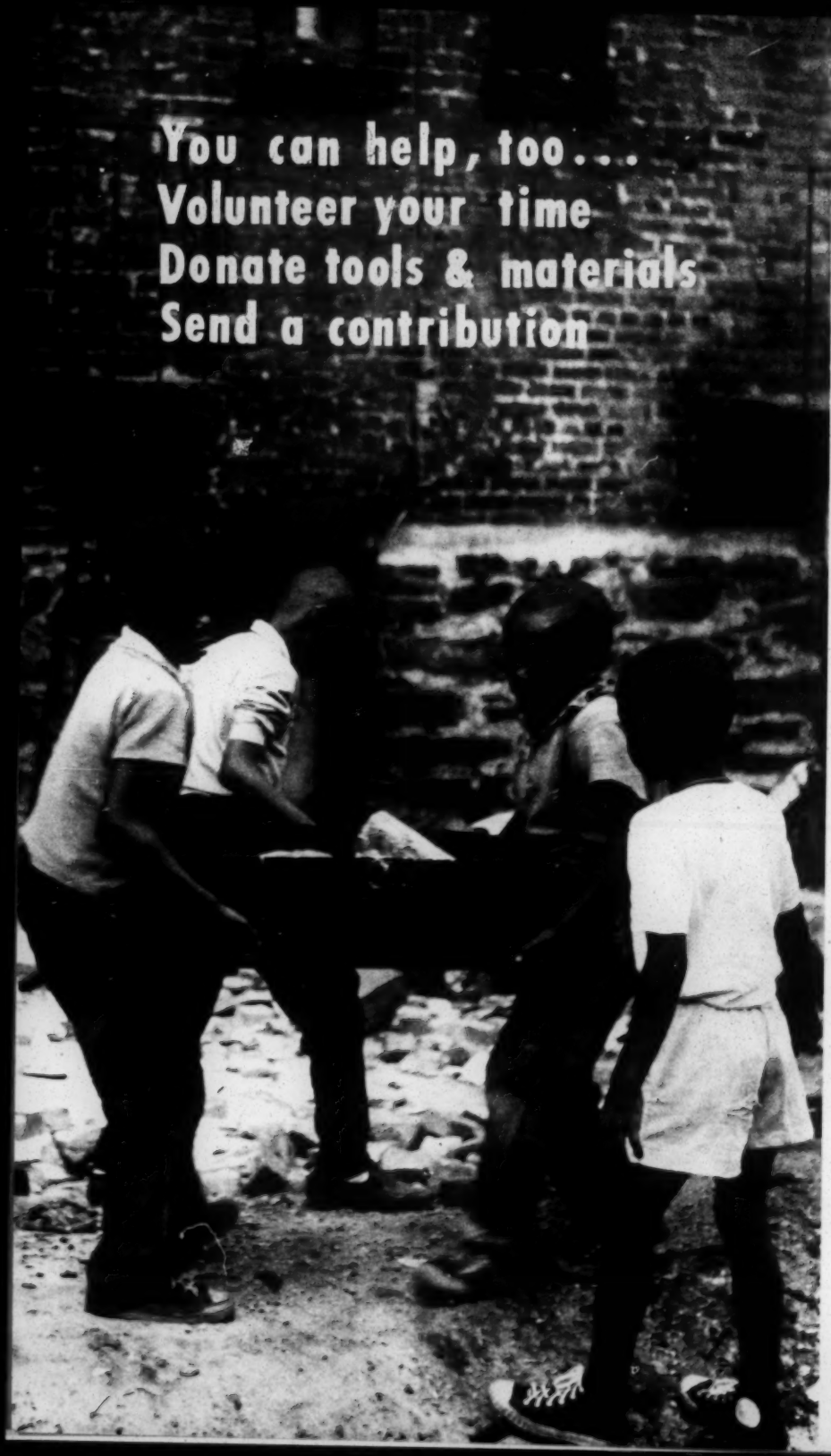
A Self-Help Project

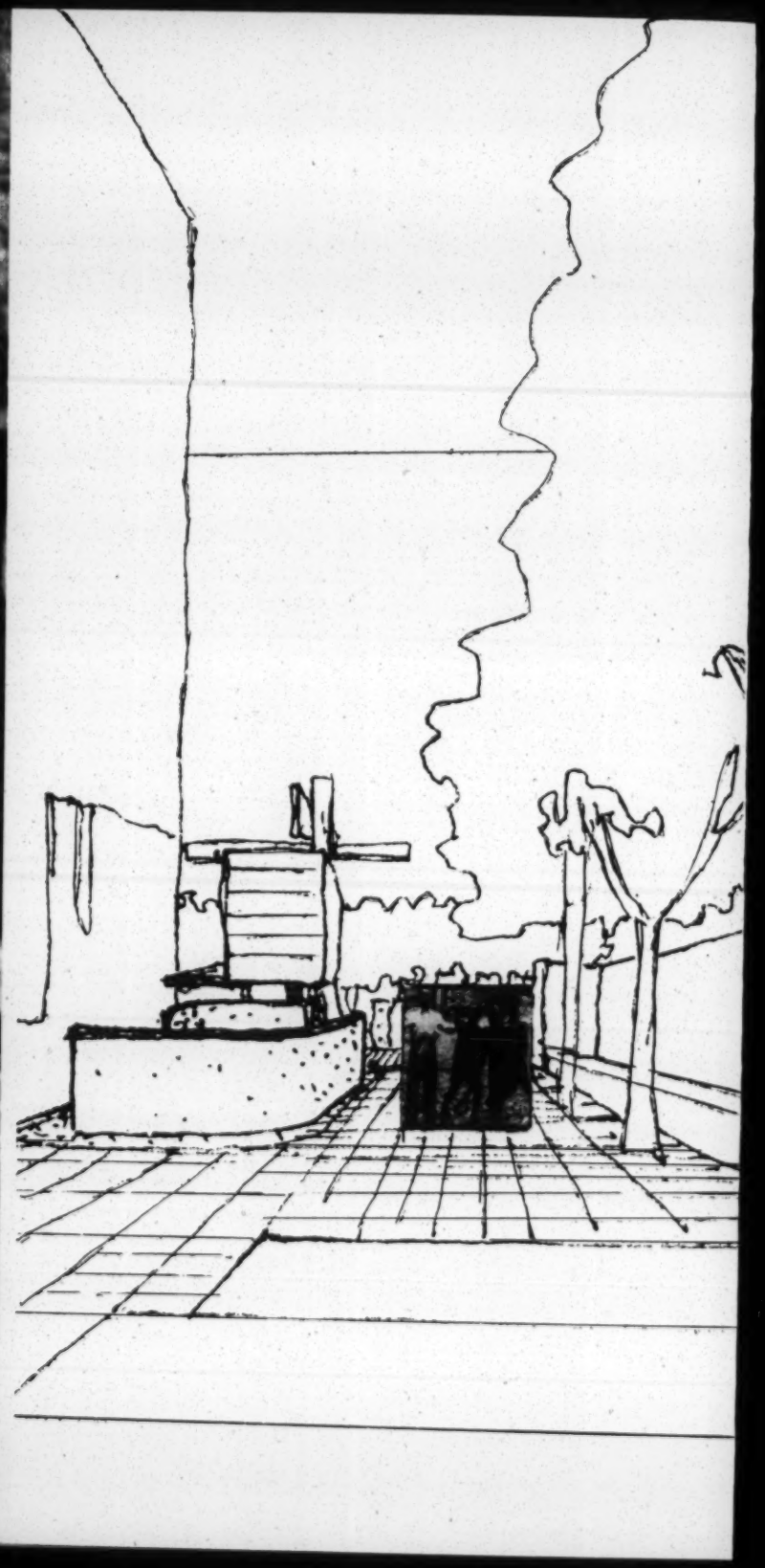
HEP is providing the impetus for the commons, but Mr. Anthony is determined that the people on the block supply everything else.

"All of their lives these people have been using their skills working for other people," he said. "We want to show them what they can do if they use their skills for themselves. Specifically, we want to show how wasted land in so-called 'slum communities' can be turned into attractive outdoor living space."

Plans for the commons include a basketball court, a slide, a junglegym, a barbecue pit and a bowling area. The city has given permission to use a city-owend vacant lot as the street entrance to the area.

Most of the young children accepted the program unquestioningly, and wanted only to know when it would be finished. Mr. Anthony hopes to have the commons serviceable in late September.


You can help, too....
Volunteer your time
Donate tools & materials
Send a contribution



A NEIGHBORHOOD COMMONS IS ...

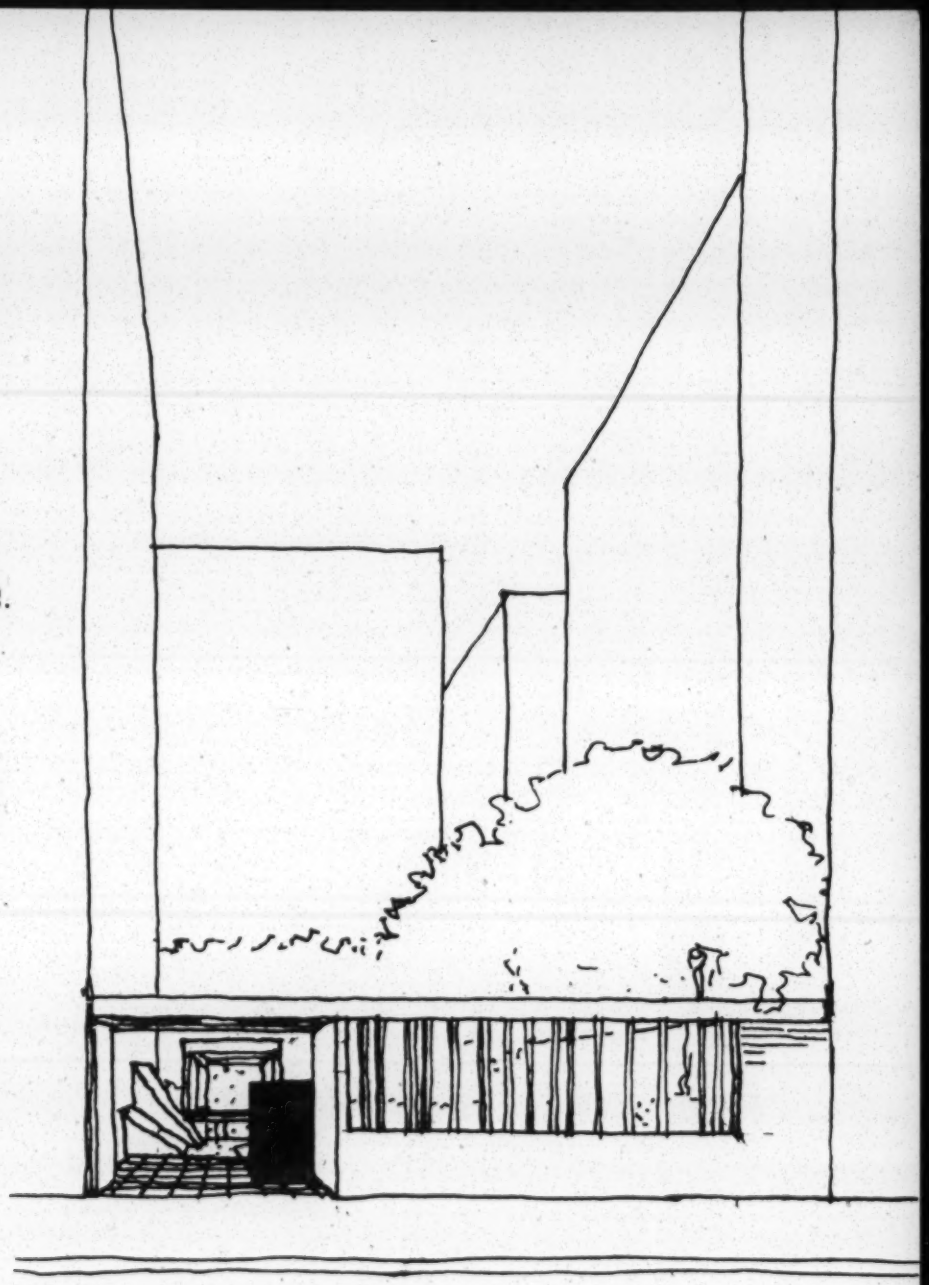
a place where youngsters can play, teenagers can meet and parents can sit and talk.

BUILT BY VOLUNTEERS ...

Half the fun of a neighborhood commons is building a Commons
Adults (some skilled in building trades such as carpentry, masonry, plumbing, gardening) teenagers and children from our neighborhood work together to create a Commons with skilled guidance.

MATERIALS ...

bricks, wood and earth – trees, shrubs and flowers are the raw materials for creating patios, mosaics, amphitheatres, arbors, sandboxes, benches.



Entrance on 147th Street
(between Bradhurst and 8th Avenues)

NEIGHBORHOOD COMMONS

a pilot project sponsored by

THE HARLEM EDUCATION PROJECT

2547 eighth avenue, n. y. c. to 2-4100

Cooperating agencies

Noble Gents Athletic and Social Club
Council of Parks and Playgrounds
New York City Health Department
Harlem Youth Opportunities Unlimited
Associated Community Teams

Volunteer Architectural Designers: Klein, Munter, & Schiff

THE HARLEM EDUCATION PROJECT
(HEP)

PROBLEM

Central Harlem is a black ghetto documented historically by social scientists as one of the worst depressed areas in our nation. Its population is approximately 400,000; one-half of its families are on public assistance; 49% of its dwelling units are dilapidated; 25% of the average household units consist of families of twelve occupying four rooms; unemployment is a true reality yet no State Employment Agencies are found to render service; only 35% of the fathers have completed high school, while only 1% have attended college; the economic and social history of the community is one of discrimination, humiliation and rejection, which has set in motion a vicious cycle of hostility, resignation and a deep-seated apathy. This cycle is manifested in the school of life of the youngsters in the form of academic deficiencies, resistances against learning, drop-outs and a negative self-image.

As a result of economic and housing segregation in N.Y.C., Harler is an ethnically homogenious community. Central Harlem's schools reflect the same homogeneity. Of 31,569 pupils attending school in Central Harlem, 86% are Negro. The important characteristic of these schools is, however, not their ethnic homogeneity, but the consistently low level of performance of their pupils.

In reading comprehension from 19 to 40 percent of the third grade pupils are reading below grade level. By sixth grade from 60 percent to over 90 percent of Harlem's children score below grade level. The figures indicate a rapid deterioration in reading comprehension during these first six years of the school career. For word knowledge, the facts are similar. That is, a much higher proportion of sixth grade pupils score below grade than third grade pupils, and a much lower proportion of students score above their grade level in sixth grade than in third grade In arithmetic, the figures are available for sixth grade only, but they show the same under-achievement, followed by consistent deterioration.

Results of I.Q. tests indicate for many the same limited verbal skills. The Bureau of Education and Vocational Guidance adminis ed an I.Q. test in a junior high school in which the scores resu ing from verbal tests dropped 11 points between 7th and 9th grades. However, on the non-verbal tests, the I.Q. scores were absolutely normal.

The facts are more telling when related to the number of student discharged from Central Harlem's schools with diplomas. In the junior high schools, a ninth grader receives a diploma if he has passed four majors, three minors and has a reading grade of at least 7.0. That is three levels below his own grade. He wil receive a certificate, and can go on to high school if he passes 2 majors, 2 minors and has at least a 6.0 reading grade, or the normal reading level of a sixth grader. Only about half of the ninth grade students could pass 4 majors, 3 minors and could read at the seventh grade level.

Since vocational schools have significantly raised their standar for admission, the academic high school has become a dumping ground for under-achievers. Although about 3/4 of the diploma students enter academic high school, over 4/5 of the non-diploma students do so. In only one school is the proportion of enterin diploma students larger than the proportion of non-diploma studc Since many of these students entering tenth grade of an academic high school are 3 or more years behind in reading, the value of a high school education is negligable. Even if they do not drop out of high school, they are destined to join the ranks of those with no vocational or intellectual skills, and thus have no future.

PROGRAMS

1. Tutorial. The tutorial program has improved considerably this summer. At present it is operating out of four centers with 250 tutors meeting 275 tutees twice a week. The tutors have been involved in three orientation sessions led by people from the community and the school system. In order to broaden tutor-tutee relationships, a series of weekly lectures were set up. These lectures have since resulted in a number of continuing tutor-tutee workshops in creative dance, art, writing and dramatics. The latter group will present a performance soon.

   Another branch of the tutorial is a pre-school for fifteen 5 and 6 year old children. They are being taught reading and mathematics by newly developed methods and engage in organized play activities.

   A trip to Maine by a group of thirty-nine tutees on July 20 to see the Solar Eclipse initiated a science and math projec administered by a HEP staff member. There are seven instruc tors teaching chemistry, rocketry, optics and simple compute in three centers. The ultimate aim is to have each of the students teach new students so that soon each one in the class will be both a teacher and a student.

2. Community Action. The third issue of the HARLEM VOICE has just come out. This paper is almost completely administered and put out by secondary school students, all of whom have taken a strong interest in newspaper reporting.

   Several of the tutees are administering an athletic program for younger children. At present, the baseball team, of Little League classification, is undefeated.

   A neighborhood commons project is well off the ground. The area includes a block of backyards and a city-owned lot whic serves as an entranceway. Permission was obtained from the landlords and the city to redevelop this area and the tenant with the help of a huge block party, were involved at the start. The lot has been cleared, the design completed and construction of such items as a barbecue pit, a bowling alle and a theatre will begin soon.

With the help of a group of law students a great deal of research has been done by the HEP staff into the housing deficiencies of Harlem and possible avenues for alleviating these deficiencies. Two staff members, with the help of some tutorial participants, are now beginning to work with tenants near the HEP office, seeking a greater sense of responsibility on the part of both the tenants and the landl

Finally, plans to set up Freedom Schools, similar to those run in Boston, are being considered.

PROSPECTUS FOR CHICAGO EDUCATION PROJECT

The Problem:

The proposed area for NSM concentration in Chicago during the next year, including the summer of 1963, centers around two specific areas on the city's South side: Woodlawn and Oakland.

The Woodlawn community is an area of less than one square mile which houses, according to the 1960 census, some 60,030 persons, of which 24.6 per cent are on public assistance. Overcrowding and rapid population increases have forced the installation of dozens of trailer-type portable schools. Woodlawn's high school, Hyde Park, reports an annual drop-out rate of higher than 55 per cent; feeder schools graduate grammar school students with third grade reading levels. Over 90 per cent of Woodlawn's population is Negro. In a recent United States Civil Rights Commission report completed last year, the Chicago public school administration was criticized for "no effort to aid in integration" and for "accepting a pattern of segregation" produced by other forces. As the Commission report pointed out there are proportionately fewer experienced teachers in "ghetto schools" than in predominantly white schools in Chicago. Also, the general expenditures and number of library books per pupil are less in "ghetto schools" than in predominantly white schools, the report stated.

That the school system is failing to do its job is indicated in a study of Woodlawn done last year by the Cook County Department of Public Aid:

> Traditionally, the community [Woodlawn] has assumed that once it has processed a youngster through the existing educational system, he is ready to function as an adult. As a result, the community has paid very little attention to the educational dilemma of those whom the system failed during childhood. For various reasons -- lack of opportunity, poor home conditions, premature promotion, crowded classrooms -- the system, whether it was in Chicago or elsewhere, failed more than 50 per cent of those in the Woodlawn study. These persons are not prepared to function as adults.

Oakland is one of the most depressed and overcrowded areas in the city of Chicago; it is located on the south side along Lake Michigan, north of the 4700 block. One of the schools in Oakland, the Forestville North Upper Grade Center, houses grades seven and eight. Eight elementary schools feed into Forestville, and it, in turn, feeds into three high schools, one being Hyde Park High (mentioned above) located in Woodlawn. Of the 749 children graduating from eighth grade in June, 1963, from Forestville, 397 showed reading scores of 5th grade and under. Next year, 1964, 1000 students will leave Forestville for the high schools.

The Oakenwald Elementary School, whose graduates attend the Forestville North Upper Grade Center presently has an enrollment of 1800 students. Teacher turnover in the school is extremely rapid; 18 teachers transferred out at the beginning of this school year. The book situation is also serious; some classrooms report that 18 books are being shared by 30 children.

Present Programs:

In the Woodlawn community NSM has helped to coordinate a high school tutorial program staffed by tutors from the University of Chicago student body. Established in cooperation with the University Student Government, the High School Program -- known as SWAP, the Student oodlawn Area Project, presently has more than 100 University students involved in tutoring.

Individual teachers in Hude Park High School and leaders in the sponsoring community agencies have distributed the SWAP applications to youngsters of high school age. A committee of community leaders and educators serve as advisers to SWAP. [See Appendix.]

The administrative staff of SWAP, in cooperation with faculty members at the University of Chicago, has set up several special projects: a bibliography has been prepared by the University of Chicago School of Library Science to aid tutors in selecting remedial reading material for their tutees. Special workshops have been set up using the facilities made available by the University of Chicago Laboratory High School. These facilities include the use of close-circuit T.V. which allows tutors to observe a tutoring situation. In addition, smaller seminar groups have worked with experts from the University of Chicago reading clinic and staff at the University high school to evaluate the T.V. demonstrations and to discuss tutoring problems.

In Oakland, NSM has established a study center in cooperatic with several community groups; the center is located at a neighborhood church which is conveniently located for Forestville North Upper Grade Center students. The study center operates Monday through Friday, 3:30 to 5:30. The center is supervised each day by graduate students and faculty from the University of Chicago. High school students work under these supervisors and give individual attention to the study center children.

Future Plans:

SWAP has met with such favorable response from the Woodlawn community that it plans to continue operations throughout the summer and through next year. Plans include the following:

1. A series of field trips for tutees during the summer months

2. A study center for the Woodlawn community

3. An experimental project directed towards job opportunities for Woodlawn youth

4. An expansion of the present tutorial program to include:

   a. College guidance counseling
   b. Discussions and workshops for tutees

5. A seminar for tutors at the University of Chicago

The discussions for tutees will center around Woodlawn as a community and how students can act to improve it. The chief vehicle for much of the administrative work during the summer will be the tutee advisory board which will represent the students in deciding which field trips to arrange, which speakers to invite and will help plan other group activities.

The seminar offered by the University of Chicago will conduct an extensive evaluation of the remedial reading bibliography, using tutors' field reports to rate the books listed.

PROPOSED BUDGET

SUMMER:

Fulltime Staff	1 at $50.00/week	$ 600.00
Part-time Staff	1 at $30.00/week	360.00
Telephone	$25.00/month	75.00
Projected Office Rent	$100.00/month	300.00
Postage	$25.00/month	75.00
Office Supplies	$50.00/month	150.00
Special projects [field trips, etc.]	$100.00/month	300.00
Books and reprints	$50.00	50.00
	TOTAL	$1910.00

ACADEMIC YEAR:

Staff Salaries	2 at $60.00/week for 40 weeks	$4800.00
Rent [projected]	$100/month for 9 months	900.00
Telephone	$50.00/month	450.00
Office Equipment		450.00
Postage		450.00
Office Supplies		600.00
Special Projects		1000.00
	TOTAL	$8650.00

Tutoring Sites for SWAP

The following tutoring sites have been chosen for two reasons:

1) their geographic location, i.e. proximity to the residence of "tutees."

2) the "tutees'" familiarity with these sites due to after-school activities.

Woodlawn Boys Club
6400 University

Woodlawn Y. M. C. A.
63rd and Woodlawn

Southside Community Committee
6156 Cottage Grove

Jackson Park Field House
64th and Stony Island

Hyde Park Y. M. C. A.
53rd and Kenwood

Opportunity Center
63rd and Cottage Grove

University of Chicago
Ida Noyes Hall
59th and Kimbark

Cobb Hall
58th and Ellis

LIST OF SPONSORS AND ADVISORS

Sponsoring Agencies and their Directors and/or Youth Workers

Woodlawn Boys Club	James Conrad, Director
Woodlawn Y. W. C. A.	Mrs. Jones, Director Mrs. Wand, Mrs. Williams
Hyde Park Y. M. C. A.	Mr. Gordon Mack
Southside Community Committee	Mrs. Almita Robinson, Director Mrs. Alfreda Duster, Youth Director
Opportunity Center	Mrs. Prior
University of Chicago	Dr. David Bakan, Advisor
Hyde Park Neighborhood Club	Mr. John Ramey
K. A. M. Temple	Rabbi Jacob Weinstein

Advisors to SWAP

Dr. David Bakan	Advisor to the Coordinating Committee, University of Chicago, Department of Psychology
Dr. Sol Tax	University of Chicago, Department of Anthropology
Dr. Robert Hess	University of Chicago, Department of Education, Assistant Dean, Chairman of Committee on Human Development
Dr. Bertrum Masia	Department of Education, Statistical Studies
Dr. Mark Ashin	University of Chicago, Department of English
Mrs. Zeitta Pace	Psychologist, Institute for Juvenile Research, Chicago
Dr. Harland Randolph	Board for Fundamental Education
Timuel Black	Social Studies Teacher at Hyde Park High School, Chicago; Board Member, Teachers for Integrated Schools, Chicago
Alderman Leon Despres	Alderman for the 5th Ward (Woodlawn is in the 5th Ward)

Advisors to SWAP, con't.

Robert Hanvey	Assistant Principal, University of Chicago Laboratory School
Dr. Wayne Booth	University of Chicago, Departme of Education
Dr. Sara Fenwick	University of Chicago, School o Library Science
Dr. Phil Ennis	University of Chicago, School o Library Science

BALTIMORE AREA YOUTH OPPORTUNITIES UNLIMITED
(BAYOU)

NEED

Baltimore is a conservative, slow moving city. Its economic and social problems are complicated by the fact that it is a highly segregated city. BAYOU(Baltimore Area Youth Opportunities Unlimited) is working in the Gay Street Area of East Baltimore. The major difficulties of Baltimore's "worst urban ghetto" lie in four areas:

1. Education-There is still extensive separation of races in the Baltimore City Public schools, notwithstanding the official desegregation of schools eight years ago.
2. Employment-The Gay Street area has the highest rate of unemployment in the city and the lowest percentage of persons involved in the actual labor force.
3. Politics-Political disorganization and disenfranchisment combine to make the East Baltimore Gay Street Area a politically voiceless community.
4. Housing- The area has just been designated an urban renewal area. Preliminary surveys on housing conditions list existing structures as "very poor", which is a new category (previously "excellent", fair", or "poor".)

BAYOU activities operate in an area which contains approximately 25,000 people. almost all of whom (99.9%) are Negro. The median age for the area is 17.2 years(male) and 18.9 (female) as compared to the Baltimore city and cuunty median of 30.5.(male) and 32.0 (female).

The mobility rate in the Gay Street Area is high(58%). 30 percent of the population lives on welfare. Family income is the lowest in the city and county of Baltimore.

Table 1: Median Family Income

	Gay Street Area	Baltimore
Median Family Income	$1,998	$6,430
%population earning under $3,000	80%	17%
% population earnings over $5,000	1%	55%

These statistics show an even greater disparity on a per capi basis, for the average family unit in the Gay Street Area is 4.0 as compared to 3.3 for the city of Baltimore.

Public housing project areas usually contain a larger percentage of "problem families", i.e., those receiving very low incomes, welfare assistance from various public and private agencies, disease, disability, "broken or abandoned" homes, and unemployment. Of 3,000 project families only 41% are considered standard families (meeting minimun requirements).

The educational level of persons of 25 years and over reveals tha over half(67percent) have less than 9 years of school. The median of education is 7.5. years, the lowest in the city. Less than one twentieth have finished high school (4.1.percent). Less than one percent have attended college.

Table 2: Male Labor Force (14 years and older)

	Gay Street	Baltimore
Labor Force (percentage of total pupulation)	64.7	77.5
, of labor force unemployed	14.7	5.3

The job of categories of those who are in the labor force indicat that 70 percent of the population are involved in semi-skilled or unskilled jobs. One-fourth (26%) were involved in jobs categorized as "operatives": truck drivers, machine operators, laundry and dry cleaner workers, garage attendants, inspectors, etc. Tweny-five percent were laborers, and 13 percent were service workers.

The Gay Street Area schools still bear the effects of segregation in areas of enrollment, transfer, transportation, and school counselling. IBM cards for each child still carry race designation. The high school that BAYOU is working with is 100percent Negro, and has the highest drop-out rate in the city. In additio there are a large number of "basic" courses in the curriculum.

The Gay Street Area lies within the Second(of a total of six) Councilmanic Destrict. It is highly unorganized. Despite the predominately Negro population, no effective Negro leadership has as yet been developed. The Negro community leadership of Baltimore(NAACP, Civic Interest Group(CIG), Urban League, Muslims, etc.) resides in the effectively organized 4th Councilmanic District(mostly West Baltimore) and little or nothing is done by Negro leaders in the ay of programs in East Baltimore.

PROGRAM

The summer tutorial involved about 150 college students and three hundred tutees - the majority of whom came from the all Negro Dunbar High School and a few neighborhood junior high schoo The tutors, one third of which were Negro, came from Baltimore area and non-area colleges. The tutoring took place in eight neighborhood centers, each tutee receiving one hour of instructio in two subjects twice a week. Twenty tutees were taught typing

and other commercial courses. Seminars and non-academic porgrams met weekly to deal with the non-academic and environmental aspects of the tutor-tutee relationship.

The Fall Program has continued the summer program with more tutees and tutors. Tutors from every Baltimore college participate in the expanded and more comprehensive program. The academic tutoria has been reorganized on the basis of the summer's experience, to emphasize remedial reading and a more thourough orientation in community problems including a small number of dropouts have signed up for the tutorial while and additional 350 area youths registered to participate in a co-curricular program of clubs and workshops.

The entire program is directed by a staff of five fulltime student Most project programming is done however, by a tutee steering committee, elected by project participants.

EXTRA TUTORIAL PROGRAMS:

Recognizing that a tutorial will only appeal to a limited number of usually more highly motivated youths, BAYOU initiated several other programs this summer and Fall:

Journalism Workshop: Twenty tutees meet once a week with a studen advisor and a reporter on the Baltimore AFRO-AMERICAN to learn journalism techniques and publish THE BAYOU PRESS, a student edited newspaper which acts as a vehicle for expression and communication with BAYOU.

Dramatics Workshop: 15 tutees, including three Dunbar high school dropouts, participated in a summer dramatics workshop which produced Sophocles' Antigone. The play received a very warm reception in the community of Baltimore. WJZ-TV produced the play on its Studio 13 program, while the Baltimore Sun observed editorially that "The student groups that put on Sopoocles' "Antigone" locally couldn't have picked a more typical drama." The Dramatic Workshop has now assumed the name of BAYOU Players and is presenting "Antigone" to college and high school audiences in the Baltimore area and making plans for a new production.

Coffee Shop: A coffee shop was set up by tutees at the BAYOU office during the summer. Entertainment programs featured tutors and tutees and student acts were exhibited on the walls. A groups of Goucher college students are financing a more ambitious coffee shop program in another location in East Baltimore under the auspices of BAYOU.

Music Program: During the summer, tutees of the BAYOU office attended concerts at Morgan State, summer stock productions, as well as lectures and demonstrations in Jazz. During the school year, the Peabody Institute, Goucher College, and Johns Hopkins University are providing free and reduced rate tickets for musical productions.

Art Programs: Several college students are setting up an art workshop which will include instruction and visits to local museums and galleries.

Dance: Several tutors offer classes in modern dance and ballet. Emphisis has been placed on relating dance to African culture and Negro history.

College Opportunities: Staff members are developing seminars in order to orient tutees towards college information. BAYOU will distribute information on colleges, schedule trips to colleges, sponsor tutor discussions of college life and the possibilities of financial assistance. BAYOU hopes to work closely with the National Scholarship Fund and Service for Negro Students.

Job opportunities: BAYOU will distribute information through its storefront office on -ob-getting techniques(Where to Look, How to Prepare for Interviews, etc. as well as expand d program of related workshops. The workshops include:

1. Future Nurses Club: About twenty five girls participated in a program to discuss opportunities in nursing. The program was advised by a young Negro head nurse at Johns Hopkins Hospital, and included an official Red Cross First Aid Program, visits to local hospitals and volunteer work.

2. Auto Mechanics Club: Teenagers interested in Auto Mechanics will be working in this area.

Other programs include an African Affairs Seminar(to be conducted by African students from Morgan State college), a Charm Club, and a recreation club.

HOUSING

BAYOU has prepared a housing servey conducted by staff members and a neighborhood resident. Meetings have been held with the Bureau of Building Inspection, Citizens' Planning and Housing Association, and the Urban Renewal Administration.

Voter Registration and Education Campiign. BAYOU, in cooperation with the Civic Interest Group (CIG) sponsors and ongoing voter registration-canvassing drive in East Baltimore. The purpose is three-fold:

1. To resister voters in the area of greatest disenfranchisement in Baltimore.
2. To solicit factual and attitudinal information on housing, recreation, education, and employment.
3. To work with members of the community in an effort to stimulate community concern about challenges of urban and race problems in the area.

The survery is not professional, but merely a means of involving citizens of East Baltimore in reflective criticism of cumm: nity conditions.

Hartford Editorial Project
91 Vine Street
Hartford, Connecticut

NEED

The schools - The Northern Student Movement is concerned with eight schools in the Hartford area. These institutions receive most of their pupils from the two most culturally deprived areas of the city, the Charter Oak area and the North End. Included in this report is a factual breakdown of the situation in the primary and junior high schools in the area.

"FACTS CONCERNING PUPILS IN OUR SCHOOLS"

	Arsenal (1143)	Barnard (1196)	Brackett (1001)	Hooker (994)	Northeast (656)	Wish (936)	Total (6226)
Number of students from broken homes	595	481	503	192	267	357	2395
Number know to welfare agencies at present	290	274	170	307	109	152	1302
Number presenting serious attendance problems	59	83	53	36	68	53	352
Number requiring individual psychological exam	1e6	124	127	49	44	140	623
Number known to have special health problems	196	45	64	49	30	190	574
Number surrently working with a speech therapist	55	34	62	25	18	29	223
Number know to school social worker	66	112	101	53	67	211	610
Number known to mental health clinic		10	17	3	8	26	64
Number referred to protective services because of neglect		24	19	17	2	31	93

Reading Level: Average students in these schools are one grade below the norm in reading from the first through the third grades; in seventh grade, two or more grades below reading level.

Average I.Q.'s: Grade II - 88; grade IV - 93; grade V - 91.

Juvenile Court cases(Hartford children between 7 and 16 years of age): 580 cases.

In all Connceticut cities where social workers and librarians are in the employ of a school system they are placed on the teacher's salary schedule.
February 5, 1963 - Information supplies by the board of Education
The neighborhoods in which these schools are located are largely segregated. In Northeast, Arsenal and Barbard schools over 90% of the pupils are of minority origin. The others vary from 50 to 90% minority origin.

The drop-out rate amongst Negroes in Hartford is some 50 percent. Of those who graduate from high school very few go to college. Approximately 20 will be going on beyond high school this year. The teacher turn-over rate is very low in the area high schools, but much greater in the six schools mentioned above. Although the precise figures are not known the rate has been as high as 50 percent in some schools in the past. Most of the new teachers begin in the above six schools and many leave quickly. The classrooms are very overcrowded, the ratio being 35-40 pupils to one teacher in most of the classes. In most of the primary schools the teachers spend much of their time in maintaining discipline. The individual attention needed by the students is not provided.

It should be mentioned that the Board of Education is becoming concerned with the situation presented here. They are developing programs and providing specialists to alleviate some of the many problems in these areas. However their efforts are token and only represent a beginning -- much more is needed. The Board is very much aware of the need for a tutorial project. They have responded to the present work with great interest, showing their desire to correct the many problems.

2. The Community. The following is a list of known facts concerning the minority group situation in Hartford. The information was largely provided by the Connecticut Civil Rights Commission.

Basic Statistics
- A. Population - 162,178
  - 1. Negro - 24,855 or 15.3%
  - 2. White - 137,323 or 84.7%
- B. Total voting age population - 67,527
  - 1. Negro - 13,567 or 19.7%
  - 2. White - 53,192 or 80.3%
- C. Percent Negro registered - app. 25%

Economic Description
- A. Industrialization - aircraft, typewriters
- B. Insurance city
- C. Income
  - 1. Average income
    - a. White - Female: $1,914
      Male: $5,003
    - b. Negro - Female: $1,594
      Male: $3,516
    - c. Professional workers as % of state population
      White - 15%
      Negro - 4%
    - d. Average income of professional workers
      White - $6,971
      Negro - $4,521
- D. Percent of Negroes out of total state professional workers,
- E. Extent of unionization
  - 1. Industries, factories
  - 2. Union segregation
    - a. Craft unions
      Less than 1% Negroes
      One union - 770 Whites and 3 Negroes

b. Percentage of skilled and semi-skilled workers
Negro - 52%
White - 47%
c. Yet percentage of union membership
Negro - 13%
White - 87%

F. Unemployment
1. Percentage of whites - 4%
2. Percentage of Negroes - 9% (Note: this figure has been increasing rapidly over the last year).

G. Retraining - 312
1. White - 267
2. Negro - 45

Political Structure

A. A few Negroes elected or appointed to office
1. City Councilman
2. Member of Board of Education
3. Director of Recreation

B. White power structure
1. Great influence of insurance companies, bank officials and lawyers
2. Lack of real contact with North End interests

C. Political parties
1. Republican Party
a. No office in the Negro community
b. Negro Republican Club
c. Relatively weak in Negro community
2. Democratic party
a. Relatively strong Negro organization, with office in the North End.
b. Does not concentrate on community questions
c. Receives majority of Negroes' votes

Social Structure

A. Schools
1. Resemblance in some respects to Southern schools
a. Overcrowded
b. Low quality of special services
c. Substandard teachers
2. Amount spent per pupil regardless of race - $420.
3. Fair record of sensitivity to racial problem though most schools remain segregated.

B. Recreational facilities
1. Recently built $1.5 million center in a border site
2. Inadequate facilities in crowded areas

Negro Leadership

A. Business: Little economic influence, only few stores owned by Negroes. Very few Negroes in business positions. Two funeral homes owned by Negroes.

B. Clergy
1. Twelve large North End churches
2. Interdenominational Ministerial Alliance

C. Political
1. Ward chairman
2. Selectmen
3. One councilman, State Treasurer, State Representative.

D. Variety of fraternal and service organizations.

3. General Comments. These general comments on social disorganization can be backed up by the facts above. It is difficult to measure disunity and moral depravity, though, and the writer of this report must rely on a year's experience in living with the people and in the areas concerned.

The Hartford ghetto is typical of those in the North. The two races are almost completely separated. In the North End of Hartford there is a high crime rate, a high drop-out rate and a high unemployment rate, indicating that a great purposelessness prevails. Laziness, liquor and dirtiness are the observable facts. Although these are many indications of decadence the city possess many concerned groups and agencies. Yet the only groups of any size are social fraternities and youth gangs. Very few religious, social or political groups attract or involve the typical person.

There is a three level society in the ghetto itself. The first is middle-class and lives apart from the rest of the population. The second is made up of people who are becoming middle-class; they are a transitional group slowly on the move. The third is the typical Negro or Puerto Rican. They represent 95 percent of the community.

The population is growing quickly in Hartford. Half of the 27,000 people are 22 years old and younger. Unemployment is rampant amongst the youth. The leaders of the North End don't seem to affect the population. Little change has come over the last years.

CORE and NAACP are vehicles for protest in the community, but their programs are ineffective. If 100 persons come to a mass meeting they are doing well. At the same time there is a restlessness. Much of the door to door work done this summer indicates that the common person is concerned and certainly dissatisfied. Yet apathy continues and prevails.

The political representation of the community is token and thought by most people as having "sold out". There is no militant person in this leadership who consistently preaches social change. Little is done to alleviate the poor conditions.

PROGRAM

1. Tutorial. During the summer of 1963 the Northern Student Movement has involved over 1000 people in its projects. The main strength of this program has been the Hartford Summer Tutorial Project, as it is known locally. The number of participants in the project numbers 700. 200 college students have been meeting with some 500 predominately Negro junior and senior high school students in twice weekly one and a half hour sessions. The project, designed for the two most culturally deprived areas of the city, has been conducted in 10 local churches and social centers. It has met with great success.

A grass-roots method was employed to recruit tutees. A large group of college students went from door to door in the depressed neighborhoods, explaining the project to parents and children.

The response was great. The Board of Education also assisted in publicizing our efforts to other students. A large problem was presented when we looked for college students, for no recruitment center was available. Although local summer schools provided a few students, we had to rely on lists of area high school graduates They were reached by telephone and signed up for the project. This combination of people has produced a very exciting experience for all concerned.

College and 7th-12th grade high school students studied together in many different subjects. Books from the Hartford schools were distributed to the tutees. Tutoring took place in morning, afternoon and evening sessions all through the week. The twice weekly sessions represent the core of the project.

2. Non-academic programs. Because of the extra time offered by a summer project many areas of interest could be developed by the staff. In many ways these programs were the most exciting activities of the summer, for they offered to the public proof that people from these depressed areas were capable of good and creative work. We held twice weekly seminars that involved tutors, tutees, parents, staff and outside speakers. Remedial reading, Negro history, civil rights and school problems were the subjects of the meetings. Often tutors would meet together and discuss methods of tutoring.

The tutees were also involved in art, music, jazz dancing and creative writing classes. The response to these cultural programs was tremendous. Some forty students painted twice weekly during the summer while 40 others practised dance four nights a week. Most of these programs were taught by people of the North End and Charter Oak communities. A performance by the modern dance group is scheduled for the very near future.

The music class is smaller in number, having involved 15 students. The teachers supplement their classes with trips to local concerts and a trip to Tanglewood. The creative writing class was small, involving 10 students. Different areas of writing were pursued.

We also tried to develop programs in recreation and publishing a newspaper. We found a good interest for sports but also found that the need was met by the city's extensive program. The newspaper suffered from the absence of finance and a strong, experienced person. Nevertheless a weekly newsletter has been published and some eight students met for four weeks and almost completed the writing and editing of one issue of the "North End Voice". The effort had to be abandoned. We hope to be able to pick up more interest in the fall.

A project in pre-academic training for young, culturally deprived children was also developed. Six college and high school students worked with 25-30 children of ages 5-7 in an attempt to develop behavior and atmosphere conducive to school. These children came from the slums of Hartford and suffered great academic deficiencies almost before they had begun school. The staff has been able to work daily with these children for four and five hours.

The project represents two major break-throughs for the Hartford slum and for the Northern Student Movement. First, this pre-school nursery represents a pilot project, the first of its kind in the area. It has been observed carefully, especially by the Hartford Board of Education. They expressed interest in doing this on a large scale. Secondly, it represents the first time the State of Connecticut has given confidence to a predominately student group. They have pledged $1,100 to pay for salaries and supplies and have given the project official endorsement. That they had this interest and faith represents a great success this summer.

3. Community action. We have also developed several important projects in the community. Early in the summer many hours were spent in developing a community group and doing research into employment and housing problems in the North End. Both activities have been very successful. The research has been instrumental in creating a new interest in North End housing by the city of Hartford. Through many meetings with city officials and with employers we have created new jobs and presented some of the real needs of the community.

A student group is unique in that it is able to do extensive door to door work. Students are young and idealistic enough to spend a whole summer talking to people, many of whom are not initially interested. All of our research and community organization was done in this way and revealed many problems unknown by the city government. Our effort was original in Hartford this summer - never has this grass-root work been done so successfully or extensively or sincerely. Many relevant facts have been brought to the people's attention and a new interest in solving these problems has arisen.

The community meetings again represent a new approach to Hartford's social problems, for the door to door approach has created a large interest amongst very ordinary people. These meetings began with only 10 or 15 people attending. Now crowds of at least 200 come and express a desire to participate in social change.

Through the community meetings the following activities were initiated: much of the housing research, job recruitment, clean-up campaigns and a future voter registration drive. The potential of this group is vast. Many of the community people have been involved in this community improvement and in actually leading these efforts to some successful conclusion. So far community organization has gone along well.

The programs developed this summer have been administered by a full time staff of 25 students, most of them working on a volunteer basis. The existence of such a staff indicates a new interest amongst students for social change. We have been working since early June and plan to continue all of these programs through the fall.

To support this group many outside resources were needed. Not only local funds but also a state grant were used to supplement the original foundation support. The staff was recruited from colleges and [illegible] community. We have worked very hard and effectively.

BOSTON NORTHERN STUDENT MOVEMENT

NEED

1. Schools. There are 14,000 Negro pupils in Boston. De facto segregation exists; it was recognized in a 1961 report by Action for Boston Community Development entitled "The Negro in Boston", and recently emphasized by the Boston Branch of the NAACP, but the school committee refuses to admit that the situation exists. Of the city's more than 200 schools, 15 have Negro enrollments of over 90%, and 20 have Negro enrollments between 50% and 90%. Most of these schools are ancient and in poor condition, and about half of them have been recommended for demolition. Classes are overcrowded, teachers have trouble maintaining discipline, teacher turnov is great. A class may have as many as four teachers during one school year. The guidance system is totally inadequate and students receive little, if any, vocational counseling.

2. General Statistics.

Population:

Total, Boston - 703,104
Negro, Boston - 64,000 - 9.8%
The tripling of Boston's Negro population since 194C is to a large part due to immigration from the South
Negro families on public assistance - 15%.
Negro median income - $1,567.
White median income - $2,075.

Housing:
Dilapidated housing in Boston - 21%.
Dilapidated housing in Roxbury, No. Dorchester, South 1 49%.
Negroes living in substandard housing - 21%.
Negroes living in public housing - 13.5%.

Two urban renewal projects are affecting Negro populati one in the South End is largely rehabilitation; one in the Washington Park area of Roxbury will displace a lar number of people who are having trouble finding new hon due to a general housing shortage and because of discri ination. Because of the demand for housing, landlords in the area are raising rents as much as 15-20% even though the housing is run-down and the street is in poo condition. There are a large amount of absentee landlo who do not keep their properties in good condition. Ov crowding and unsanitary conditions exist in many cases.

3. Community. There are many social, religious, and civil righ groups in Boston's Negro community, groups run both by membe of the community and by outsiders. It cannot be said that the community is effectively organized, however, for many people hardly know their neighbors and do not work with them for common goals.

PROGRAMS

1. Tutorials. The summer tutorial program is being conducted at three levels - high school-junior high, elementary, and pre-school. The high school tutee and his tutor meet two evenings a week at one of ten tutorial centers - churches and social agencies in Roxbury, Dorchester, and the South End - and work for one and a half to two hours on the subjec which the tutee wished to study. Some students need help because they are failing; others want to do extra work on a subject which they enjoy. The program involves about 200 tutees and 150 tutors.

In some centers tutors have met after the tutoring to try tc work out teaching problems and to talk with guest discussior leaders about the community. These sessions are built arour the need to develop the student's confidence in himself as well as increasing his knowledge of particular subject matte A program for giving guidance testing and counseling to some of the students is now being planned. It is hoped that this will help the students to assess their abilities and to make realistic plans about their future vocations.

The reading program for elementary school children is run by two professional teachers. They trained 45 volunteers in a phonetic method of teaching reading and now approximate 200 children are being taught at six centers. Before they were grouped, the children's reading ability was tested so that classes would be made up of children reading at a simil level. The sessions are two or three times a week and from one to two hours long. At most of the centers attendance is good and parents have displayed an interest in the progra While working on basic problems in reading, spelling, and handwriting, the children use attractive, interesting books which the Northern Student Movement bought for the program. They have been carefully chosen to keep the child interested and provide challanging work at his grade level. Tested results from a similar program run by Boston NSM through this past spring indicate that the summer improvement in reading levels will range from 2-5 months.

A pre-school with 22 four to six-year-old children is held three mornings a week. Four staff members help the childrer with a wide variety of activities, simply structured but requiring some skills - coordinative, manual, and cognitive. For example, they pump inner tubes, saw pieces of wood and nail them together, string beads, and paint. Children are initially shown how to work at something and then the materials are left available so that they can choose what they wi do. They make individual discoveries and enjoy working alor

In the group are children of different race and class backgrounds, providing a constant source of exchange between the Again and again they show that children learn from each othe as well as from adults.

2. Non-Academic Programs. The recreation program is being carr out in two housing projects in lower Roxbury, in cooperatior with the Boston Housing Authority and Robert Gould Shaw Hous a local social agency. Two full-time staff people work in each project with a total of twenty part-time volunteers. The program runs five days a week and serves about 130 child

The program includes dramatics, dance, singing, sports, crai games, and trips. A Music-Theatre Workshop is held two days a week outdoors in the middle of the project. The older groups, 10 to 14-year-olds, have made up and performed short plays. The staff is trying to help the children reach a poi where they will perform for personal enjoyment and the devel ment of skills rather than be concerned with competing to se who can perform the best. One volunteer has played his guitar and led singing, the children gathering around while mothers leaned out the windows. Excursions have been taken to museums, swimming pools, parks, and the beach.

The response of the housing project residents to the program has not been overwhelming (except for the first day), but it has been unprecedented; the housing projects tend to exist as "introverted" communities and the residents are usually found to be unwilling to accept service from outsiders. One of the functions of the summer program has been to establish relations between the local agency and the residents so that when the NSM program is over the settlement house can contin to provide service. Two steps in that direction are: meeti of social workers, parents, and the NSM recreation staff in order to plan for programs in autumn and winter; and the settlement house's decision (based on its own assessment of the success of our project) to concentrate its fall progr on housing project residents.

Another Music-Theatre Workshop is held at the South End Musi Centre three afternoons a week. There is a group of 17 7 to 9-year-old boys and girls doing ballet, singing, charad drumming, and pantomime. Another group of 7 10 to 12-year-olds has a similar program.

3. Summary. Approximately 650 children of all ages are partici pating in the Boston NSM summer program. We have worked wit 13 different churches and social agencies and with Roxbury Community Council, a coordinating body for Roxbury social agencies.

4. Community Action. Boston NSM is working with several other groups to develop a community consciousness and an indigenio leadership among the residents of the Negro ghetto.

The programmatic forms which this activity takes include a voter education and registration drive, the gathering of information on housing codes and problems, a door-to-door drive to determine the people's attitudes towards their

housing and to indicate how they can obtain redress of grievances, and weekly Freedom Schools for adults and teen-agers that deal with such subjects as Negro history and citizenship education. In addition, Boston NSM is working with the Boston Redevelopment Authority in the process of relocating families displaced by urban renewal.

TO CLOSE A GAP IN EDUCATION

■ NORTH PHILADELPHIA is 85 per cent non-white . . . 80 per cent of its workers are unskilled . . . half of the families are on public assistance . . . some 60 per cent of the students do not finish secondary school . . . the average household unit consists of five adults and five children all living in an apartment of five rooms . . . 50 per cent of the fathers finished ninth grade or less . . . 2 per cent have gone to college.

Public schools in North Philadelphia stand on alien territory. They receive each year a new throng of small children who are already behind their middle-class counterparts, and the gap is quickly widened by large classes, inadequate teaching, and a consistently uncooperative environment. By the time these students reach secondary school the battle has usually been lost. The drop-out rate rises, the disciplinary problems become more intense, the curriculum requirements are forced down, and the number of potential college students dwindles.

In the summer of 1962 the Northern Student Movement, a coordinating body for college groups concerned with the race problem, sponsored a tutorial project in North Philadelphia. The concept behind the project was simple: to have college students give free tutoring to Negro secondary school students in whatever academic subjects with which they needed help. The project was conceived of as a massive pilot program to test whether college students could begin to confront some of the basic problems which beset the Negro ghettos in all our large urban centers.

NSM brought in twenty students from eighteen colleges to act as staff for the Project. They arrived in Philadelphia on June 11, and spent the next three weeks getting jobs to support themselves, learning to live together, publicizing the program, and recruiting students. They visited four high schools, fifteen churches, youth groups, newspapers, and radio stations. The last week in June was spent in frenzied matching of tutors and "tutees" (as the pupils were called) and placing these "tutoring situations" in one of the churches or social agencies which had volunteered to serve as tutorial centers. Books were borrowed from the Board of Education, a suburban high school, and the Salvation Army. Through a grant from a Philadelphia foundation, a guidance counselor from a North Philadelphia high school was hired to advise the tutors and help the Project staff interpret the program to the community.

The tutoring began on July 2 with 175 tutors and 375 pupils in 19 centers. Each tutoring situation met twice a week for two hours in the evening. About 80 per cent of the *tutees* and one-third of the tutors were Negro. All high school academic subjects were offered. Each member of the Project staff served as the head of one of the tutorial centers which became a unit both for discussions of their problems among the tutors and for extra-curricular activities. Biweekly seminars dealing with the various aspects of the northern civil rights problems as they focused on the "unmotivated" Negro youngster were held for the tutors. A method of evaluation of changes in the attitudes of the *tutees* was set up with the help of a faculty member at Temple University.

Without standardized testing, it will always be difficult to measure the results of such a program. Nevertheless, several indications of at least partial success stand out. Motivation among the *tutees* was extremely high, even though a good proportion had definite academic difficulties. In a few cases there were radical changes in attitude toward the particular subject and education in general. The amount of work done voluntarily was surprising and indicated a tremendous willingness on the part of the *tutees* to learn, if given the chance. All the *tutees* were eager to participate in a winter program.

The tutors, for the most part, found the teaching difficult but intriguing, and constantly expressed amazement at the poor academic backgrounds of their pupils. For many of the tutors it was as educational an experience as it was for their *tutees,* with an introduction to the urban slum area and a very intense involvement in the educational and social problems of urban Negro youth.

Stimulated by the enthusiasm of *tutees* and tutors, NSM decided to continue the Philadelphia project through the academic year. A full-time staff of students was hired and foundation grants were secured to provide financial support. A similar though smaller tutorial run during the summer in Harlem (New York City) was also extended with a student staff. Since September the NSM central office in New Haven has publicized the tutorial programs to campuses throughout the East and there are now some 2,500 students from such colleges as Clark, Emmanuel, Yale, Trinity, Bates, Lehigh, Boston College, Cornell, Harpur, Swarthmore, and Manhattanville working with 3,500 secondary school students.

Over the past year we have come to understand more fully both the potential and the limitations of the tutorial program. This understanding is based to a good extent on the awesome absurdity of the race problem. The American Negro has been forced to play for the past

three hundred years the role of the subordinate, of the second-class citizen. For the millions of economically depressed blacks in our urban areas little progress has been made in that time. Their lives have been partially shaped, through the experiences of relatives or parents, by the physical uncertainty of black life in the South: the swift violence or continuing economic and political slavery by which the white man asserts his supremacy. This exists today, one hundred years after the Emancipation Proclamation, as, for instance, thousands of unemployed Negroes are being cut off from a federal relief food program by officials in some Mississippi counties because a few have tried to vote.

America has not done much better by the northern Negroes. Coming to the large cities with little education or job training—their southern heritage—they have encountered an impersonal but nevertheless efficient system of employment and housing discrimination. Packed, therefore, into low income ghettos, they have sent their children to poor and crowded schools, only to see them facing the same discrimination and little better trained to compete with their middle-class counterparts. It is a vicious cycle—and for generations of blacks in Harlem, Roxbury, South Chicago, an inescapable one.

The frustration of the northern Negroes is intensified by the fact that they are constantly told that they are "free." No laws restrain them; equality is preached everywhere; they are taught through the mass media and in the schools that this is a democratic society. Yet everywhere around them they see blacks living in the worst slums and holding the bottom jobs, and on every billboard, in every newspaper, they see whites who are the symbol of success in our culture. Beyond that they know Africans are throwing off the chains of colonialism, that there is no more racial discrimination in Cuba, that the southern Negro students have successfully fought the system, but nothing has changed in the northern ghetto —except perhaps that it is larger.

The psychological products of this situation are a deep sense of hopelessness and a bitter distrust of the white man. Wanting desperately to gain some sort of acceptance from society, the depressed Negro rejects himself because he is black and rejects the white man because the white man has so limited his life. It is out of this conflict that black nationalism has grown as an attempt to affirm both pride in one's color and the independence of the black man from white America. Black nationalism is growing rapidly; it encompasses not only the Black Muslims and the 45 other nationalist sects in Harlem, but increasingly black ministers, black businessmen, black artists. It should be apparent that unless whites meet honestly the heightened sense of dignity which black nationalism represents, black nationalism and white racism will begin to clash in ever more violent ways.

All of this has definite implications for the tutorial program. It means first of all that education is not the basic problem. More importantly, the process of alienation of the black child from himself and from his society must be reversed. Somehow the adolescent must be given the opportunity to contribute creatively to a reform of his community and his society and thereby begin to see himself as a valuable person, regardless of color.

NSM is developing a number of programs aimed in this direction. The New York staff has initiated a newspaper which is completely run by Harlem students and deals primarily with the social problems of Harlem, with Negro history, and with the activities of the students themselves. In Philadelphia, we are working with a landscape architect helping students and adults turn depressed areas into neighborhood commons. In Hartford, college and high school students are going from door to door explaining the housing code and how people can legally obtain better living conditions. In New Haven, students have established a Children's Theater where grade-school children can learn drama and give performances.

The second implication has primary significance for the white student. He, too, lives in a society where democracy is preached but not practiced, where racism is but one symptom of a deeper distortion of values which manifests itself in everything from machine politics to the hypocrisy of international policies. It is his society which is heading toward the chaos of nuclear war; it is his life which finally will be limited by the domestic chaos of violent racial conflicts.

NSM is attempting to educate large numbers of white students, not to the problems of the Negro ghetto so much as to the inadequacies in their own culture which have created and maintained that ghetto. We are presenting students not with a threat but with a challenge—a challenge to seriously confront the values of their own culture in the light of what is happening in the world, and to emerge from that confrontation with new mores and institutions which are truly sensitive to human problems. There is a good deal of urgency in our challenge, for it is no longer a question of social action or Christian duty—it is a question of the decency of millions of human lives, ours included. ■

By PETER J. COUNTRYMAN

NORTHERN STUDENT MOVEMENT
73 Morningside Deive
New York 27, New York
(national office)
MO 3 0800

PROJECT OFFICES

Baltimore:	Baltimore Area Youth Opportunities Unlimited (BAYOU) 622 Aisquith Street Baltimore 2, Maryland	301 EA 7 0033
Boston:	NSM St. John's Workshop 1252 Tremont St. Boston, Massachusetts	617 445-8848 445-4525
Chicago:	Student Woodlawn Area Project (SWAP) Student Activities Building University of Chicago Chicago 15, Illinois	MI 3 0800, x3587 ext.3587
Detroit:	Detroit Education Project (DEP) 7632 12th Street Detroit, Michigan	313 872-4688
Hartford:	NSM 91 Vine Street Hartford, Connecticut	203 522-8885
New York:	Harlem Education Project (HEP) 307 West 147th St. - third floor New York City	212 TO 2-4100, AU 3-9681 Commons
Philadelphia:	Philadelphia Tutorial Project (PTP) 31 Wiatt Hall 1830 North Park Avenue Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 215	PO 9-0335
Washington:	District Action Project (DAP) 619 G Street, S.E. Washington, D. C.	202 234-0085

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NSM is also associated with projects in Albany, N.Y.; Akron, Ohio; Berkeley, California; Brooklyn, N.Y.; The Bronx, N.Y.; Cleveland, Ohio; Ithaca, N.Y.; Los Angeles, California; Middletown, Connecticut; New Haven, Connecticut; Neward, N.J. Pittsburgh, Pa. and San Francisco, California.

An NSM Research Center is directed by Mr. Mark Chesler at the Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. There are sixty-five campus groups affiliated with The Northern Student Movement.

March 12, 1963

Mr. David Habercom
Penn Community Services, Inc.
St. Helena Island
Frogmore, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Habercom:

Thank you for your letter of March 6, to Mr. Branton, regarding the discrepancy in the voter registration tables you had received from this office.

We have checked our materials and found that the error was not ours but, apparently, that of the South Carolina Secretary of State or the county registrars. However we are making a note of the conflicting figures and we thank you and Mr. Siceloff for calling it to our attention.

Sincerely yours,

Jean Levine
Administrative Secretary

JM ✓
WAB ✓
JL for reply!

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

ST. HELENA ISLAND

FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

COURTNEY SICELOFF
DIRECTOR

March 6, 1963

BEAUFORT, S.C., 524-4337
AREA CODE 803

MAR 7 1963

Mr. Wiley A. Branton
Room 206
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Branton;

In the voter registration tables which you recently sent us, we noticed a large discrepancy, and Courtney Siceloff asked that I mention it to you.

The total registration figure for Beaufort County, S. C., which you apparently received from the S. C. Secretary of State, is 9450 for 1962. Our own published figure, which was taken directly from the county registration books, is 6744 for the same year. Enclosed is a mimeographed sheet with the breakdown by townships and precincts.

Because there was such a large difference in the figures, I re-checked the registration books and found that my total was approximately the same that we published. I also called the county registrar, and he said that he had not sent any registration figures to the Secretary of State "for over a year." We do not know how the Secretary arrived at his figure, but it definitely disagrees with the registration books.

We thought you should know this, since there might be a similar difference in the registration figures of other counties.

Sincerely,

David Habercom

David Habercom
Staff Assistant

I have rechecked the figures in our files and no clerical error occurred. Either the Sec. of State ~~[illegible]~~ erred, or the County registrar erred, or the County registrar is lying to these folks.

Wiley

BEAUFORT COUNTY VOTING
TOTALS

	Total	Negro	Percent of Total
Number registered			
1958	4,240	1,234	29
1960	5,471	1,588	29
1962	6,744	2,091	31
Number of voters			
1958 June primary	3,044		
1960 general election	3,821		
1962 June primary	3,415		
Population 1957	30,466	16,209	60
Total adults, 21 and over	19,345		
Registered 1958	4,240	1,234	29
Percent of Negroes over 21 registered		17	
" " Whites " " "		50	

TOWNSHIPS
POPULATION AND REGISTRATION

	Total	Negro	% Negro
Sheldon Township, 1960 Population	3,293	2,809	85%
Sheldon Precinct, 1962 Registration	232	103	44%
Dale-Lobeco Precinct, 1962 "	248	125	50%
TOTAL	480	228	47.5%
St.Helena Township,1960 Population	6,048	4,994	83%
St.Helena Precinct,1962 Registration	860	662	76%
Ladies Island Precinct,1962 "	452	103	22%
TOTAL	1,312	765	58.4%
Beaufort Township,1960 Population	31,711	7,250	23%
Beaufort (city) Precinct- 1962 Registration	2,947	519	18%
Burton Precinct,1962 Registration	616	196	31%
Port Royal Precinct, 1962 "	436	97	22%
TOTAL	3,999	812	20.3%
Bluffton Township**			
Bluffton Precinct,1962 Registration	519	103	19%
Barrel Landing Precinct,1962 "	110	8	7%
TOTAL	629	111	17.6%
Hilton Head Township**			
Hilton Head Precinct,1962 Registration	301	163	54%
Daufuskie Precinct, " "	23	12	52%
TOTAL	324	175	54.3%

**No population figures available

TRAINING PROGRAMS and JOBS for RURAL SOUTH CAROLINIANS

APR 1 1963

a southern
rural conference
sponsored by

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INC.
South Carolina Council
on Human Relations

February 13-15, 1963
Penn Center
Frogmore, South Carolina

FEBRUARY 13

WEDNESDAY

Chairman: REV. M. D. McCOLLOM

District Superintendent of the Methodist Church Walterboro District

11:00 A.M.—REGISTRATION

12:00 N. —LUNCH

1:00 P.M.—RURAL AREAS DEVELOPMENT

WELCOME: Courtney Siceloff, Director of Penn Center

PURPOSE OF CONFERENCE: L. S. James, South Carolina Council on Human Relations

A. WHAT IS RAD, How does it work, What resources are available to communities and individuals: A. T. Mace, Director, Office of Rural Areas Development

B. RAD IS SOUTH CADOLINA, Special plans: O. W. Lloyd, Rural Development Specialist, Clemson College

C. RAD AND NON-DISCRIMINATION, How the program is and is not reaching Negroes, How it can reach them more effectively: Dr. L. P. Potts, Special Assistant to the Secretary of Agriculture

2:30 P.M.—DISCUSSION

3:30 P.M.—COFFEE BREAK

4:00 P.M.—WORKSHOPS

Cooperatives. Job Savage, Director, Management Services Division, Farmer's Cooperative Service Rural Housing Loans: James K. Barnes, Area Supervisor, FHA

Credit Unions: Sidney Gillikin, Federal Examiner for Credit Union

County Agricultural Committees: Ira Kaye, Lawyer, Sumter, S. C.

Community Services: Alvin Stortroen, Domestic Farm Labor, Department of Labor

6:00 P.M.—DINNER

7:30 P.M.—KEYNOTE ADDRESS

"The Rural South 15 Years From Now", Dr. Gilbert Hardee, Assistant Professor of Sociology, N. C. State College

FEBRUARY 14

THURSDAY

8:00 A.M.—BREAKFAST

9:00 A.M.—AREA REDEVELOPMENT ADMINISTRATION

A. WHAT IT IS, Which communities are eligible: Wayne Shields, Senior Field Coordinator, Southeast Region, A.R.A.

B. ARA IN SOUTH CAROLINA, Instances of the program helping low income families: Gordon Berry, A.R.A. Coordinator for S. C.

C. ARA AND NON-DISCRIMINATION, Where the porgram is and is not reaching Negroes, and what can be done to make it more effective: George Robinson, Special Assistant for Community Organization

D. TWO EXPERIENCES in Rural Development

1—Fayette County, Tennessee: Allen Yancey

2—Beaufort County, South Carolina: Jean Morot, Port Royal Industries

10:30 A.M.—COFFEE BREAK

11:00 A.M.—DISCUSSION

12:30 P.M.—LUNCH

1:30 P.M.—FEDERAL AND STATE TRAINING PROGRAMS

A. ARA TRAINING: Miss Anne Gould, Training Coordinator, ARA

B. MANPOWER DEVELOPMENT TRAINING ACT: William Mirengoff, Deputy Assistant Director, Office of Manpower, Automation and Training

C. NATIONAL DEFENCE EDUCATION ACT (TITLE VIII): Dr. Roy W. Dugger, Director of Manpower, Development and Training Services, U. S. Office of Education

D. SOUTH CAROLINA PROGRAMS FOR VOCATIONAL TRAINING UNDER ARA, MDTA, AND NDEA (TITLE VIII): R. D. Anderson, Director of Vocational Education, South Carolina Department of Education

E. TECHNICAL EDUCATION CENTERS: John Hills, Director, Division of Technical Services, State Committee for Technical Education

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E. TECHNICAL EDUCATION CENTERS: John Hills, Director, Division of Technical Services, State Committee for Technical Education

3:10 P.M.—COFFEE BREAK

3:30 P.M.—

F. ROLE OF EMPLOYMENT SECURITY IN RE-TRAINING PROGRAMS: Arthur Chapin, Bureau of Employment Security, U. S. Department of Labor

G. SELECTION AND PLACEMENT FOR S. C. TRAINING PROGRAMS: Keith Aull, Director, South Carolina Employment Security

4:10 P.M.—DISCUSSION

6:00 P.M.—DINNER

7:30 P.M.—RURAL DEVELOPMENT FOR ALL PEOPLE
John Baker, Assistant Secretary of Agriculture

FEBRUARY 15

FRIDAY

8:00 A.M.—BREAKFAST

9:00 A.M.—WHO IN SOUTH CAROLINA CAN SEE THAT PROGRAMS REACH ALL OF THE PEOPLE?

A. ROLE OF EXTENSION AGENT: O. W. Lloyd

B. ROLE OF VOCATION AGRICULTURE TEACHERS: W. E. Gore, State Superintendent of Vocational Agriculture, S. C. Department of Education

C. ROLE OF GUIDANCE TEACHERS: Miss Ellen Lyles, State Supervisor of Guidance Services, S. C. Department of Education

D. ROLE OF TECHNICAL ACTION PANEL: John Lovorn, Director of Rural Renewal Division, F.H.A., U.S. Department of Agriculture

E. ROLE OF PRIVATE AGENCIES: Mrs. Alice Spearman, Executive Director, South Carolina Council on Human Relations

10:30 A.M.—COFFEE BREAK

11:00 A.M.—SUMMARY OF CONFERENCE
Dr. C. H. Thomas, Professor of Education, S. C. State College, Orangeburg, S. C.

12:30 P.M.—LUNCH

RURAL AREAS DEVELOPMENT

Mr. A. T. Mace, Director RAD
USDA
Washington, D. C.

Mr. O. W. Lloyd
RAD Specialist
Clemson College

AREA REDEVELOPMENT ADMINISTRATION

Mr. Wayne Shields, Coordinator
Center for Continuing Education
Room 243
U. of Georgia, Athens, Ga.

Mr. Gordon Berry, ARA
1320 Pendleton St.
Columbia, S. C.

Mr. George H. Robinson
Office of Area Operations, ARA
U.S. Dept. of Commerce
Main Building, Rm. 7008
Washington 25, D. C.

TRAINING PROGRAMS

Mr. William Mirengoff
Deputy Ass't Director
Manpower, Automation & Training
US Dept. of Labor, Wash., D. C.

Dr. Edwin L. Rumpf
Ass't Director
Vocational & Tech. Education
US Dept. of Ed., Wash., D. C.

Miss Anne Gould
Training Coordinator, ARA
US Dept. of Commerce, Rm 6327
Washington 25, D. C.

Mr. R. D. Anderson
Dept. of Vocational Education
S.C. Dept. of Education
Columbia, S. C.

Mr. John Hills, Director
Division of Technical Services
SC Commission for Tech. Ed.
1321 Pendleton, Columbia, S. C.

EMPLOYMENT SECURITY

Mr. Arthur Chapin
Bureau of Employment Security
US Dept. of Labor, Wash., D. C.

Mr. Keith Aull, Exec. Dir.
SC Employment Security Div.
Box 995, Columbia, S. C.

SPECIALIZED SERVICES

Mr. William E. Gore
State Super. of Vocational Agr.
SC Dept. of Education
Columbia, S. C.

Mr. John M. Lovorn, Dir.
Rural Renewal Division
FHA/USDA, Washington 25, D. C.

Miss Ellen Lyles
State Super. of Guidance Services
S.C. Dept. of Education
Columbia, S. C.

Mr. Job K. Savage
Farmer Co-op Service, USDA
Washington 25, D. C.

Mr. Sidney Gillikin
Fed. Examiner for Credit Unions
2009 Sein Pl., Savannah, Ga.

RESOURCE PERSONS

Dr. L. A. Potts
Special Ass't to Sec'y of Agr.
232 W. Administration Bldg.
USDA, Washington, D. C.

Mr. John Baker
Ass't Sec'y of Agriculture
USDA, Washington, D. C.

Mr. P. F. Aylesworth
Federal Extension Service
USDA, Washington, D. C.

Mr. Alvin Stortroen
Domestic Farm Service
US Dept. of Labor, Wash., D. C.

PRIVATE AGENCIES

Mrs. Alice Spearman, Exec. Dir.
SC Council on Human Relations
1330 Laurel St., Columbia, S. C.

Miss Fay Bennett
National Sharecroppers Fund
112 E. 19th St., N.Y. 3, N.Y.

Mr. Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., Atlanta, Ga.

Mr. Courtney Siceloff, Dir.
Penn Community Services
Frogmore, S. C.

Penn Community Center

COURTNEY SICELOFF, Director

MEMO to conference participants

HOW TO REACH PENN CENTER: Penn Center is located at Frogmore and one-half mile off U. S. Highway 21, six miles beyond Beaufort, S. C. It is roughly 50 miles north of Savannah, Georgia, and 75 miles south of Charleston. Greyhound bus line serves Beaufort from Savannah and Charleston, and taxi fare from Beaufort to Frogmore is $2. The Atlantic Coast Line Railroad serves Yemassee, S. C., about 30 miles from Frogmore, and several airlines serve Savannah and Charleston. The Penn staff will provide transportation from Yemassee, Savannah or Charleston to conference guests arriving by plane or rail, IF THEY WILL NOTIFY PENN OF THEIR TIME OF ARRIVAL IN ADVANCE.

ACCOMMODATIONS: Penn Center has dormitory facilities for over 100 people, with arrangements in private homes for overflow. The dining room serves all meals cafeteria style. Main sessions of the conference will be held in Frissell Auditorium on the Penn campus; discussion groups will be in the classroom building. All buildings are heated and linen is provided. There is no charge for sleeping accommodations or for meals.

REGISTRATION: To register for the conference, simply contact Mrs. Alice Spearman at the address below and notify her of your intention to register. There is no charge for registration. Room assignments will be made upon arrival at Penn Center.

SOUTH CAROLINA COUNCIL
on HUMAN RELATIONS
1330 Laurel Street
COLUMBIA, S. C.
Mrs. Alice Spearman, Executive Director

Make file Penn Community Center

PENN NEWS

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES

St. Helena Island — Frogmore, S.C.

Spring, 1963

WORKSHOP ON RURAL PROGRAMS

"Good players are being benched because the people who are calling the signals in their communities have not yet awakened to the full meaning of democracy." This charge was made by John A. Baker, Assistant Secretary of Agriculture, at a workshop on rural development and re-training programs, which was held at Penn in mid-February. In his speech to the workshop, he also stated that prejudice is a primary problem in making effective the federal government's Rural Areas Development program.

Over 200 Negro farmers from across the state attended the three-day workshop and heard speakers from the U. S. Departments of Agriculture, Commerce and Labor, as well as representatives from the S. C. Departments of Education, Agriculture Extension and Employment Security. The speakers explained the functions of each program, what funds were available to farmers and for what purposes, and suggested means whereby Negroes could take advantage of the financial resources available to them. Questions from the audience were perceptive and indicated several major problems concerning the need for adequate information about the programs, and the difficulties encountered by Negroes seeking access to federally supported re-training programs for underemployed workers.

The principal address of the workshop was Mr. Baker's, which was delivered by Dr. L. A. Potts, Special Assistant to the Secretary of Agriculture, after Mr. Baker was unexpectedly detained in Washington. The workshop was sponsored jointly by Penn and the South Carolina Council on Human Relations. We have enclosed a copy of the program.

VOTER EDUCATION WORKSHOP

In January and early February, Penn held two of three scheduled voter education workshops for the residents of Beaufort County. The workshops were designed to supplement voter registration drives by explaining to voters how their votes can be used more effectively. For a voting right to be a truly democratic instrument, citizens must understand their government, their responsibilities and how voting is related to community improvement. Thus, the first two workshops provided a basic introduction to the government of the county and state. Leaders in local communities conducted the two days of discussions for each workshop, which covered such topics as government and party organizations, the functions of elected and appointed officials, and agricultural committees. In addition, speakers analyzed Negro registration and voting, and briefly discussed techniques of voting and campaigning.

Attendance at the workshops was much better than we had anticipated, and we feel that the enthusiasm of the participants is a healthy sign. Throughout the workshops, audience participation was vigorous and pointed, with questions and suggestions concerning problems which might be solved through more effective voting. At the first workshop, Frank D. Reeves, National Democratic Committeeman for the District of Columbia, addressed a standing-room-only crowd.

In the third and final workshop, which is in the planning stages, we expect to bring into focus the major problems of Negro voters in the county, as well as their potential voting strength, in the hope that it

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will provide a basis for more concerted and effective participation in future elections. Senator Leroy Johnson, Georgia's new Negro senator, has agreed to deliver the major address to this workshop.

BEAUFORT COUNTY STATISTICS

In January, we published a brochure of statistics on various aspects of Beaufort County which we felt would be important to our Pilot Project. Based on 1960 census reports and county records, the statistics covered population changes, educational levels, farm characteristics, employment, income, housing conditions and voter registration. Whenever possible, the figures were broken down into white and non-white categories to help give a perspective to the problems with which the Pilot Project is specifically concerned. The data was also divided according to the county's six census divisions, in order to help identify the most pressing problems in each community.

Hale Chamberlain spent a full year combing records and compiling the data, and we feel that the result has been an especially comprehensive study. The twenty-page brochure was sent to all public officials in the county and is being provided to individuals associated with the Pilot Project.

Among the problems concerning Negroes which stood out most dramatically were these: 81% of the Negro students enrolling in 1950 dropped out before graduation; 46% of the Negro population over twenty-five years old is functionally illiterate, yet the public schools spend per Negro pupil only 70% of the funds that it spends for each white student; Negroes comprise 74% of the farm operators but cultivate only 8% of the total farm land;almost one-third of Negro families earns less than $1,000 annually, and over one-half earns less than $2,000; one-third of the total homes in rural areas have either an outdoor privy or no sanitary facility whatsoever, and one third lack piped water.

PILOT PROJECT

The Beaufort County Pilot Project moved into an important phase in early December. A meeting was held at Penn, attended by representatives of state and local health departments, the state department of education, and the regional office of the U. S. Dept. of Health, Education and Welfare, as well as Courtney Siceloff and Thomas Barnwell, the Pilot Project Field Director. The objective of the meeting was to discuss where the health and education agencies and the Field Director might work simultaneously on common problems. It is thought that community development efforts can be substantially expedited through inter-agency cooperation, especially since the involved agencies approach similar problems at various levels. The group was particularly interested in Bluffton, where several community improvement projects are underway; Bluffton also has a high incidence of infectation by internal parasites, a serious health problem. In connection with this inter-agency cooperation, Tom will spend additional time in Bluffton. The group plans to continue meeting, in order to share information about what each is doing.

The Coffins Point Improvement Committee, organized as a result of Tom's work in this St. Helena community, has begun construction of a praise house. The building will also be used for Sunday School classes and general community meetings. Although the thirty members of the committee are contributing to the construction, a financial problem has arisen as a result of the shrimp season's being closed and many community residents temporarily unemployed.

Tom has also been working closely with young people in Beaufort County. He contacted approximately fifteen high school students, who attended a bi-racial conference at Penn entitled, "What Will the World Be Like Twenty Years From Today?" The conference was sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee. (see CONFERENCES) Tom also secured a scholarship for a week-long seminar in Greensboro, N. C., for Samuel Burke, a high school student from Sheldon. The seminar was also sponsored by the AFSC and was called, "The Courageous Generation."

COURTNEY AND TOM VISIT
PUERTO RICO AND JAMAICA

Courtney Siceloff and Tom Barnwell left Penn on March 16, for a ten-day observation of community development projects in Puerto Rico and Jamaica. The projects, sponsored by the governments of each country, encompass many of the same problems we have found through our Pilot Project, and by studying their techniques, we can develop methods for making our own programs more effective. Courtney and Tom will interview administrators of the projects, and then will be individually assigned to field workers, in order to directly observe their methods. In our next newsletter, we will have a report of their findings.

$5000 LIBRARY AWARD

The Beaufort County library system, consisting of the Beaufort Township Library and the Laura M. Towne Library at Penn, has received a national, first prize award of $5000 from the Book-of-the-Month Club. The annual award, given in memory of Dorothy Canfield Fisher, was presented to the county system on the basis of its efforts to bring adequate library services to rural areas. John Mason Brown, a member of the editorial board of the Book-of-the-Month Club, will speak at the presentation ceremony, which will be held at the Beaufort Chamber of Commerce Building on April 21 at 3 P.M. Several representatives of the Club will be present, as well as state library officials. The ceremony will be open to the public.

CONFERENCES

Among recent conference groups at Penn have been two highschool seminars, sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee's regional office at High Point, N. C. The seminars were led by Bill Dreyer, the highschool secretary for the region. Norman Whitney, consultant in peace education for the AFSC, participated in the second seminar, March 15 - 17.

The SC Student Council on Human Relations a bi-racial group of college students, met here in early December, and will return in April for another three-day conference

Thirteen students from the Meeting School in New Hampshire, spent two days here in January, on a return trip from Jamaica.

Students from the new Arthur Morgan School in the Celo Community (Burnsville, N. C.) visited us for a week in March, touring the islands and meeting local residents and students.

The Guilford College A Capella Choir will give a concert in Frissell Community House on March 30th. The concert will be sponsored by the Penn Nursery School.

STAFF

Hale Chamberlain and Jimmy Hazelton, two of our short-term staff members, left us in December. Hale, from Brevard, N. C., is now living in New York, and Jimmy , who was raised in Paraguay, is living on a dairy farm in Connecticut. Dave Habercom, from Antioch College, arrived in September and will be here until the end of the summer. Margo Martin, a sophmore at Oberlin College, will join our staff in June for two months.

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Our Sales House, which provides used, but servicable, clothing to local families for nominal prices, is in dire need of children's clothing. If you have second-hand children's apparel which is still useable please consider a donation to the Sales House. Packages may be mailed directly to Penn, or sent by express to Beaufort.

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Penn Community Services, Inc.
Courtney Siceloff, Director
David Habercom, Newsletter Editor

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p.3

PENN NEWS

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES

St. Helena Island Frogmore, S. C.

Summer 1963

COURTNEY SICELOFF AND TOM BARNWELL VISIT PUERTO RICO AND JAMAICA

One of the continuing needs of our Pilot Project is a frequent re-appraisal of objectives and methods. As a new experiment in community development, with a unique approach in the U.S., the Pilot Project will effect future work throughout the South. In setting a precedent, it is extremely important that our field work reflect the aims which fostered it.

In mid-May, Courtney Siceloff and Tom Barnwell, the Pilot Project Field Director, toured community development projects in Puerto Rico and Jamaica. Conferring with program directors and visiting villages, Tom and Courtney were especially concerned with the problems of making a philosophy work in the field. Since our own Pilot Project is very similar to the Puerto Rican program, we felt that a discussion of mutual problems would be beneficial. The projects which Tom and Courtney toured have been continually refined over a fifteen year period, and they were pleased to see how effectively a high purpose can be manifest in a working program.

Dr. Fred Wale, director of the Puerto Rican program, explained what he felt to be the relation between purpose and actual field work:

"Community development is an educational process. It is this first, last and all the time. All else is secondary to it and must take its place as a reflection, not as the end result. Community development is not better roads, better beehives, pure water or sanitary privies. It is something of the spirit, not something material. It must reach into the deep culture patterns of the people, examining them and testing them as principles of faith. It is these things, because without them it relatively matters little whether the road is paved or not, whether you go to the woods or to the sanitary privy, whether economically you and your community are blessed. It is these things, because with them all physical solutions follow in their proper order."

When we are discouraged by economic and political problems, when there are so many obstacles to easy and rapid change, there is a temptation to bury our heads and drive nails. That kind of progress, at least, can be tallied on an adding machine and will give us something to point at. But over the years, the lasting changes will be in the minds of people. It is necessary that we remember our "principles of faith" include, above all, the dreams as well as needs of human beings. A field program which does not manifest those aims will have no lasting effect. As Dr. Wale implies, progress will not be measured by the number of nails driven. It will be measured in the hearts of people.

PILOT PROJECT REPORT

The Beaufort County Pilot Project has now completed the second of its three-year initial stage. Since its inception in 1961, the Pilot Project has involved an increasing number of people in community activities. Some of the projects presently underway can give an idea of how the field work is moving.

In the Coffins Point community on St. Helena, a civic improvement committee has begun construction of a praise house. The project involves not only the men and high school students who work on the building, but the ladies as well, who bring them lunches and provide moral support. In

spite of a perennial financing problem, the project has not faltered; frugal use of inexpensive materials and ingenuity have kept the cost at a minimum. As money is raised, materials are purchased and the work proceeds.

The Eddings Point community, working on a similar building, has organized old fashioned cake sales to raise funds for their community center. The new group has brought together neighbors in common work and has revealed new community leaders.

Other communities in the county are continuing with older projects. Bluffton residents have held civic meetings on health and sanitation problems. Burton leaders have constructed school bus stop shelters to protect school children from our drizzly winters. In all of these and others, a feeling of movement and a newfound satisfaction of purpose have become the crucial focus. Developing that spirit to a level of widespread concern can change community improvement from a "project" into a way of living.

In order to help promulgate a larger sense of purpose, the Pilot Project recently published the first of a series of local newsletters. Called "Community News", the paper is sent to Beaufort County residents who are, or could become, involved in the Pilot Project. It contains not only news of community projects, but information about non-descriminatory employment and workshops as well. The first issue also included a summary of F.H.A. housing loans (see following item). It is hoped that the paper will help unify communities in seeking solutions to common problems.

Thomas Barnwell, Jr., the Pilot Project Field Director, is presently attending the summer session at Tuskegee. He and his family will return to Penn in August.

HOUSING PROBLEM BROACHED
AT FHA/PENN MEETING

On May 9, several representatives from the Farmers Home Administration met with Courtney Siceloff and Thomas Barnwell, Jr. to discuss FHA assistance in rural housing problems. The meeting was attended by local, state and federal FHA staff members, as well as other individuals familiar with rural housing problems.

Among the difficulties of improving rural housing conditions, the greatest is financial. The problem is made more complex by inadequate and fluctuating income, a common condition in southern rural areas. In Beaufort County, few Negro farms are large or profitable enough to allow the owner to build a sizable bank account and cushion the blow of a bad year. Consequently, a farm owner's circumstance may literally change with the weather. Farm workers and sharecroppers, of course, are even less fortunate, because the same losses usually take a greater percentage of their income.

By and large, rural housing conditions in Beaufort County need improvement. One third of the total rural homes have either an outdoor privy or no facility whatsoever. Fifteen percent of the homes do not have flues for heating, while one third are without piped water. In addition, many are overcrowded and in a poor state of repair. These conditions are conducive to poor sanitation and unhealthy conditions. The disease rate is uncommonly high. In Bluffton, for example, at least three deaths have been attributed to the prevalence of worms.

One of the more successful business ventures in housing has been the sale of "shell" homes. "Shell" homes are a variety of building consisting of little more than a shell — walls, floor, windows and ceiling. They are advertised at what appears to be a relatively low cost; but when a family commits itself to an installment plan — almost a necessity — it frequently discovers the interest and other charges to be many times the normal commercial rates. Moreover, the building usually has no provisions for plumbing or heating, and may even lack inside doors.

These problems were an important issue raised at a conference on rural programs,

held at Penn last February, and it was decided that a meeting with FHA administrators should be held. We felt that since FHA affords a partial solution to the housing problem, we should emphasize its advantages to the residents of Beaufort County. The purpose of the meeting was to gather information which could be disseminated through the Pilot Project. "Community News", the local newsletter, contained a summary of the information.

Among the advantages of FHA loans are: lower interest rates (4% on unpaid amount) better terms (up to 33 years), a loan (or a grant) based upon a careful evaluation of need and ability to repay, as well as the opportunity to choose an inexpensive and functional house. Loans can also be made for home improvements, such as the installation of plumbing.

PENN BOARD OF TRUSTEES MEETS

Penn's Board of Trustees held its annual meeting here on April 6. In addition to conducting regular business, the Board elected the following new trustees: Mr. Herbert DeCosta, a contractor in Charleston; Mrs. Ann Petry, a writer from Old Sayebrook, Connecticut; Mr. William Shurcliff, a physicist at the Cambridge Electron Accelerator, Harvard; and Mrs. Arnett Waters, a civil rights leader in Savannah, Georgia.

The Board also voted to sell a tract of woodland belonging to Penn. The 242 acre plot is situated near the south end of St. Helena, and the income derived from the sale will be used to help pay for much-needed capital improvements.

DATE SET FOR FINAL
VOTER EDUCATION WORKSHOP

The last of a series of three voter education workshops has now been set for Sept. 7 and 8. The workshops will be held at Penn, and the featured speaker will be Senator Leroy Johnson, Georgia's new Negro legislator. The over-all purpose of the series is to explain how the vote can be used more effectively. The first two workshops covered government and party organizations, and included an analysis of Negro registration and voting. The final workshop will focus on the major problems of Negro voters in the county, as well as their potential voting strength. The series will provide a basis for more concerted and effective participation in future elections.

CONFERENCES

Three regular conferences returned in April, May and June. They were the South Carolina Student Council on Human Relations, the S. C. Funeral Directors, and the S. C. Midwives Institute. A Junior High Summer Camp, for youngsters of the Fairfield-McClelland Presbytery, spent a week here in early July.

An AFL-CIO Tri-State Labor School, for union representatives from N.C., S.C., and Virginia, was held here July 14 - 20. An annual summer school for delegates of a variety of unions, this was the group's first visit to Penn.

A Lutheran workcamp, consisting of young people from throughout the East, will be here for a week in mid-August. Two other of our "regulars" — the Palmetto Education Assn. and the Bahai Summer School — will also be here in August.

Following our own Voter Education Workshop in September, the National Sharecroppers Fund will hold a training conference. The purpose will be to train farmers in the techniques of cooperatives, credit unions and in providing knowledge about government services.

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Published by
Penn Community Services, Inc.
Courtney Siceloff, Director
David Habercom, Newsletter Editor

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

ST. HELENA ISLAND

FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

COURTNEY SICELOFF
DIRECTOR

BEAUFORT, S.C., 524-4337
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NOV 19 1963

November 1963

Dear Friend:

Since the recent court action, the subject of future operation of our state parks has had the attention of all South Carolinians. Although this matter requires an immediate decision, the issues involved are far reaching and will be a public concern for some time, since cities will be facing a similar situation. The decision is crucial; to what extent will the present and future generations of South Carolinians have facilities for leisure time activities?

In the interest of helping opinion makers and other thoughtful citizens to become more informed about the far-reaching effects of South Carolina's decision on state parks, we have gathered together data which is pertinent to the problem as a whole. By outlining various facets of the closed-park possibility, and by summarizing ways in which other areas have responded to the realities of the situation, we have attempted to put the problem in perspective for those who are concerned about it.

The booklet which we enclose has been prepared from sources of public information. We hope you will read it carefully, and we would appreciate having you send any comments that you care to make.

Sincerely,

Courtney Siceloff

Courtney Siceloff

cs/bm

WB

FOR YOUR INFORMATION

COURTNEY SICELOFF

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INC.

FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

PUBLIC PARKS

And

RECREATIONAL

FACILITIES

A STUDY IN TRANSITION

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICE INC . . . FROGMORE , SOUTH CAROLINA

1963

PUBLIC PARKS AND RECREATIONAL FACILITIES

A Study in Transition

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Acknowledgment is made to the Hon. Marion A. Wright, Chairman of the Board of Trustees of Penn Community Services, Inc., who originated this study and provided the legal background material.

FOREWORD

On July 10, 1963, Judge J. Robert Martin of the United States District Court for the Eastern District of South Carolina (in the case of Brown vs. South Carolina Commission of Forestry) directed the desegregation of all South Carolina State parks; the ruling was to become effective in 60 days. Subsequent to this order, the State Forestry Commission closed all twenty-six State parks until the State Legislature should decide the future of the parks.

In recent years, South Carolina has had the benefit of other states' experience in desegregation of schools and colleges. In the case of recreational facilities, South Carolina is the first state to have its whole park system legally challenged. Several states have desegregated their parks voluntarily, but those states which still operate segregated parks have not as yet been legally challenged.

While the question in South Carolina centers on State parks, the possibility of challenge also faces municipalities with recreational facilities. Many Southern cities are voluntarily changing their policies, but those which have not as yet taken such action will doubtless be faced with the necessity of making a decision in the near future.

With an increasing population, additional facilities for leisure-time activities are becoming essential, and the people should be deciding if it is wise to close any existing recreational facility.

This pamphlet is issued, then, as a contribution to public discussion of the questions involved. It is not intended to be a complete summary of the varied situations, but indicative of the problem.

"The statutory laws set out above, which require separate parks for use of white citizens and Negro citizens, are in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution." -- From Judge Martin's order, Brown vs. South Carolina Commission of Forestry, July, 1963.

From 1955 to 1963, there were 26 court cases regarding desegregation of public recreational facilities in the South; in 25 instances, desegregation has been ordered, and the remaining case (Jackson, Mississippi) is on appeal. In 21 of these cases, there was compliance - fully or in part - with the court order. In only four instances (three of which were in South Carolina) has the facility in question been permanently closed.

It is noteworthy that legal action constitutes only a small part of the transition from segregated facilities to a policy of non-discrimination. Undoubtedly influenced by the consistency of court decisions in regard to all public facilities, municipal and state governments have desegregated their parks voluntarily. In the 509 instances of public parks that have come to attention as having been desegregated, only 19 have resulted from court orders. Often desegregation has been attended by little publicity, so that its extent has not been recognized.

Five Southern states -- Florida, Kentucky, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Texas -- have opened their state parks to all persons. Two other states-- Virginia and Arkansas -- have a flexible policy of meeting each situation as it arrives; in these states the laws do not require segregation, and Negroes have used "white" parks in both states. In Georgia, the operation of segregated recreational facilities is being challenged through a court case (Law vs. Jekyll Island Authority); at this park, the heavy commercial and state investment in the beach development may influence the state to adopt a policy of desegregation rather than close the property.

Municipalities have moved more extensively than state park commissions. Some cities in all Southern states except Mississippi have opened at least some of their public parks. This transition has been the most recent, much of the change occurring in 1963.

It is interesting to note many integrated public recreational facilities are available in all Southern states through the National Park Service and the National Forest Service. The policy of non-discrimination for the Park Service has been the practice for many years -- so long, in fact, that any specific date for establishment of the policy is unknown. For the National Forest Service, this policy has been generally in effect since the establishment of the service in 1905 - specifically so announced in 1955.

Transition has been almost without incident in the state and national park systems. Special police protection has not been necessitated. Policy change for cities has not been effected everywhere as easily. If the states close their parks and cities follow that example, it is possible that whole areas may be left with almost no recreational facilities.

The alternatives in operation of recreational facilities become increasingly clear: public parks will be made available to all, or there will be no parks.

HOW DESEGREGATION HAS TAKEN PLACE IN STATE

AND NATIONAL PARK SYSTEMS

The policy of opening the parks (in North Carolina) to everyone has developed over the years without a specific date. Officials at the State Department of Conservation did not know of any incident of a racial nature that has occurred in the State parks. There has been a normal increase in attendance, last year totaling 3.5 million persons. -- Information from R. L. Stallings, State Department of Conservation and Development, North Carolina.

In Tennessee, the open policy for State parks began in 1962. Attendance records have not been kept by race, but parks have been used by both whites and Negroes in that time. The changeover has been made without incident, and the State park director has stated that he "didn't see how it could have been better." -- Information from Mr. Chappell, Director of Tennessee State parks.

State parks in Texas have been open to all persons in areas where the resident director has felt it would be practical; all but four or five of the 40 State parks are open, and park authorities know of no incident of a racial nature due to joint use of the facilities by Negroes and whites. The park director has stated that in his opinion a park system would appear to be the "easiest" place within an area where desegregation might occur. -- Information from William M. Collins, director, Texas State Parks.

"Kentucky State parks are open to all persons without discrimination based on race, creed, or color. This policy was put into effect in the mid 1950's, and has been implemented without any disturbance whatsoever. Attendance at our State parks has continued to grow." -- Galen Martin, executive director, Commission on Human Rights, Commonwealth of Kentucky.

In the National Forests, "to our knowledge there have been no significant disturbances in recreation areas as a result of the Forest Service's long-standing position against discrimination. There have been a few local verbal clashes between colored and white people over the joint use of certain recreation areas in the Southern National Forests, but we understand that all of these were resolved without serious consequences.....Recreation use in the National Forests has been increasing rapidly since World War II. The average annual increase from 1946 through 1962 is 12 percent.....Increase in the Southern states has kept pace with the increase in other states." -- John A. Baker, assistant secretary, U. S. Department of Agriculture.

National Park Service, under the direction of the U. S. Department of the Interior, operates all the recreational facilities under its jurisdiction adhering "strictly to a policy of non-discrimination"...the specific date for the beginning of such a policy not being known. "There has been a marked increase in the use of campgrounds as well as other recreational facilities throughout the Service during the past several years. We know of no significant disturbance within the National Park System which may have arisen as a result of integration." -- Jackson S. Price, Acting Director, National Park Service.

REVERSIONARY PROVISIONS IN STATE PARK DEEDS, SOUTH CAROLINA

Fifteen of the 26 state-park deeds in South Carolina contain "reverter" clauses which would become operative at varying times if the parks are permanently closed -- some immediately upon closing, others at later periods. Under further stipulations which also vary in the different deeds, these public lands would revert to private corporations, to cities, counties or the federal government.

Of the fifteen parks so affected, four of them would be returned, all or in part, to the federal government. Included in this latter category is a 160-acre tract, with over half a mile of beach, that is part of Hunting Island Park. Under this reverter clause, there would therefore be a possibility that the portion of Hunting Island Park involved would be made available to all persons even if the State parks are closed.

" OUR VANISHING SHORELINE"

Four of the South Carolina State parks are beach areas, and subject to considerations presented in a booklet called Our Vanishing Shoreline, recently published by the National Park Service of the United States Department of the Interior. The following information is taken from this booklet.

"The seashore is a priceless scenic and scientific resource for which there is no substitute. Once subdivided and developed commercially, it is lost forever....

"Almost every attractive seashore area on our Atlantic and Gulf coasts has been pre-empted for commercial or private development. Only a fraction of this long seacoast is left for public use, and much of this portion is rapidly disappearing before our eyes....

"Experience shows that money spent by visitors to public recreation areas results in much greater return to the community than would be received from private development of the same land....A mile of seashore when converted into 100-foot building lots has recreation-and tax-revenue limited to 50 families. But when that mile of seashore becomes a public beach, it meets recreation needs and attracts a spending power of perhaps 5,000 persons....

"Present (public recreational) facilities (in America) are already inadequate and will be smothered by increased attendance unless additional areas are provided....Our population will have doubled in less than a lifetime. Only a program of tremendous vision and bold execution will save our present recreational facilities from being buried under the avalanche."

EROSION CONTROL IN STATE PARKS OF SOUTH CAROLINA

A study made by United States Army engineers, in the spring of 1963, revealed that the shore on Hunting Island State Park has been eroded by ocean wave and tidal currents. Since the recommendations made as a result of this study are based on a cooperative program which would be undertaken by state and federal governments, this erosion-control project is an example of activity which depends on continued state operation of park and beach areas.

According to the Army engineers' report, the erosion in the Hunting Island Park area has resulted in severe recession of the shoreline, and improvements are being threatened or destroyed by encroachment of the ocean. The high-water line along the beach front had receded 100 to 500 feet since 1948. It was recommended, at the conclusion of this study, that measures be taken to stop the erosion under a plan estimated at an original cost of $455,000, the federal share of which would be 70%. In addition to its initial cost, the erosion program as recommended would cost $97,500 annually for periodic "beach nourishment" - the federal share of which would be 70% for a period of ten years.

It was estimated, in the course of the study described above, that without remedial measures the high-water shoreline will move landward an average distance of 700 feet in the next 50 years, causing a projected annual damage of $12,000 to existing developments; an additional estimated damage through loss of land would total $56,000 annually.

Due to the comparatively rapid rate of shore erosion at the study area, it is unlikely that future development will be significant if the recommended program is not carried out.

The daily average of about 2700 persons use the beach during the normal "season", with an annual attendance of more that 300,000. If the erosion-control project is undertaken as outlined in the Army Engineers' study, it is estimated that the average attendance will be increased by 2000 daily during the beach season; with an annual increase of 157,000. Moreover, the erosion of land damage on existing developments would be halted.

The erosion-control program as recommended would be subject to "continued public ownership of the shore upon which the amount of federal participation is based, and its administration for public use during the amortization period."

Data in above presentation taken from Survey Report on Cooperative Beach Erosion Study, Hunting Island Beach, published by the U.S. Army Engineer District, Charleston, S. C., March, 1963.

DESEGREGATED PUBLIC RECREATIONAL FACILITIES

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SOUTH CAROLINA

		Voluntary Desegregation
Bonneau	N.F., Moncks Corner - trailer camping	X
Buck Hall	N.F., Charleston - camping	X
Charleston	Golf course desegregated by court order; municipal parks, except playgrounds and swimming pools, desegregated voluntarily	
Cheowhee	N.F., Walhalla - camping, swimming	X
Cherry Hill	N.F., Walhalla - camping, swimming	X
Fork Campground	N.F., Clarks Hill - camping	X
Fort Sumter	Nat'l. monument, Charleston	X
Greenville	Municipal park system (not swimming pools)	X
Huger	N.F., Moncks Corner - camping	X
Lick Fork Lake	N.F., Edgefield - camping, swimming	X
Parsons Mt. Lake	N.F., Abbeville - camping, swimming	X

Notes

1. In above list of public recreational facilities in South Carolina, and also in lists of facilities in other Southern states, on pages which follow, the initials "N.F." refer to National Forests.

2. All the facilities within the recreational areas listed have not been indicated; for example, almost all of the parks provide for picnickers, and many of them offer opportunities for boating, fishing, etc. Since camping and swimming facilities are those most debated in discussion of segregation, these have been given special attention in the lists presented here; other facilities have been mentioned just incidentally.

3. In listing State and National parks, addresses given are nearby post offices.

DESEGREGATED PUBLIC FACILITIES IN OTHER SOUTHERN STATES

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ALABAMA

		Voluntary Desegregation
Birmingham	Municipal 3 of 4 golf courses desegregated by court order	
Brushy Lake	Moulton - camping, swimming	X
Chinnabee Lake	Anniston - camping, swimming	X
Horshoe Bend	Nat'l. Military park, Dadeville	X
Huntsville	Municipal parks	X
Mobile	Municipal golf course integrated 1962, by court order, parks desegregated voluntarily	
Open Pond	Andalusia - camping	X
Payne Lake	Greensboro - camping	X
Russell Cave	Nat'l. Monument, Bridgeport	X
Shoal Creek Bridge	Heflin - camping	X

ARKANSAS

Albert Pike	N.F., Glenwood - camping, swimming	X
Bard Springs	Glenwood - camping, swimming	X
Barkshed	N.F., Mountain View -camping, swimming	X
Bayou Bluff	Hector - camping	X
Big Brushy	N.F., Mt. Ida - camping	X
Billy Creek	Talihina - camping, swimmin g	X
Blanchard	Mountain View - camping, swimming	X
Cedar Lake	Heavener - camping, swimming	X
Charlton	Hot Springs - camping, swimming	X
Cherry Bend	Cass - camping	X
Cove Lake	Paris - camping, swimming	X

Arkansas, cont'd. next page

ARKANSAS (Cont'd.)

		Voluntary Desegregation
Crystal	N.F., Norman - camping, swimming	X
Fairview Campground	Jasper - camping	X
Fayetteville	Municipal parks, swimming pools	X
Foran Gap	N.F., Mena - camping	X
F. T. Smith	Municipal Parks (except swimming pools)	X
Gunner Pool	N.F., Mountain View - camping	X
Hickorynut Mt	N.F., Hot Springs - camping	X
Horsehead Lake	N.F., Clarksville - camping, swimming	X
Hot Springs	Municipal recreational facilities (except pools)	X
Iron Springs	N.F., Hot Springs - camping	X
Jack Creek	Booneville - camping, swimming	X
Knoppers Ford	Booneville - camping, swimming	X
Lee Creek	Cedarville - camping, swimming	X
Lake Wedington	N.F., Perryville - camping, swimming	X
Little Brushy	Hwy. 870 - camping	X
Little Rock	Municipal parks (except swimming pools); by court order	
Long Pool	Dover - camping, swimming	X
Magazine Mountain	Paris - camping, swimming	X
Mill Creek	N.F., Pencil Bluff - camping, swimming	X
North Little Rock	Municipal golf courses and playgrounds desegregated by court order	
Pea Ridge	Military Park, Rogers	X
Pine Bluff	Municipal Parks (except swimming pools)	X
Shady Lake	Mena - camping, swimming	X
Shores Lake	Mulberry - camping, swimming	X

Arkansas, cont'd. next page

ARKANSAS (Cont'd)

	Voluntary Desegregation
South Fourche ... N.F., Hollis - camping	X
Spring Lake ... N.F., Chickalah - camping, swimming	X
Storm Creek Lake .. N.F., West Helena - camping, swimming	X
White Rock Mountain ... N.F., Ozark - camping	X

FLORIDA

Anastasia ..... State park, St. Augustine - swimming.....	X
Alexander Springs ... N.F., Astor Park - camping, swimming	X
Bahia Honda .... State park, Marathon - swimming	X
Big Scrub Hunt Camp .. N.F., Central Tower - camping	X
Bulow Ruins ..... State park, Flagler Beach - picnicking	X
Camel Lake ..... N.F., Bristol - camping, swimming	X
Cape Canaveral .... All municipal recreational facilities	X
Castillo de San Marcos .. Nat'l. Monument -St. Augustine - guided tours	X
Cedar Key ..... State Park, Cedar Key - boating	X
Clearwater ..... All municipal recreational facilities ...	X
Clearwater Lake ..... N.F., Altooma - camping, swimming	X
Cocoa Beach ..... All municipal recreational facilities ...	X
Collier-Seminole .... Everglades - camping	X
Constitution ..... State park, Port St. Joe - Museum exhibits	X
Dade Battlefield ... State park, Bushnell - picnicking,camping .	X
Daytona Beach ..... Municipal beaches	X
DeSoto ..... Nat'l. Memorial, Bradenton - museum	X
Everglades ..... Nat'l. park, Homestead - camping, boating .	X

FLORIDA, cont'd. next page

FLORIDA, cont'd.

		Voluntary Desegregation
Faver-Dykes	State park, St. Augustine- picnicking, boating	X
Florida Caverns	State park, Marianna - camping	X
Fort Carolina	Nat'l. Memorial, Jacksonville -museum	X
Fort Clinch	State park, Fernandia Beach - swimming, camping	X
Fort George	State park, Fort George - Picnicking	X
Fort Jefferson	Nat'l. Monument, Homestead - fishing	X
Fort Lauderdale	Municipal golf courses and beaches desegregated 1958 by court order	
Fort Matanzas	Nat'l. Monument, St. Augustine - guided tours	X
Fort Pickens	State Park, Gulf Breeze -swimming, camping	X
Frank B. Butler	State park, St. Augustine - swimming	X
Gold Head Branch	State park, Keystone Heights - swimming, camping	X
Grassy Pond	N.F., Fort McCoy - camping	X
Halfmoon Campground	N.F., Astor - camping	X
Highlands Hammock	State park, Sebring - camping	X
Hillsborough	State park, Zephyrhills - swimming, camping	X
Hitchcock Lake	N.F., Carrabelle - camping	X
Hugh Taylor Birch	State park, Ft. Lauderdale - swimming, camping	X
Jacksonville	All municipal facilities except swimming pool desegregated 1962 by court order	
Jim Woodruff	State Park, Sneads - swimming	X
John C. Beasley	State park, Fort Walton Beach - swimming	X

FLORIDA, cont'd. next page

FLORIDA, cont'd.

		Voluntary Desegregation
John Gorrie	State park, Apalachicola - museum	X
Johnson Field	N.F., Highway 19 at Oklawaha River - camping	X
Jonathan Dickinson	State park, Hobe Sound - camping	X
Juniper Springs	N.F., Ocala - camping, swimming	X
Killearn Gardens	State park, Tallahassee - swimming, camping	X
Koreshan	State park, Estero - picnicking	X
Lake DeLancy	N.F., Salt Springs - camping	X
Magnolia Lake	State park, Keystone Heights - swimming	X
Manatee Springs	State park, Chiefland - swimming, camping	X
Miami	Municipal golf course desegregated 1958 by court order	
Miami Beach	Municipal swimming facilities	X
Milldam	N.F., Ocala - camping, swimming	X
Myakka River	State park, Sarasota - camping	X
Natural Bridge	State park, Woodville - picnicking	X
North Little Talbot Island	State park, Fort George -swimming	X
Ocean Pond	N.F., Olustee - camping, swimming	X
O'Leno	State park, High Springs - swimming, camping	X
Olustee	State Park, Olustee - museum	X
Orlando	All municipal recreational facilities	X
Palm Beach	All municipal recreational facilities	X
Pennekamp	State Park, Key Largo - swimming	X
Pensacola	Municipal golf course desegregated, 1956 by court order	
Silver Lake	N.F., Tallahassee - camping, swimming	X
South Little Talbot Island	State park, swimming	X
St. Andrews	State park, Panama City Beach - swimming,camping	X
St. Augustine	Beach	X

FLORIDA, cont'd. next page

FLORIDA, cont'd.

		Voluntary Desegregation
St. Petersburg	All municipal recreational facilities	X
Sugar Mill Ruins	State park, New Smyrna Beach - historic structure	X
Suwanee River	State park, Live Oak - camping	X
Tampa	All municipal recreational facilities	X
Tomoka	State park, Ormond Beach - swimming, camping	X
Torreya	State park, Rock Bluff - camping	X
Winter Park	Swimming pool	X
Wright Lake	N.F., Sumatra - camping, swimming	X
Yulee	State park, Homosassa - picnicking	X

Note: Almost without exception, all beaches -both on east and west coasts of Florida are desegregated; this has been accomplished voluntarily.

GEORGIA

Andrews Cove	Cleveland - camping	X
Atlanta	All municipal recreational facilities desegregated by court order	
Augusta	Municipal parks (except swimming pools)	X
Brasstown Bald	N.F., Blairsville - camping	X
Chicamauga	Nat'l. Military Park, Ft. Oglethorpe	X
Cooper Creek	N.F., N.F., Suches - camping	X
Decatur	Municipal Recreation Center	X
Deep Hole	N.F., Morganton - camping, swimming	X
Desoto Falls	N.F., Dahlonega - camping	X
Dockery Lake	N.F. Dahlonega - camping	X
Ft. Frederica	Nat'l. Monument, St. Simons Island	X

GEORGIA, cont'd. next page

GEORGIA, cont'd.

		Voluntary Desegregation
Ft. Pulaski	Nat'l. Monument, Savannah Beach	X
Frank Cross	N.F., Margret - camping	X
Hidden Creek	N.F., Sugar Valley - camping	X
Lake Conasauga	N.F., Chatsworth - camping, swimming	X
Lake Russell	N.F., Cornelia - camping, swimming	X
Lake Winfield Scott	N.F., Dahlonega - swimming, camping	X
Macon	Golf course and municipal parks (except swimming pools)	X
Morganton Point	N.F., Blue Ridge - camping, swimming	X
Mulky Gap	N.F., Suches - camping	X
Ocmulgee	Nat'l. Monument, Macon	X
Oconee River	N.F., Greensboro - camping	X
Rabun Beach	N.F., Lakemont - camping, swimming	X
Rock Creek Lake	N.F., Morganton - camping	X
Rome	Municipal playground	X
Savannah	Municipal golf courses and parks (except pools)	X
Sinclair	N.F., Eatonton - camping, swimming	X
Soque River Lake	N.F., Clarkesville - camping	X
Spring Creek	N.F., Pleasant Grove - camping	X
Tallulah River	N.F., Clayton - camping, swimming	X
Unicoi Gap	N.F., Cleveland - camping	X
Waters' Creek	N.F., Dahlonega - camping	X

KENTUCKY

		Voluntary Desegregation
Abraham Lincoln	Nat'l. Historical Site, Hodgenville- picnicking	X
Alum Ford	N.F., Whitley City - camping	X
Audubon	State park, Henderson - swimming, camping	X
Bee Rock	N.F., London - camping	X
Big Bone Lick	State Park, Big Bone - picnicking	X
Blue Licks Battlefield	State shrine, Mt. Olivet - museum	X
Breaks	Interstate park, Breaks, camping	X
Buckhorn Lake	State park, Buckhorn - swimming	X
Carter Caves	State park, Olive Hill - swimming, camping	X
Columbus-Belmont Battlefield	State shrine, Columbus - camping	X
Constitution Square	State shrine, Danville - historical buildings	X
Cumberland Falls	State park, Corbin - swimming, camping	X
Cumberland Gap	Nat'l. park, Middlesboro - camping	X
Falmouth Lake	State park, Falmouth - swimming	X
General Butler	State park, Carrollton - swimming, camping	X
General Burnside Island	State park, Burnside - swimming, camping	X
Greenbo Lake	State park, Greenup - swimming, camping	X
Jefferson Davis Monument	State shrine	X
Jenny Wiley	State Park, Prestonburg - swimming, camping	X
Kentucky Dam Village	State park, Gilbertsville - swimming, camping	X
Kentucky Lake	State park, Hardin - swimming, camping	X

KENTUCKY, cont'd. next page

KENTUCKY, cont'd.

		Voluntary Desegregation
Kingdom Come	State park, Cumberland - picnicking	X
Lake Cumberland	State park, Jamestown, - camping	X
Lake Malone	State park, Greenville - swimming	X
Levi Jackson	State park, London - camping	X
Lincoln Homestead	State park, Springfield -historical buildings	X
Isaac Shelby Memorial	State shrine	X
Mammoth Cave	Nat'l. Park, Mammoth Cave - camping	X
Mouth-of-Laurel	N.F., Corbin - picnicking	X
My Old Kentucky Home	State Shrine, Bardstown - camping	X
Natural Arch	N.F., Stearns - picnicking	X
Natural Bridge	State park, Slade - swimming, camping	X
Old Mulkey Meeting House	State shrine, Tompkinsville	X
Pennyrile Forest	State park, Dawson Springs - swimming, camping	X
Perryville Battlefield	State shrine, Perryville	X
Pine Mountain	State park, Pineville - swimming, camping	X
Pioneer Memorial	State shrine, Harrodsburg - museum	X
Red River Drive	N.F., Slade - scenic area	X
Rough River Dam	State park, Falls of Rough - swimming	X
Sky Bridge	N.F., Slade - picnicking	X
Thomas Walker Memorial	State shrine, Barbourville - historic buildings	X
Yamacraw	N.F., Stearns - picnicking	X

Note: Desegregated municipal facilities in Kentucky were not listed since there is integration of all recreational facilities in 55 cities in that state; 10 cities have one or more recreational facilities still segregated.

LOUISIANA

	Voluntary Desegregation
Calmette ..... Nat'l. Historic Park, Arabi	X
Caney Lakes .... N.F., Minden - swimming, camping	X
Cloud Crossing ..N.F., Winnfield - camping	X
Corney Lake .....N.F., Bernice - swimming, camping	X
Dogwood ..... N.F., Bellwood - picnicking	X
Fullerton Lake.. N.F., Cravens - camping, swimming	X
Gum Springs .... N.F., Winnfield - camping, swimming	X
Livingston ..... N.F., Ball - camping	X
Longleaf Trail ..N.F., Derry - camping	X
New Orleans .... Municipal park desegregated 1963 by court order	
Valentine Lake.. N.F., Alex andria - camping, swimming	X

MISSISSIPPI

Airey Lake .....N.F., Saucier - camping	X
Ashe Lake .....N.F., Brooklyn - swimming, camping	X
Barge Lake .....N.F., Rolling Fork - camping	X
Bear Creek Campground .... N.F., Potts Camp - camping	X
Big Biloxi .....N.F., Gulfport - camping	X
Brice's Crossroads..... Nat'l. Battlefield Site, Tupelo	X
Choctaw Lake .....N.F., Ackerman - camping, swimming	X
Clear Springs .... N.F., Meadville - swimming, camping	X
Cypress Bend ..... N.F., Rolling Fork - camping	X
Davis Lake ..... N.F., Old Houlka - swimming, camping	X
Janice ..... N.F., Wiggins - camping	X
Marathon ..... N.F., Raleigh - camping, swimming	X

MISSISSIPPI, cont'd next page

MISSISSIPPI, Cont'd.

		Voluntary Desegregation
Miles Branch	N.F., Hattiesburg - camping	X
Moody's Landing	N.F., Brooklyn - camping	X
Mt. Nebo Lake	N.F., Gloster - camping	X
New Augusta	N.F., Hattiesburg, camping	X
Piney Woods	N.F., Waynesboro - camping	X
Pipe's Lake	N.F., Gloster - camping	X
Point Laurel	N.F., Laurel - camping	X
Puskus Lake	N.F., Oxford - camping	X
Raworth	N.F., Forest - camping	X
Red Creek	N.F., Maxie - camping	X
Shongelo	N.F., Raleigh - camping, swimming	X
Thompson Creek	N.F., Laurel - camping	X
Tillatoba Lake	N.F., Grenada - camping	X
Tupelo	Nat'l. Battlefield	X
Tuxachanie	N.F., Biloxi - camping	X
Vicksburg	Nat'l. Military Park	X
Woodman Springs	N.F., Gloster - camping	X

NORTH CAROLINA

Bald Mt.	N.F., Micaville - camping	X
Blue Ridge	Nat'l. park - Asheville - 4 camping areas, 154 campsites	X
Blue Valley	N.F., Highlands - camping	X
Cape Hatteras	Nat'l. seashore, Manteo - 173 campsites, swimming	X
Carolina Hemlock	N.F. Micaville - camping, swimming	X
Charlotte	Municipal park, including swimming pools, desegregated by court order	

NORTH CAROLINA, cont'd. next page

NORTH CAROLINA, cont'd

		Voluntary Desegregation
Cliffs of the Neuse	State park, Goldsboro	X
Coontree Branch N.F.	Brevard - camping	X
Deep Gap N.F.	Franklin - camping	X
Durham	Municipal swimming pool desegregated, 1963.	X
Fayetteville	Municipal swimming pool desegregated 1963.	X
Fort Macon	State park, Atlantic Beach -swimming	X
Gastonia	Municipal golf courses	X
Great Smoky Mts.	Nat'l. park, Cherokee - 11 camping areas with 793 campsites	X
Greensboro	Municipal golf course, desegregated through court order	
Guilford Courthouse	Nat'l Military park	X
Hammocks Beach	State park, Swansboro - beach, swimming	X
Hanging Rock	State park, Winston-Salem - swimming, camping	X
High Point	Municipal swimming pool and all other facilities	X
Horse Cove N.F.	Robbinsville - camping	X
Jones Lake	State Park, Elizabethtown - swimming	X
Lake Santeetlah	N.F., Robbinsville - camping	X
Lexington	Municipal swimming pool	X
Moores Creek	Nat'l. military park, Currie	X
Morrow Mt.	State park, Albemarle - swimming, camping	X
Mortimer	Lenoir - camping	X
Mt. Jefferson	State park, Jefferson - picnicking	X
Mt. Mitchell	State park, Asheville - camping	X
Neuse River	N.F., New Bern - camping, swimming	X
North Mills River N.F.	Asheville - camping, swimming	X

NORTH CAROLINA, cont'd. next page

NORTH CAROLINA, cont'd

		Voluntary Desegregation
Pettigrew	State park, Creswell -picnicking, boating	X
Pink Beds	N.F., Brevard - camping, swimming	X
Raleigh	Municipal swimming pools	X
Reedy Creek	State park, Raleigh - picnicking	X
Rocky Mount	Municipal swimming pools	X
Sycamore Flats	N.F., Brevard - camping, swimming	X
Singletary Lake	State park, Elizabethtown - camping	X
Standing Indian	N.F., Franklin - camping	X
Thomasville	Municipal swimming pools	X
Wm.B. Umstead	State park, Raleigh - camping	X
VanHook Glade	N.F., Highlands - camping, swimming	X
White Oak Bottoms	N.F., Franklin, -camping	X
White Pines	N.F., Brevard - camping, swimming	X
Wilmington	Municipal swimming pool	X
Winston-Salem	Municipal golf courses and pools	X
Wright Bros. Nat'l. Memorial	Nat'l. park, Kill Devil Hills	X

TENNESSEE

Andrew Johnson	Nat'l. Monument, Greeneville	X
Backbone Rock	N.F., Damascus - camping	X
Big Oak Cove	N.F., Tellico Plains - camping	X
Big Ridge	State park, Norris - swimming, camping	X
Booker T. Washington	State park, Chattanooga -swimming, camping	X
Cedars of Lebanon	State park, Lebanon - swimming, camping	X
Cardens Bluff	N.F., Hampton - swimming, camping	X

TENNESSEE, cont 'd. next page

TENNESSEE, cont'd.

		Voluntary Desegregation
Chickasaw	State park, Henderson -swimming, group camping ...	X
Chilhowee	N.F., Benton - swimming, camping	X
Clarkesville	Municipal parks and swimming pools	X
Cove Lake	State park, Knoxville - swimming	X
Cumberland Mt. ..	State park, Crossville - camping	X
David Crockett ...	State park, Lawrenceburg - camping	X
Davis Branch	N.F., Tellico Plains - camping	X
Dennis Cove	N.F., Hampton - camping	X
Double Camp	N.F., Tellico Plains - camping	X
Fall Creek Falls ..	State park, Pikeville - camping, swimming	X
Great Smoky Mts....	Nat'l. Park, Gatlinburg - camping	X
Harrison Bay	State park, Harrison - camping, swimming	X
Henry Horton	State park, Nashville - camping	X
Holly Flats	N.F., Tellico Plains - picnicking	X
Horse Creek.....	N.F., Greeneville - camping, swimming	X
Knoxville	Municipal parks and pools desegregated	X
Limestone Cove ...	N.F., Unicoi - camping	X
Lost Creek	N.F., Etowah - camping	X
Mac Point	N.F., Ocoee - camping, swimming	X
Memphis	Municipal parks (except pools) and golf course desegregated by court order	
Montgomery Bell ..	State park, Dickson - camping, swimming	X
Nashville	Golf course integrated, 1956 by court order; Municipal parks opened voluntarily	
Natchez Trace	State park, Lexington - camping, swimming	X
Norris Dam	State park, Norris - camping	X
North River	N.F., Tellico Plains, - camping	X
Oak Ridge	Municipal parks and pools desegregated	X

TENNESSEE,, cont'd. next page

TENNESSEE, cont'd.

		Voluntary Desegregation
Paint Creek	N.F., Greenville - camping	X
Paris Landing	State park, Paris - camping, swimming	X
Parksville Lake	N.F., Ocoee - camping	X
Pickett	State Park, Jamestown - camping, swimming	X
Reelfoot	State park, Tiptonville - camping	X
Shelby Forest	State park, Millington - camping	X
Shiloh	Nat'l. Military Park, Shiloh	X
Spivey Cove	N.F., Tellico Plains - camping	X
Standing Stone	State park, Livingston - camping, swimming	X
State Line	N.F., Tellico Plains - camping	X
Stones River	Nat'l. Battlefield, Murfreesboro	X
Sylca	N.F., Ocoee - camping	X
Thunder Rock	N.F., Ocoee - camping	X
T. O. Fuller	State park, Memphis - group camping, swimming	X
Tumbling Creek	N.F., Copperhill - camping	X
Warriors	State park, Kingsport - camping, swimming	X

TEXAS

Abilene	State park, Buffalo Gap - camping, swimming	X
Acton	State park, Granbury - historic site	X
Alamo	Historic site, San Antonio	X
Balmorhea	Scenic park, Toyavale - camping, swimming	X
Bastrop	State park, Bastrop - camping, swimming	X
Beaumont	City park desegregated 1956 by court order; Municipal swimming pools desegregated voluntarily	
Bentsen-Rio Grande Valley	State park, Mission - camping	X

TEXAS, cont'd. next page

TEXAS, Cont'd.

		Voluntary Desegregation
Big Bend	Nat'l. park, Big Bend - camping	X
Big Spring	State park, Big Spring - picnicking	X
Blanco	State park, Blanco - camping, swimming	X
Boles Field	N.F., Center - camping	X
Bouton Lake	N.F., Zavalla - camping	X
Boykin Springs	N.F., Zavalla - camping - swimming	X
Brazos Island	State park, Brownsville - camping, swimming	X
Buescher	State park, Smithville - camping	X
Cleburne	State park, Cleburne - camping, swimming	X
Corsicana	Municipal lake and park	X
Dallas	Municipal parks and swimming pools	X
Davis Mountains	State park, Daingerfield - camping	X
Denton	Municipal parks	X
Double Lake	N.F., Cold Springs - camping, swimming	X
East Hamilton	N.F., Center - camping	X
Eisenhower	State park, Denison - camping, swimming	X
Eisenhower Birthplace	Historic site, Denison	X
Falcon	State park, Falcon - camping, swimming	X
Fannin	Historic site, Fannin	X
Fort Griffin	Historical park, Albany	X
Fort Parker	State park, Mexia - camping, swimming	X
Frio	State park, Dilley - picnicking	X
Garner	State park, Concan - camping, swimming	X
Gen. Zaragoza Birtholace	Historic site, Goliad	X
Goliad	Historical park, Goliad - picnicking	X

TEXAS, cont'd. next page

TEXAS, cont'd.

		Voluntary Desegregation
Goose Island	State park, Rockport - camping	X
Gov. Hogg Shrine	Historical park, Quitman - picnicking	X
Holly Bluff	N.F., Apple Springs - camping	X
Houston	Municipal golf courses and parks (including swimming pools)	X
Huntsville	State park, Huntsville -camping, swimming	X
Indianola	Historical park, Port Lavaca -camping, swimming	X
Inks Lake	State park, Burnet - camping, swimming	X
Jim Hogg	Historical park, Rusk - picnicking	X
Kerrville	State park, Kerrville -camping, swimming	X
Lake Brownwood	State park, Brownwood -camping, swimming	X
Lake Corpus Christi	State park, Mathis -camping, swimming	X
Lake Stamford	State park, Stamford -camping, swimming	X
Lake Whitney	State park, Whitney - camping, swimming	X
Lockhart	State park, Lockhart - swimming	X
Longhorn Cavern	State park, Burnet - camping	X
Mackenzie	Scenic park, Lubbock - swimming	X
Meridian	State park, Meridian -camping, swimming	X
Mission Tejas	Historical park, Weches - camping	X
Monahans Sandhills	State park, Monahans - picnicking	X
Monument Hill	Historical park, La Grange -camping	X
Mother Neff	State park, Moody - camping	X
Old Fort Parker	Historic Site - Groesbeck	X
Palmetto	State park, Luling -camping	X
Palo Duro Canyon	State park, Canyon - camping	X
Port Isabel Lighthouse	Historic site, Port Isabel	X

TEXAS, continued, next page

TEXAS, cont'd.

		Voluntary Desegregation
Possum Kingdom	State park, Caddo - camping, swimming	X
Ratcliff Lake	N.F., Crockett - camping, swimming	X
Red Hills	N.F., San Augustine - camping, swimming	X
San Antonio	All municipal parks	X
San Jacinto	Historical park, Deer Park - picnicking	X
San Jose Mission	Historic Site, San Antonio	X
San Saba Mission	Historic Site, Menard	X
Stephen F. Austin	Historical park, San Felipe - camping	X
Stubblefield	N.F., New Waverly - camping	X
Tyler	State Park, Tyler - camping, swimming	X
Varner-Hogg Plantation	Historical park, West Columbia - picnicking	X
Velasco	State park, Freeport - camping, swimming	X
Walker Lake	N.F., Huntsville - camping	X
Washington	Historical park, Washington - camping	X

VIRGINIA

Alexandria	All municipal facilities including swimming pools	X
Appomattox Court House	Nat'l. Historical park, Appomattox	X
Arlington	Municipal recreational facilities, including swimming pools	X
Big Bend	N.F., Wytheville - picnicking	X
Blue Ridge Prkwy	Nat'l. parkway - camping	X
Blowing Springs	N.F., Warm Springs - camping	X
Booker T. Washington	Nat'l. monument, Roanoke -guided tours	X
Cave Mountain	N.F., Natural Bridge - swimming, camping	X

VIRGINIA, cont'd. next page

VIRGINIA, cont'd.

		Voluntary Desegregation
Colonial	Nat'l. Historical park, Yorktown -picnicking	X
Comers Rock	N.F., Wytheville - picnicking	X
Eliz. Furnace	N.F., Front Royal - camping	X
Fredericksburg Battlefield	Nat'l. Military park, Fredericksburg	X
George Washington Birthplace	Nat'l. Monument, Washington's Birthplace	X
Green Pastures	N.F., Clifton Forge - swimming	X
High Knob	N.F., Norton - swimming	X
Hone Quarry	N.F., Staunton Reservoir - picnicking	X
Hurricane	N.F., Marion - picnicking	X
Little Fort	N.F., Woodstock - picnicking	X
Lynchburg	All city parks desegregated, 1962 by court order	
Middle Creek	N.F., Buchanan - picnicking	X
New Market	N.F., Luray - picnicking	X
Jamestown	Nat'l. Historical site, Richmond	X
Manassas Battlefield	Nat'l. park, Manassas -guided tours	X
North Creek	N.F., Buchanan - camping	X
Petersburg	Nat'l. Battlefield, Petersburg -museum	X
Portsmouth	Municipal golf course desegregated 1957 by court order, other recreational facilities desegregated voluntarily	
Richmond	Nat'l. Battlefield park, Richmond -guided tours	X
Scott-Wise Lake	N.F., High Knob - camping	X
Seashore State Park	Opened on desegregated basis through court order; cabins and swimming facilities closed	
Shenandoah	Nat'l. Park, Luray - camping	X
Sherando Lake	N.F., Waynesboro - swimming, camping	X

EXCERPTS FROM THE SOUTH CAROLINA COURT ORDER

"This suit was originally filed on July 8, 1961, by the plaintiffs for their own benefit and on the behalf of all other persons similarly situated. In the Complaint the plaintiffs allege that they are denied the use of public park facilities in the State of South Carolina solely because they are Negroes, in violation of their constitutional rights.....

"On December 17, 1962, the defendants filed an Answer in thich they admit that the State of South Carolina operates some parks for white citizens and some parks for Negro citizens in accordance with State law, but deny that such operation of the park facilities deprives the plaintiffs of their constitutional rights.....

"The State of South Carolina operates a total of 26 State parks, nineteen of which are designated for the use of white citizens and seven of which are designated for the use of Negro citizens.....

"Solely because of their race, the petitioners here have been refused the use of city-owned or operated parks and other recreational facilities which the Constitution mandates be open to their enjoyment on equal terms with white persons.....

"In support of its judgment, the District Court also pointed out that the recreational facilities available to Negroes were roughly proportional to their number and therefore presumably adequate to meet their needs. While the record does not clearly support this, no more need be said than that, even if true, it reflects an impermissible obeisance to the now thoroughly discredited doctrine of 'separate but equal'. The sufficiency of Negro facilities is beside the point; it is segregation by race that is unconstitutional" (Watson vs. Memphis, U.S. (No. 424).....

"'Applying the Watson case to the facts presented here, there can be only one decision.....

"The Court can not ignore the fact that long standing customs are not changed without planning, education, leadership and foresight. Considering the far reaching consequences of this decision upon the State of South Carolina, it is manifest that the State must be allowed a reasonable opportunity to staff these facilities with properly trained personnel and police officers so that the transition of the State parks from a segregated system to an integrated one may be carried out in an orderly manner.....

"It is hereby ordered that the South Carolina Commission of Forestry be enjoined and restrained from discriminating against the plaintiffs and all other persons similarly situated in using the State parks of South Carolina solely because of their race.....

"It is further ordered that this order become effective sixty days from date."

Above excerpts taken from park decision of Judge J. Robert Martin of the District Court, Brown vs. South Carolina Commission of Forestry, July 10, 1963

The information in this booklet is taken from all the sources available to the compilers, who will welcome additional data or corrections.

WB LTB V

BEAUFORT COUNTY NEWS

Penn Community Services, Inc.
Frogmore, South Carolina

JAN 7 1964

January 1964

ANOTHER CITIZENSHIP SCHOOL

Another Citizenship and Voter Registration School is to be held on the Penn campus beginning Monday evening, January 13, and lasting through Friday, January 17. This school is sponsored by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and is available without charge to anyone in Beaufort County. There will be about fifty persons in the school, from a number of states.

The purpose of the school is to train persons who will assist their neighbors in passing literacy tests and learning to be registered to vote.

Persons who attend the entire course will receive a certificate at the completion, and will be eligible to receive expense money in the training of other persons in the community later. However, those who do not spend the entire week are welcome to attend any day and evening session. Those attending the full week can stay in the dormitories at Penn.

During the November session of the citizenship school, there were five adults from Beaufort County who received certificates. A number of others took part in some sessions.

Since the time is limited, it would be appreciated if you would call the Penn office (JA 4-4337) to tell Mrs. Warren if you plan to stay the entire session. It will not be necessary to call if you attend only during the day. Plan to take advantage of this opportunity for citizenship training.

REGISTRATION DATES

Registration Books are to be open next Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday: January 6, 7, and 8. There is an increasing interest in voter registration but only about one-fourth of the eligible Negroes in Beaufort County are registered. This is an important presidential election year.

The Bluffton Community has joined the County Voter Registration Drive, and added 15 new registrants from November 1 to December 2, 1963.

VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT MEETING

The monthly meeting of the First Congressional District Voter Education Project will be held at Penn on January 10. The Beaufort representatives are Mr. Cleaver Johnson, Mr. A. J. Brown, and Mrs. Freda Mitchell. Previous meetings have been held in Charleston, Sommerville, Manning, and Walterboro. Interested persons can sit in on the meeting at 8:30 P.M. on January 10.

Forty-one persons from Beaufort County attended the organizational meeting in Charleston on September 21, at which time the officers were elected. Miss Bernice Robinson has been selected as field worker for the nine counties in this congressional district.

EMANCIPATION DAY CELEBRATION

The Beaufort County Emancipation Day program turned out to be very successful, with a motorcade of cars and buses from all parts of the County, more than 50 churches participating, and queens from youth councils in five areas of the County, as well as many civic organizations and lodges. Reverend I. H. Middleton is chairman of the Emancipation Day; Mr. B. H. Washington is secretary. They are ably assisted by many committees throughout the county.

Mr. R. T. Blackwell, field director of the Voter Education Project, addressed the assembled 500 persons on the need for unity and for moving forward with speed in this important work.

JOB OPENINGS

Civil Service Job openings include the following: Substitute clerk and Substitute Carrier for the following post offices: Beaufort, Bluffton, Frogmore, Hilton Head, Yemassee and Port Royal. Persons should obtain card form 5000 AB from their Postmaster.

Garland Knitting Mill of Beaufort and Home Building Corporation of Port Royal are still receiving applications for training and work in these industries.

YOUTH RETREAT

There were 21 students from Beaufort Youth councils attending the annual NAACP youth retreat, held on the Penn campus December 13-15. Seventeen came from the Sheldon Youth Council, whose president is Mr. Samuel Burke. With other parts of South Carolina well represented and some attending from other states, staff and students proclaimed this a fine retreat.

* *

At Vanderbilt University but a few months ago John Kennedy reminded us that "liberty without learning is always in peril and learning without liberty is always in vain."

He said the educated citizen "knows that only an educated and informed people will be a free people, that the ignorance of one voter in a democracy impairs the security of all--and that if we can, as Jefferson put it, enlighten the people generally, tyranny and oppressions of mind and body will vanish, like evil spirits at the dawn of day." *

* *

*(Reprinted from SREB REGIONAL CAMPUS, Georgia)

PENN Community Service Inc

BEAUFORT COUNTY VOTING
TOTALS

	Total	Negro	Percent of Total
Number registered			
1958	4,240	1,234	29
1960	5,471	1,588	29
1962	6,744	2,091	31
Number of voters			
1958 June primary	3,044		
1960 general election	3,821		
1962 June primary	3,415		
Population 1957	30,466	16,209	60
Total adults, 21 and over	19,345		
Registered 1958	4,240	1,234	29
Percent of Negroes over 21 registered		17	
" " Whites " " "		50	

TOWNSHIPS
POPULATION AND REGISTRATION

	Total	Negro	% Negro
Sheldon Township, 1960 Population	3,293	2,809	85%
Sheldon Precinct, 1962 Registration	232	103	44%
Dale-Lobeco Precinct, 1962 "	248	125	50%
TOTAL	480	228	47.5%
St.Helena Township, 1960 Population	6,048	4,994	83%
St.Helena Precinct, 1962 Registration	860	662	76%
Ladies Island Precinct, 1962 "	452	103	22%
TOTAL	1,312	765	58.4%
Beaufort Township, 1960 Population	31,711	7,250	23%
Beaufort (city) Precinct- 1962 Registration	2,947	519	18%
Burton Precinct, 1962 Registration	616	196	31%
Port Royal Precinct, 1962 "	436	97	22%
TOTAL	3,999	812	20.3%
Bluffton Township**			
Bluffton Precinct, 1962 Registration	519	103	19%
Barrel Landing Precinct, 1962 "	110	8	7%
TOTAL	629	111	17.6%
Hilton Head Township**			
Hilton Head Precinct, 1962 Registration	301	163	54%
Daufuskie Precinct, " "	23	12	52%
TOTAL	324	175	54.3%

**No population figures available

Beaufort County - 1960

This study is designed to provide a statistical outline of Beaufort County and to help locate problems warranting special attention.

Since Penn Community Services works primarily with the Negro community, this study is focused specifically on Negro, or non-white, statistics. We realize that these problems are not limited to the Negro community. While the responsibility of improvement lies partially with the Negro community, significant changes must necessarily involve total community cooperation.

Some figures stand out in the following tables:

Population: During the decade 1950-1960, Beaufort changed from a predominantly Negro County (57%) to predominantly white (62%). The county experienced the highest percentage increase (64%) of the state -- primarily white persons, through establishment of the Marine Corps Air Station.

Education: 81% of Negro students enrolling in 1950 at the St. Helena School dropped out before graduation; 46% of the Negro population over twenty-five years old are functionally illiterate, yet the public schools spend per Negro pupil only 70% of the funds that it spends for each white student.

Farm: Negroes comprise 74% of the farm operators but farm only 8% of the land; only 3% are tenants.

Employment: Almost one-third of the Negro families earn less than $1,000 annually, and over one-half earn less than $2,000. More than one-half the workers hold unskilled jobs.

Rural Housing: One-third of the total homes in the county either have an outdoor privy or no facility whatsoever. 15% of the homes do not have flues for heating, while one-third are without piped water.

Health: 55% of Negro babies are delivered by a midwife, and 35% of Negro births are illegitimate.

Registration: Negroes comprise about one-third of registered persons for voting, yet only 17% of those eligible are registered.

Several terms should be defined: The definition of farm was changed in 1960, to include farms that have at least 10 acres or sell $250 worth of products annually; earlier the figures were 3 acres and $150. The new definition partially accounts for the large decrease in number of farms.

Figures for the Beaufort Division include those of Beaufort city. The city statistics are listed because of their significance.

Courtney Siceloff
Director, Penn Community Services

BEAUFORT COUNTY

Population

Total and Nonwhite Population 1900-1960

	Total	Nonwhite	Percent Nonwhite
1900	35,495	32,146	90.6
1910	30,355	26,392	86.9
1920	22,269	17,468	78.4
1930	21,815	15,572	71.4
1940	22,037	14,781	67.1
1950	26,993	15,521	57.5
1960	44,187	17,104	38.7

During the decade 1950-60, Beaufort County had the largest percentage of increase in the state: 63.7%.
The population per square mile in 1950 was 40.2; in 1960, 75.1. The County has 588 square miles (see map).
The 1960 rural population totalled 37,889 of which 22,834 were white, 14,929 (40%) were Negro, 126 of other races.
The rural non-farm population is 81.9% of the total (the state is 44.1%). The rural farm population is 3.8% (the state is 14.7%).
The median age in the County in 1950 was 20.9; in 1960, 19.1 (South Carolina: 23.4; United States: 29.5).

Education

School Attendance 1959-60 (ten day)

	Total	Negro
Enrollment	9,118	5,214
Daily average attendance	7,857	4,547
Percent attendance	86.17	87.21
State average	87.1	84.6
Teachers		
Elementary	183	104 (56% of total)
High School	115	64 (55%)
Total	298	168 (56%)
Average Teaching Load (daily)		
Elementary	27	28
High School	25	25
Total Number Schools (not buildings)		
Elementary	15	8
High School	8	5
Drop-outs 1950 to 1962		
1950-51 enrollment in 1st grade	1,025	800
1962 High School graduates	290	150
Drop-outs	735	650
Percent of 1950-51 enrollment	72%	81%

Costs per child 1956-57 Season

	White	Negro	Percent of White
Elementary	$199	$136	68%
High School	237	171	72%

Amount Spent on Current Operations of County Schools 1959-60

Total	County	State	Federal
$1,495,981	$303,447	$962,403	$230,131 (15%)

BEAUFORT COUNTY

Education - continued

Years of School Completed 1960

	Total	Nonwhite	Percent of Total	Percent of Nonwhite
Persons, 25 and over	15,741	6,514	41	100
No school years completed	809	752	92	12
Elementary, 1-4 "	2,415	2,198	91	34
" 5-8 "	3,806	2,335	61	36
High School, 1-3 "	2,778	598	21	9
" " 4 "	3,667	331	9	5
College, 1-3 "	1,154	112	9	2
" 4 or more "	1,112	188	16	3
Median school years "	9.9	5.5		
	(1950: 6.3)			

Functional Illiteracy 1960

Total adults, 25 and over 15,741
Functional illiterates, " " " 3,224 (20.4%; state: 20.3%)

Farm

Farms in Beaufort County are decreasing in number, growing in size. Approximate land area 1959: 376,320 acres, 28% of which is in farms; the state proportion is 47%.

Average Size of Farms

	Total	Nonwhite	Percent of Total
Acreage 1959	181.7 (state 117.0)	20.4 (state 39.8)	11
" 1954	110.5 (" 89.1)	21.8 (" 35.9)	20

Average age of all farm operators

1959: 53.6 1954: 51.7

Number of Farms

	1959	1954
Under 10 acres	61	433
10 to 49 "	401	616
50 or more "	117	152

Off-farm Work and Economic Class

Off-farm Work and Other Income

Farm operators, working off their farms 1959 337
100 or more days 257

Farms by Economic Class

Commercial farms 125
Other farms, part-time 330
" " part-retirement 100 (includes "residential, subsistence, or marginal farms")

Farms and Acreage by Color and Tenure

Farm Operators	Total	Nonwhite	Percent of Total
Number 1959	579	430	74
Acreage "	105,230	8,780	8
Number 1954	1,201	1,018	85
Acreage "	132,763	22,219	17
Full Owners			
Number 1959	365	274	75
Acreage "	38,480	5,563	14
Number 1954	843	724	86
Acreage "	66,030	13,104	20
Managers			
Number 1959	15	-	-
" 1954	9	1	11

BEAUFORT COUNTY

Farms - continued

Farms and Acreage by Color and Tenure

All Tenants	Total	Nonwhite	Percent of Total
Number 1959	23	15	65
" 1954	57	48	84

Proportion of Tenancy

Percentage 1959	4.0 (state 31.8)	3.5 (state 53.7)
" 1954	4.7 (" 40.3)	4.7 (" 62.8)

Truck Crop Labor

	Migratory Labor	Commuting Labor
1950	201	850
1955	941	1,310

The annual average temperature is 66.5°; the Janunry average is 50.9°; the July average is 81.5°.

The annual rainfall average is 46.0 inches; the monthly high average in July is 5.7 inches.

The average number of growing days is 284.

Employment

Family Income in 1959

	Total	Nonwhite	Percent of Total	Percent of Nonwhite
All families	8,030	3,002	37	100
Under $1,000	1,145	975	85	32
1,000-1,999	1,029	723	70	24
2,000-2,999	1,193	613	51	20
3,000-3,999	1,085	306	28	10
4,000-4,999	1,074	209	19	7
5,000-5,999	806	90	11	3
6,000-6,999	471	37	7	1
7,000-7,999	402	12	2	*
8,000-8,999	269	12	4	*
9,000-9,999	176	21	11	*
10,000 & over	380	4	1	*
Median Income				
Families	$3,597	$1,728	48	
Families and unrelated individuals	$1,864	$1,294	69	

228
265
812
11 1
175
2091

*Less than 1%.

BEAUFORT COUNTY

Employment - continued

Industry of Employed ("Total" and "Nonwhite" columns differ slightly in designation of industries)

Total and Percent of Total Employed			Nonwhite and Percent of Nonwhite Employed		
Employed	8,377	100%	Employed	4,421	100%
Agriculture	1,270	15	Agriculture, forestry and fisheries	1,205	27
Construction	636	8	Construction	402	9
Manufacturing	443	5	Manufacturing	295	7
Food and kindred prod.	229	3	Transportation and kindred services	122	3
Railroad and other transportation	188	2	Wholesale and retail trade	444	10
Community, utilities, and sanitary services	110	1	Finance, Insurance and real estate	32	*
Wholesale trade, eating and drinking places, other retail trade	1,626	19	Business and repair services	20	*
Private households	862	10	Personal services	1,046	24
Other personal services	397	5	Entertainment and recreation services	41	1
Educational services	537	6	Professional and related services	325	7
Other professional and related services, public administration	1,172	14	Public administration	358	8
Other industries and not reported	1,136	14	Industry not reported	131	3

Occupation and Industry	MALE				FEMALE			
			Percent				Percent	
	Total	Nonwhite	Total	Nonwhite	Total	Nonwhite	Total	Nonwhite
Employed	4,830	2,390	49%	100%	3,547	2,031	57%	100%
Professional, technical and kind.workers	272	52	19	2	420	147	35	7
Farmers and farm managers	145	81	55	3	25	25	100	1
Managers, proprietors (except farm) clerical, sales	930	85	9	4	941	58	6	3
Craftsmen, foremen, kindred workers	979	344	35	14	33	13	39	*
Operatives, kind.	707	451	63	19	342	279	81	14
Private household	18	18	100	*	773	744	96	37
Service workers (except priv.h'held)	270	120	44	5	393	210	53	10
Farm laborers,f'men	518	454	87	19	491	491	100	24
Laborers (nonfarm)	800	700	87	29	13	13	100	*
Occupation not reported	191	85	44	4	116	51	43	3
Employment Status								
Persons, 14 over	18,056	4,706	26	100	11,474	4,996	43	100
Labor force	15,885	3,389	21	72	4,118	2,187	53	44
Percent of total	88%	72%			36%	44%		
Civilian lab.for.	5,073	2,592	51	55	-	-		
Employed	4,830	2,390	49	51	3,547	2,031	57	41
Unemployed	243	202	83	4	240	148	61	3

*Less than 1%.

BEAUFORT COUNTY

Housing

Housing Units	Total	Nonwhite	Percent of Total	Percent of Nonwhite
Occupied	8,973	3,513	39	100
Nonfarm	8,170	2,773	33	79
Farm	377	214	56	6
Owner occupied	5,308	2,716	51	77
Nonfarm	3,962	2,239	56	64
Farm	290	186	64	5
Renter occupied	3,665	797	21	23
Nonfarm	2,824	1,331	47	38
Farm	87	28	32	*
Year Structure Built				
Number	10,747	4,363	41	100
1950 to Mar.1960	5,354	850	15	19
1940 to 1949	2,090	1,643	78	38
1939 or earlier	3,303	1,870	56	43
Value				
Owner occupied	4,196	2,248	53	100
Less than $5,000	1,822	1,700	93	76
5,000 to 9,900	1,026	431	42	19
10,000 to 14,900	886	89	10	4
15,000 or more	462	28	6	1
Median	$6,200	$5,000-	80	
Gross Rent				
Renter occupied	3,578	501	14	100
Less than $20	150	138	92	28
20 to 39	135	103	76	21
40 to 59	484	118	24	24
60 to 79	921	100	10	20
80 to 99	1,063	38	3	8
100 or more	825	4	*	*
Median	$78			
No cash rent		268		
Residence in 1955				
Persons 5 years old in 1960	37,730	14,408	38	100
Same house as in 1960	12,706	9,556	75	66
Same county as in 1960	5,889	3,289	55	23
Same state as in 1960	1,875	246	13	2
Moved, residence in 1955 not rep'd	397	75	18	*

Persons per Household

1950: 3.8 1960: 3.95

*Less than 1%.

BEAUFORT COUNTY

Housing - continued (separate "Nonwhite" figures not available)

TOTAL	
Bathing Facilities	
Bathtub or shower, exclusive use	7,541
Bathtub or shower, shared	36
No bathtub or shower	3,170
Toilet Facilities	
Flush toilet, exclusive use	7,634
Flush toilet, shared	49
Other toilet facilities or none	3,064
Heating Equipment	
Steam, hot water; warm air, floor, wall or pipeless furnace; built-in electric units	3,673
Other means with flue	5,300
" " without "	1,607
None	167

RURAL NONFARM

Housing units: 8,170 Occupied: 6,786

Owner occupied: 3,962

Nonwhite owner occupied: 2,239

Percent: 56

Renter occupied: 2,824

Nonwhite renter occupied: 534

Percent: 18

Toilet Facilities	
Flush toilet, exclusive use	5,372
Flush toilet, shared	4
Other toilet facilities or none	2,794
Heating Equipment	
Steam, hot air; warm air furnace, or built-in room units	2,913
Other means with flue	3,928
" " without "	1,189
None	140
Water Supply	
Hot and cold piped water inside structure	5,256
Only cold piped water inside structure	212
Piped water outside	80
No piped water	2,622
Source of Water	
Public system or private company	3,548
Individual well	3,066
Other	1,556
Sewage Disposal	
Public sewer	1,940
Septic tank or cesspool	3,725
Other or none	2,505
Year Structure Built	
1955 to March 1960	3,449
1950 to 1954	1,066
1940 to 1949	1,546
1939 or earlier	2,109

BEAUFORT COUNTY

Health

Physicians, Dentists, Nurses - 1959

	Number	Rate per 10,000 population County	Rate per 10,000 population State	Ratio per 100 square miles County	Ratio per 100 square miles State
Physicians, surgeons (including Resident Physicians, Health Officers)	10	2.4 (3 counties have less)	6.8	1.5	5.2
Dentists	3	0.7 (3 counties have less)	2.1	0.4	1.6
Nurses	48	11.4 (8 counties have less)	28.9	7.1	22.0

Births 1959

	Total	Negro	Percent of Total	Percent of Negro
Number	1,442	552	38	100
Agency				
Hospital	1,130	240	21	43
Physician	7	7	100	1
Midwife	304	304	100	55
Illegitimate				
Number	199	192	96	35

Death Rate per 1,000 Population 1960

Total	White	Nonwhite
6.6 (lowest in state) (state: 8.3)	4.0 (lowest in state) (state: 7.4)	10.6 (20 counties lower) (state: 9.3)

Nonwhite Marital Status 1960

		Percent
Male		
Number, 14 and over	4,816	100
Single	2,080	43
Married	2,526	52
Separated	166	3
Widowed	197	4
Divorced	13	*
Female		
Number, 14 and over	5,015	100
Single	1,369	27
Married	2,688	54
Separated	289	6
Widowed	938	19
Divorced	20	*

*Less than 1%.

BEAUFORT COUNTY

Registration

Total adults, 21 and over 19,345

Number Registered

	Total	Negro	Percent of Total
1958	4,240	1,234	29
1960	5,471	1,588	29
1962	6,744	2,091	31

Number of Voters

1958 June primary	3,044
1960 general election	3,821
1962 June primary	3,415

	Total	Negro	Percent of Total
Population 1957	30,466	18,209	60
Registered 1958	4,240	1,234	29

Percent of Negroes over 21 registered 17
" " Whites " " " 50

BEAUFORT COUNTY: BEAUFORT DIVISION

Population	Total	Nonwhite	Percent of Total	Percent of Nonwhite
Beaufort Division	16,686	4,922	29	100
Education				
Persons under 18	4,925	1,778	36	36
Living with both parents	4,163	1,166	28	24
Years of School Completed				
Persons 25 and over	3,851	1,050	27	100
No school years completed	129	105	81	10
Elementary 1-4 "	367	339	92	32
" 5-7 "	510	347	68	33
" 8 "	210	49	23	5
High School 1-3 "	887	129	14	12
" " 4 "	1,251	73	5	7
College 1-3 "	292	-	-	-
" 4 or more "	205	8	3	*
Median school years	11.4	5.7		

Employment

	MALE				FEMALE			
	Total	Non-white	Percent of Total	Percent of Nonwhite	Total	Non-white	Percent of Total	Percent of Nonwhite
Persons 14 and over	3,592	788	21	100	2,644	799	30	100
Labor force	3,232	597	18	76	729	374	51	47
Percent of total	90.0	75.8			27.6	46.8		
Civilian labor force	806	492	61	62				
Employed	768	458	59	58	692	365	52	46
Unemployed	38	34	89	4	29			
Occupation and Industry								
Employed	768	458	59	100	692	365	52	100
Professional, technical and kindred workers	16	-	-	-	40	4	10	1
Farmers & farm managers	12	-	-	-	4	4	100	1
Managers, proprietors (except farm), clerical and sales workers	131	17	12	4	237	27	11	7
Craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers	124	52	41	11	12	8	67	2
Operatives, and kindred workers	157	109	69	24	62	53	85	15
Private household wkrs.	-	-	-	-	127	123	96	34
Service workers (except private household)	42	26	61	6	84	44	52	12
Farm laborers and farm foremen	120	100	83	22	98	98	100	27
Laborers (except farm)	139	135	97	29	-	-	-	-
Occupation not reported	27	19	70	4	28	4	14	1

Registration

Burton	Total	Negro	Percent of Total
1958	346	112	32
1960	494	148	29
1962	616	196	31

BEAUFORT COUNTY: BEAUFORT DIVISION - continued

Total Employed	
Number	1,460
Nonwhite	823
(56% of total; breakdown not available)	
Private wage and salary workers	1,056
Government workers	292
Self-employed "	95
Unpaid family "	17
Industries	
Agriculture	243
Construction	142
Manufacturing	64
Food and kindred prod.	24
Railroad and other transportation	29
Community, utilities, and sanitary services	17
Wholesale trade, eating and drinking places, other retail trade	322
Private households	136
Other personal services	93
Educational services	44
Other professional and related services, public administration	205
Other industries and not reported	165
Heating Equipment - all units	
Steam, hot water, warm air furnace, built-in units	1,594
Other means with flue	630
" " without "	123
None	29
Source of Water - all units	
Public system or private company	1,648
Individual well	408
Other	309
Sewage Disposal - all units	
Public sewer	1,256
Septic tank or cesspool	657
Other or none	452

*Less than 1%.

Family Income in 1959	Total	Non-white	Percent of Total	Percent of Nonwhite
All families	2,172	476	21	100
Under $1,000	134	85	63	18
1,000-1,999	222	138	62	29
2,000-2,999	241	140	58	29
3,000-3,999	336	69	20	14
4,000-4,999	440	28	6	6
5,000-5,999	300	8	3	2
6,000-6,999	173	-	-	-
7,000-7,999	133	4	3	*
8,000-8,999	76	4	5	*
9,000-9,999	36	-	-	-
10,000 and over	81	-	-	-
Median Income				
Families	$4,348	$2,107	48	
Families and unrel.indiv.	$3,151	$1,790	56	
All Housing Units				
Number	2,376	520	21	100
Nonfarm	2,331	499	21	96
Farm (occupied)	45	21	46	4
Owner occupied	850	446	52	86
Nonfarm	809	425	52	82
Farm	41	21	51	4
Renter occupied	1,383	74	5	14
Nonfarm	1,379	74	5	14
Farm	4	-	-	-
Value of House				
Owner occupied	620	388	62	100
Less than $5,000	329	312	94	81
5,000-9,900	176	71	40	18
10,000-14,900	90	5	6	1
15,000 or more	25	-	-	-
Gross Rent				
Renter occupied	1,379	51	4	100
Less than $20	4	4	100	8
20-39	12	4	33	8
40-59	60	5	8	10
60 or more	1,268	38	3	74
No cash rent	35	23	66	
Median	$93	-	-	
Year Structure Built				
All units	2,376	520	22	100
1950-March 1960	1,962	228	12	44
1940 to 1949	183	123	67	24
1939 or earlier	231	169	73	32
Residence in 1955				
Persons 5 years old 1960	8,393	2,448	29	100
Same house as 1960	1,762	1,437	82	59
Same county	1,327	760	57	31
" state	366	17	5	*
Moved, residence in 1955 not rep'd	21	-	-	-

BEAUFORT COUNTY: BLUFFTON DIVISION

Population	Total	Nonwhite	Percent of Total	Percent of Nonwhite
Bluffton Division	3,135	2,049	65	100
Education				
Persons under 18	1,095	867	79	42
Living with both parents	724	515	71	25
Years of School Completed				
Persons 25 and over	1,325	751	57	100
No school years completed	130	125	96	17
Elementary 1-4 "	330	295	89	39
" 5-7 "	284	187	66	25
" 8 "	78	14	18	2
High School 1-3 "	130	58	45	8
" " 4 "	157	4	3	*
College 1-3 "	93	21	23	3
" 4 or more "	123	47	38	6
Median school years "	7.1	4.4		

Employment	MALE				FEMALE			
	Total	Nonwhite	Percent of Total	Percent of Nonwhite	Total	Nonwhite	Percent of Total	Percent of Nonwhite
Persons 14 and over	850	485	57	100	931	583	63	100
Labor force	503	266	53	55	313	208	66	36
Percent of total	59.2	54.8			33.6	35.7		
Civilian labor force	503	266	53	55				
Employed	469	232	49	48	273	168	62	29
Unemployed	34	34	100	7	40			
Occupation and Industry								
Employed	469	232	49	100	273	168	62	100
Professional,technical, kind.	45	5	11	2	69	33	48	20
Farmers & farm managers	12	8	67	3	-	-	-	-
Managers, proprieters (except farm),clerical, sales wkrs.	85	8	9	3	52	-	-	-
Craftsmen, foremen,& kind.	65	17	26	7	-	-	-	-
Operatives, and kind. workers	49	25	50	11	43	39	91	23
Private household workers	-	-	-	-	51	51	100	30
Service wkrs.(exc.h'hold)	20	8	40	3	12	4	33	2
Farm laborers & farm foremen	45	33	73	14	41	41	100	24
Laborers (except farm)	140	124	89	53	-	-	-	-
Occupation not reported	8	4	50	2	5	-	-	-

Registration

	Total	Negro	Percent of Total
Hilton Head			
1958	130	92	70
1960	185	104	56
1962	301	163	54
Daufuskie			
1958	13	7	53
1960	23	12	52
1962	23	12	52
Barrell Landing			
1958	89	3	3
1960	95	3	3
1962	110	8	7
Bluffton			
1958	321	46	14
1960	407	57	14
1962	519	103	19

*Less than 1%.

BEAUFORT COUNTY: BLUFFTON DIVISION - continued

Total Employed	
Number	742
Private wage and salary workers	513
Government workers	106
Self-employed "	102
Unpaid family "	21
Industries	
Agriculture	118
Construction	66
Manufacturing	116
Food and kind.prod.	75
Railroad and other transportation	45
Community, utilities, & sanitary services	12
Wholesale trade, eating and drinking places, other retail trade	82
Private households	60
Other personal services	28
Educational services	70
Other professional and related services, public administration	61
Other industries and not reported	84

Heating Equipment - all units	
Steam, hot water, warm air furnace, built-in units	136
Other means with flue	798
" " without "	387
None	14

Source of Water - all units	
Public system or private company	160
Individual well	819
Other	384

Sewage Disposal - all units	
Public sewer	5
Septic tank or cesspool	845
Other or none	513

*Less than 1%.

Family Income in 1959	Total	Non-white	Percent of Total	Percent of Nonwhite
All families	633	372	59	100
Under $1,000	163	135	83	36
1,000-1,999	134	114	85	31
2,000-2,999	100	84	84	23
3,000-3,999	61	29	48	8
4,000-4,999	46	10	22	3
5,000-5,999	40	-	-	-
6,000-6,999	28	-	-	-
7,000-7,999	12	-	-	-
8,000-8,999	4	-	-	-
9,000-9,999	8	-	-	-
10,000 and over	37	-	-	-
Median Income				
Families	$2,195	$1,447	66	
Families and unrel.indiv.	$1,815	$1,248	69	
All Housing Units				
Number	1,335	423	32	100
Nonfarm	1,267	406	32	96
Farm (occupied)	68	17	25	4
Owner occupied	530	316	60	75
Nonfarm	470	299	64	71
Farm	60	17	28	4
Renter occupied	220	107	49	25
Nonfarm	212	107	50	25
Farm	8	-	-	-
Value of House				
Owner occupied	375	237	63	100
Less than $5,000	215	182	85	77
5,000 to 9,900	81	43	53	18
10,000 to 14,900	58	8	14	3
15,000 or more	21	4	19	2
Gross Rent				
Renter occupied	212	61	29	100
Less than $20	52	48	92	79
20-39	12	8	67	13
40-59	24	5	21	8
60 or more	23	-	-	-
No cash rent	101	46	46	
Year Structure Built				
All units	1,335	423	32	100
1950-March 1960	566	98	17	23
1940 to 1949	211	60	28	14
1939 or earlier	558	265	47	63
Residence in 1955				
Persons 5 yrs old 1960	2,285	1,483	65	100
Same house as "	1,401	1,051	75	71
" county " "	490	366	75	25
" state " "	144	8	6	*
Moved, residence in 1955 not rep'd	29	17	59	1

BEAUFORT COUNTY: PORT ROYAL DIVISION

Population	Total	Nonwhite	Percent of Total	Percent of Nonwhite
Port Royal Division	15,025	2,328	15	100
Education				
Persons under 18	5,541	1,069	19	46
Living with both parents	3,066	687	22	30
Years of School Completed				
Persons 25 and over	3,626	704	19	100
No school years completed	91	75	82	11
Elementary 1-4 "	229	173	76	25
" 5-7 "	388	183	47	26
" 8 "	307	79	26	11
High School 1-3 "	884	115	13	16
" " 4 "	1,145	62	5	9
College 1-3 "	275	13	5	2
" 4 or more "	307	4	1	*
Median school years "	11.7			

Employment	MALE Total	MALE Nonwhite	MALE Percent of Total	MALE Percent of Nonwhite	FEMALE Total	FEMALE Nonwhite	FEMALE Percent of Total	FEMALE Percent of Nonwhite
Persons 14 and over	9,362	1,044	11	100	2,732	511	19	100
Labor force	9,044	918	10	88	1,076	284	26	56
Percent of total	96.6	87.9			39.4	55.6		
Civilian labor force	897	269	30	26				
Employed	868	260	30	25	688	258	38	50
Unemployed	29	9	31	*	74			
Occupation and Industry								
Employed	868	260	30	100	688	258	38	100
Professional, technical, and kindred workers	55	8	15	3	60	4	7	2
Farmers and farm managers	33	9	27	3	-	-	-	-
Managers, proprietors (except farm), clerical, sales workers	232	4	2	2	257	4	2	2
Craftsmen, foremen, kind. wkrs.	179	38	21	15	4	-	-	-
Operatives, and kind. workers	99	43	43	17	68	40	59	16
Private household workers	-	-	-	-	160	152	95	59
Service workers (except private household)	70	14	20	5	91	30	33	12
Farm laborers & farm foremen	36	36	100	14	16	16	100	6
Laborers (except farm)	119	99	83	38	8	8	100	3
Occupation not reported	45	9	20	3	24	4	17	2

Registration

Port Royal	Total	Negro	Percent of Total
1958	267	68	25
1960	379	86	22
1962	436	97	22

*Less than 1%.

BEAUFORT COUNTY: PORT ROYAL DIVISION - continued

Total Employed	
Number	1,556
Private wage and salary workers	1,008
Government workers	458
Self-employed "	82
Unpaid family "	8
Industries	
Agriculture	89
Construction	92
Manufacturing	71
Food and kind. prod.	38
Railroad and other transportation	28
Community, utilities, & sanitary services	16
Wholesale trade, eating and drinking places, other retail trade	328
Private households	173
Other personal services	83
Educational services	82
Other professional and related services, public administration	338
Other industries and not reported	256

Heating Equipment - all units	
Steam, hot water, warm air furnace, built-in units	1,032
Other means with flue	1,096
" " without "	183
None	17

Source of Water - all units	
Public system or private company	1,684
Individual well	484
Other	143

Sewage Disposal - all units	
Public sewer	679
Septic tank or cesspool	1,288
Other or none	344

Family Income in 1959	Total	Non-white	Percent of Total	Percent of Nonwhite
All families	1,934	335	17	100
Under $1,000	105	69	66	21
1,000-1,999	135	63	47	19
2,000-2,999	367	86	23	26
3,000-3,999	289	43	15	13
4,000-4,999	248	36	15	11
5,000-5,999	252	22	9	7
6,000-6,999	124	4	3	1
7,000-7,999	144	-	-	-
8,000-8,999	105	4	4	1
9,000-9,999	69	8	12	2
10,000 and over	96	-	-	-
Median Income				
Families	$4,286	$2,413	56	
Families and unrelated indiv'ls	$1,430	$1,024	72	
All Housing Units				
Number	2,328	385	17	100
Nonfarm	2,292	372	16	97
Farm (occupied)	36	13	36	3
Owner occupied	1,211	296	24	77
Nonfarm	1,186	287	24	75
Farm	25	9	36	2
Renter occupied	870	89	10	23
Nonfarm	859	85	10	22
Farm	11	4	36	1
Value of House				
Owner occupied	925	253	27	100
Less than $5,000	176	145	82	57
5,000 to 9,900	257	79	31	31
10,000 to 14,900	338	25	7	10
15,000 or more	154	4	3	2
Gross Rent				
Renter occupied	859	67	8	100
Less than $20	15	15	100	22
20-39	17	9	53	13
40-59	207	23	11	34
60 or more	598	20	3	30
No cash rent	22	18	82	27
Year Structure Built				
All units	2,328	385	17	100
1950-March 1960	1,367	119	9	31
1940 to 1949	587	115	20	30
1939 or earlier	374	151	40	39
Residence in 1955				
Persons 5 years old 1960	13,677	2,066	15	100
Same house as 1960	1,550	888	57	43
" county " "	1,079	445	41	22
" state " "	496	42	8	2
Moved, residence in 1955 not reported	241	33	14	1

BEAUFORT COUNTY: ST. HELENA DIVISION

Population	Total	Nonwhite	Percent of Total	Percent of Nonwhite
St. Helena Division	6,048	4,996	83	100
Education				
Persons under 18	3,193	2,767	87	55
Living with both parents	1,952	1,557	80	31
Years of School Completed				
Persons 25 and over	2,553	2,027	79	100
No school years completed	231	227	98	11
Elementary 1-4 "	776	756	97	37
" 5-7 "	748	660	88	33
" 8 "	164	124	76	6
High School 1-3 "	232	134	58	7
" " 4 "	201	50	25	2
College 1-3 "	67	18	27	*
" 4 or more "	134	58	43	3
Median school years "	6.1	5.1		

Employment	MALE Total	MALE Non-white	MALE Percent of Total	MALE Percent of Nonwhite	FEMALE Total	FEMALE Non-white	FEMALE Percent of Total	FEMALE Percent of Nonwhite
Persons 14 and over	1,576	1,240	79	100	1,928	1,606	83	100
Labor force	1,059	803	76	65	720	642	89	40
Percent of total	67.2	64.8			37.3	40.0		
Civilian labor force	1,051	803	76	65				
Employed	980	745	76	60	682	604	89	38
Unemployed	71	58	82	5	38			
Occupation and Industry								
Employed	980	745	76	100	682	604	89	100
Professional, technical, and kindred workers	26	18	69	2	38	30	79	5
Farmers and farm managers	30	22	73	3	8	8	100	1
Managers, proprietors (except farm), clerical, sales wkrs.	68	18	26	2	76	18	24	3
Craftsmen, foremen, kind. wkrs.	165	88	53	12	-	-	-	-
Operatives, and kindred wkrs.	175	139	79	19	104	104	100	17
Private household workers	18	18	100	2	177	173	98	29
Service workers (except private household)	43	23	53	3	42	34	81	6
Farm laborers & farm foremen	157	149	95	20	207	207	100	34
Laborers (except farm)	257	237	92	32	5	5	100	*
Occupation not reported	41	33	80	4	25	25	100	4

Registration

Lady's Island	Total	Negro	Percent of Total
1958	220	60	27
1960	298	69	23
1962	452	103	22
St. Helena			
1958	437	325	74
1960	629	462	73
1962	860	662	76

*Less than 1%.

BEAUFORT COUNTY: ST. HELENA DIVISION - continued

Total Employed	
Number	1,662
Private wage and salary workers	1,179
Government workers	349
Self-employed "	126
Unpaid family "	8
Industries	
Agriculture	406
Construction	114
Manufacturing	92
Food and kind. prod.	63
Railroad and other transportation	26
Community, utilities, and sanitary services	22
Wholesale trade, eating and drinking places, other retail trade	217
Private households	215
Other personal services	31
Educational services	78
Other professional and related services, public administration	223
Other industries and not reported	238

Heating Equipment - all units	
Steam, hot water, warm air furnace, built-in units	195
Other means with flue	1,035
" " without "	404
None	59

Source of Water - all units	
Public system or private company	69
Individual well	1,146
Other	501

Sewage Disposal - all units	
Public sewer	-
Septic tank or cesspool	913
Other or none	803

Family Income in 1959	Total	Non-white	Percent of Total	Percent of Nonwhite
All families	1,208	945	78	100
Under $1,000	386	386	100	41
1,000-1,999	219	199	91	21
2,000-2,999	191	142	74	15
3,000-3,999	164	112	68	12
4,000-4,999	98	58	59	6
5,000-5,999	39	18	46	2
6,000-6,999	41	13	32	1
7,000-7,999	4	-	-	-
8,000-8,999	16	-	-	-
9,000-9,999	21	13	62	1
10,000 and over	29	4	14	*
Median Income				
Families	$1,995	$1,435	72	
Families and unrelated indiv'ls	$1,696	$1,078	64	
All Housing Units				
Number	1,693	1,091	64	100
Nonfarm	1,633	1,043	64	96
Farm (occupied)	60	48	80	4
Owner occupied	1,165	938	81	86
Nonfarm	1,118	895	80	82
Farm	47	43	91	4
Renter occupied	240	153	64	14
Nonfarm	227	148	65	14
Farm	13	5	38	*
Value of House				
Owner occupied	975	823	84	100
Less than $5,000	695	682	98	83
5,000 to 9,900	166	112	67	14
10,000 to 14,900	54	21	39	3
15,000 or more	60	8	13	1
Gross Rent				
Renter occupied	227	51	22	100
Less than $20	14	14	100	27
20-39	18	10	56	20
40-59	29	13	45	25
60 or more	53	14	26	27
No cash rent	113	97	86	
Year Structure Built				
All units	1,693	1,091	64	100
1950-March 1960	599	271	45	25
1940 to 1949	399	278	70	25
1939 or earlier	695	542	78	50
Residence in 1955				
Persons 5 yrs.old 1960	5,162	4,290	83	100
Same house as "	3,578	3,269	91	76
" county " "	1,080	842	78	20
" state " "	177	61	34	1
Moved, residence in 1955 not rep'd	21	21	100	*

*Less than 1%.

BEAUFORT COUNTY: SHELDON DIVISION

Population	Total	Nonwhite	Percent of Total	Percent of Nonwhite
Sheldon Division	3,293	2,809	85	100
Education				
Persons under 18	1,755	1,558	89	55
Living with both parents	1,130	945	84	34
Years of School Completed				
Persons 25 and over	1,256	1,031	82	100
No school years completed	175	171	98	17
Elementary 1-4 "	423	407	96	39
" 5-7 "	293	264	90	26
" 8 "	86	78	91	8
High School 1-3 "	106	50	47	5
" " 4 "	75	28	37	3
College 1-3 "	70	17	24	2
" 4 or more "	28	16	57	2
Median school years "	5.3	4.4		

Employment	MALE Total	MALE Non-white	MALE Percent of Total	MALE Percent of Nonwhite	FEMALE Total	FEMALE Non-white	FEMALE Percent of Total	FEMALE Percent of Nonwhite
Persons 14 and over	759	602	79	100	925	785	85	100
Labor force	498	377	76	63	349	298	85	38
Percent of total	65.6	62.6			37.7	38.0		
Civilian labor force	498	377	76	63				
Employed	457	336	74	56	310	263	85	34
Unemployed	41	41	100	9	39			
Occupation and Industry								
Employed	457	336	74	100	310	263	85	100
Professional, technical and kindred workers	8	-	-	-	24	12	50	5
Farmers and farm managers	54	42	78	13	13	13	100	5
Managers, proprietors (except farm), clerical, sales wkrs.	53	20	38	6	15	-	-	-
Craftsmen, foremen, kind. wkrs.	66	42	64	13	4	-	-	-
Operatives, and kindred wkrs.	46	38	83	11	28	24	86	9
Private household workers	-	-	-	-	49	49	100	19
Service workers (except private household)	9	9	100	3	48	36	75	14
Farm laborers & farm foremen	151	127	84	38	129	129	100	49
Laborers (except farm)	66	58	88	17	-	-	-	-
Occupation not reported	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Registration

Sheldon	Total	Negro	Percent of Total
1958	152	56	36
1960	197	81	41
1962	232	103	44
Lebeco-Dale			
1958	158	75	47
1960	188	91	48
1962	248	125	50

BEAUFORT COUNTY: SHELDON DIVISION - continued

Total Employed	
Number	767
Private wage and salary workers	562
Government workers	82
Self-employed "	103
Unpaid family "	20
Industries	
Agriculture	384
Construction	46
Manufacturing	34
Food and kindred prod.	5
Railroad and other transportation	20
Community, utilities, and sanitary services	8
Wholesale trade, eating and drinking places, other retail trade	60
Private households	53
Other personal services	71
Educational services	20
Other professional and related services, public administration	34
Other industries and not reported	37

Heating Equipment - all units	
Steam, hot water, warm air furnace, built-in units	30
Other means with flue	626
" " without "	134
None	25

Source of Water - all units	
Public system or private company	25
Individual well	476
Other	291

Sewage Disposal - all units	
Public sewer	-
Septic tank or cesspool	227
Other or none	565

Family Income in 1959	Total
All families	583
Under $1,000	208
1,000-1,999	148
2,000-2,999	91
3,000-3,999	40
4,000-4,999	50
5,000-5,999	22
6,000-6,999	20
7,000-7,999	-
8,000-8,999	-
9,000-9,999	4
10,000 and over	-
Median Income	
Families	$1,56
Families and unrelated indiv'ls	$1,21
All Housing Units	
Number	815
Nonfarm	647
Farm (occupied)	168
Owner occupied	496
Nonfarm	379
Farm	117
Renter occupied	198
Nonfarm	147
Farm	51
Value of House	
Owner occupied	284
Less than $5,000	250
5,000 to 9,900	25
10,000 to 14,900	4
15,000 or more	5
Gross Rent	
Renter occupied	147
Less than $20	38
20-39	4
40-59	10
60 or more	4
No cash rent	91
Year Structure Built	
All units	815
1950-March 1960	120
1940 to 1949	264
1939 or earlier	431
Residence in 1955	
Persons 5 yrs old 1960	2,74
Same house as 1960	2,27
" county " "	27
" state " "	7
Moved, residence in 1955 not rep'd	

BEAUFORT COUNTY: BEAUFORT CITY

Population	Total	Nonwhite	Percent of Total	Percent of Nonwhite
Beaufort City	6,298	2,048	33	100
Education				
Persons under 18	2,530	935	37	46
Living with both parents	1,900	589	31	29
Years of School Completed				
Persons 25 and over	3,130	951	30	100
No school years completed	53	49	92	5
Elementary 1-4 "	290	228	79	24
" 5-7 "	513	301	59	32
" 8 "	225	49	22	5
High School 1-3 "	539	112	21	12
" " 4 "	838	114	14	12
College 1-3 "	357	43	12	5
" 4 or more "	315	55	17	6
Median school years "	11.7	7.0		

Employment	MALE Total	MALE Non-white	MALE Percent of Total	MALE Percent of Nonwhite	FEMALE Total	FEMALE Non-white	FEMALE Percent of Total	FEMALE Percent of Nonwhite
Persons 14 and over	1,917	547	29	100	2,314	712	31	100
Labor force	1,549	428	28	78	931	381	41	54
Percent of total	80.8	78.2			40.2	53.5		
Civilian labor force	1,318	385	29	70				
Employed	1,288	359	28	66	902	373	41	52
Unemployed	30	26	87	5	20			
Occupation and Industry								
Employed	1,288	359	28	100	902	373	41	100
Professional, technical and kindred workers	122	21	17	6	189	64	34	17
Farmers and farm managers	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Managers, proprietors (except farm), clerical, sales wkrs.	361	18	5	5	304	9	3	2
Craftsmen, foremen, kind. wkrs.	380	107	28	30	13	5	38	1
Operatives, and kindred wkrs.	181	97	54	27	37	19	51	5
Private household workers	-	-	-	-	209	196	94	53
Service workers (except private household)	86	40	47	11	116	62	53	17
Farm laborers & farm foremen	9	9	100	3	-	-	-	-
Laborers (except farm)	79	47	59	13	-	-	-	-
Occupation not reported	66	20	30	6	34	18	53	5

Registration

Beaufort City	Total	Negro	Percent of Total
1958	2,107	390	19
1960	2,576	475	18
1962	2,947	519	18

BEAUFORT COUNTY: BEAUFORT CITY - continued

Total Employed	
Number	2,190
Private wage and salary workers	1,382
Government workers	577
Self-employed "	204
Unpaid family "	27
Industries	
Agriculture	30
Construction	176
Manufacturing	66
Food and kindred prod.	24
Railroad and other transportation	40
Community, utilities, and sanitary services	35
Wholesale trade, eating and drinking places, other retail trade	617
Private households	225
Other personal services	91
Educational services	243
Other professional and related services, public administration	311
Other industries and not reported	356

Heating Equipment - all units	
Steam, hot water, warm air furnace, built-in units	686
Other means with flue	1,115
" " without "	376
None	23

Source of Water - all units	
Public system or private company	2,174
Individual well	14
Other	12

Sewage Disposal - all units	
Public sewer	1,123
Septic tank or cesspool	1,041
Other or none	36

*Less than 1%.

Family Income in 1959	Total	Non-white	Percent of Total	Percent of Nonwhite
All families	1,500	400	27	100
Under $1,000	149	92	62	23
1,000-1,999	171	81	47	20
2,000-2,999	203	86	42	22
3,000-3,999	195	37	19	9
4,000-4,999	192	55	29	14
5,000-5,999	153	29	19	7
6,000-6,999	85	8	9	2
7,000-7,999	109	8	7	2
8,000-8,999	68	4	7	1
9,000-9,999	38	-	-	-
10,000 and over	137	-	-	-
Median Income				
Families	$4,167	$2,314	56	
Families and unrelated indiv'ls	$3,618	$1,773	49	
All Housing Units				
Number	2,200	526	24	100
Nonfarm	-	-	-	-
Farm (occupied)	-	-	-	-
Owner occupied	1,056	291	28	55
Nonfarm	-	-	-	-
Farm	-	-	-	-
Renter occupied	754	235	31	45
Nonfarm	-	-	-	-
Farm	-	-	-	-
Value of House				
Owner occupied	1,017	284	28	100
Less than $5,000	157	137	87	48
5,000 to 9,900	321	105	33	37
10,000 to 14,900	342	30	9	11
15,000 or more	197	12	6	4
Gross Rent				
Renter occupied	754	226	30	100
Less than $20	22	22	100	10
20-39	77	72	94	32
40-59	154	62	40	27
60 or more	461	70	15	31
No cash rent	40	9	23	4
Year Structure Built				
All units	2,200	526	24	100
1950-March 1960	740	68	9	13
1940 to 1949	446	65	15	12
1939 or earlier	1,014	393	39	75
Residence in 1955				
Persons 5 years old in 1960	5,467	1,800	33	100
Same house as 1960	2,143	925	43	51
" county " "	1,635	651	40	36
" state " "	613	80	13	4
Moved, residence in 1955 not reported	85	4	5	*

NAACP VOTER REGISTRATION COMMITTEE
404½ NORTH SECOND STREET
RICHMOND 19, VIRGINIA

December 8, 1961

OPEN LETTER TO NAACP LEADERS

Dear NAACP Leader:

There is no doubt in our minds about the success of the NAACP Voter Registration Program. The credit for our success is due to the integrity of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. We did not start a few days ago being concerned about the Negro electorate, we started in 1909, the birth date of our organization, knocking down barriers sat up to keep Negroes from voting and executing programs to teach the value of the ballot.

In 1960, the Negro vote played an influential part in the election of John F. Kennedy to the office of the president of the United States.

In southern cities, on the local level, many politicians are showing great signs of alarm because of the growing Negro electorate. Many southern cities are merging with county areas, populated by a great majority of white citizens, to delute the Negro voting strength. This will not stop our progress because we are teaching our people the use of "the balance of power."

In the northern areas, in far too many towns and cities, we are worried about the light turn out of Negro voters for local elections. We are also concerned about the low Negro registration figures in these areas far removed from the unholy voting restrictions found in southern areas.

We are appealing NAACP branches in these areas to remedy these conditions by initiating a strong active NAACP Voter Registration Program. It will help you and it will help your southern brothers to enter the main stream of American politics.

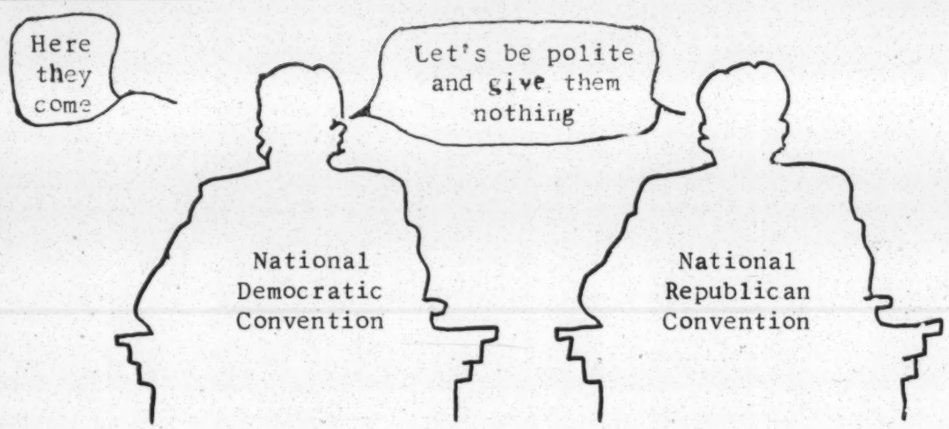
Sincerely yours,

Kelly M. Alexander

Kelly M. Alexander, Chairman
NAACP Voter Registration Committee

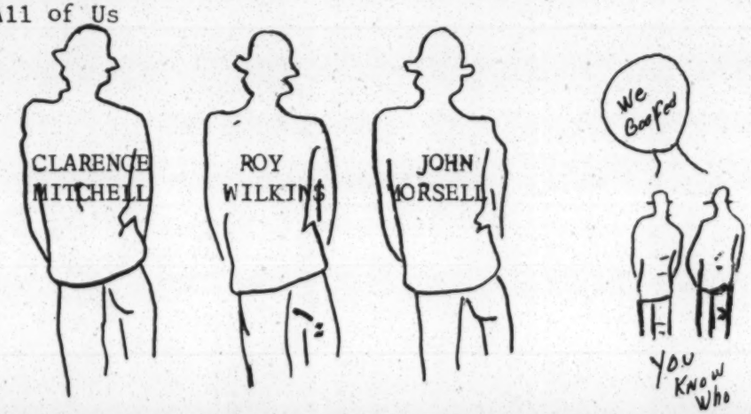
1964 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

THIS



Division in ranks because of hack politicians and petty politics			Lack of influence
	Uninformed electorate		
Very little increase in Negro voting strength			Lethargy among Negro voters

Contractor - All of Us



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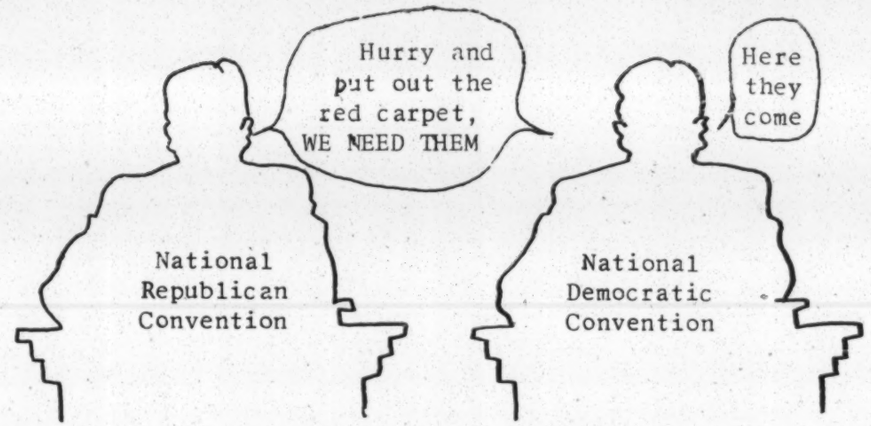

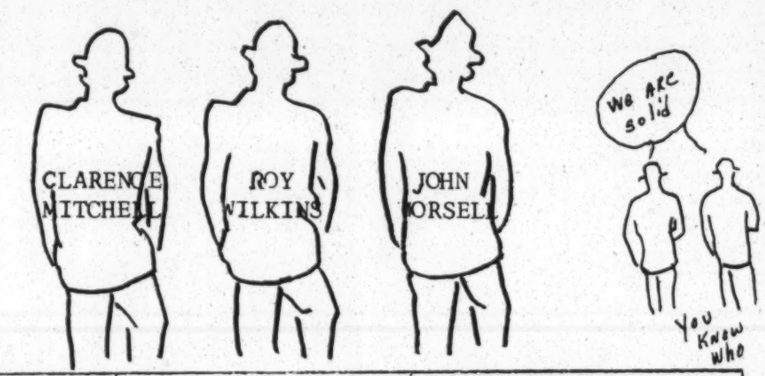

NEGROES ORGANIZED TO TURN OUT LARGE VOTE IN 1964- Youth Dept.			LARGE INCREASE IN NEGRO VOTING STRENGTH Voter Registration Committee
	HEAVY NEGRO VOTING NATIONWIDE TURNOUT IN '61,'62,'63 Branch Dept.		ELECTORATE INFORMED IN NAACP WORKSHOPS-- Branch Dept.
NEGROES USED THE BALANCE OF POWER IN '63 & '64 CONGRESSIONAL ELECTIONS- Political Action Committee			INFORMED LEADERSHIP = SOLIDARITY OF LEADERSHIP Church Committee

Contractor - NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

GENERAL ELECTION INFORMATION FOR 1962
NAACP VOTER REGISTRATION COMMITTEE
404½ NORTH SECOND STREET
RICHMOND 19, VIRGINIA

w/ cigarettes - Navy

STATE	U.S. CONGRESS		GOVERNOR		STATE LEGISLATURES				Final Filing	DEADLINE FOR REGISTRATION		POLL TAX DEADLINE FOR PAYMENT	PRIMARY DATE	RUNOFF PRIMARY
	Elect a Senator	No. of Representatives	Elect	Term	Upper House Elect	Upper House Term	Lower House Elect	Lower House Term		Primary	General Election			
Alabama	Yes	8	Yes	4	35*	4	106*	4	Mar 1	April 20	Oct 26	Feb 1	May 1	May 29
Alaska	Yes	1	Yes	4	10	4	40	2	May 1	Register at time of voting			Aug 14 Date subject to change	
Arizona	Yes	3	Yes	2	28	2	80	2	Aug 2	July 6	Sept 24		Sept 11	
Arkansas	Yes	4	Yes	2	17	4	100	2	May 2	No Registration Poll Tax receipt is evidence of right to vote		Oct 1 1961	July 31	Aug 14
California	Yes	38	Yes	4	20	4	80	2	April 6	April 12	Sept 13		June 5	
Colorado	Yes	4	Yes	4	16	4	65	2	July 28	Aug 27	Oct 22		Sept 11	
Connecticut	Yes	6	Yes	4	36	2	294	2	Nominating Conventions	June 8	Oct 13		Challenge Primary Permitted	
Delaware	No	1	No	4	10	4	35	2	Nominating Conventions		Oct 20		None	
Florida	Yes	12	No	4	19	4	95	2	Mar 6	April 7	Oct 6		May 8	May 29
Georgia	Yes	10	Yes	4	54	2	205	2	To Be Set	To Be Set	May 5		To Be Set	To Be Set
Hawaii	Yes	2	Yes	4	12	4	51	2	Sept 6	Sept 6	Oct 16		Oct 6	
Idaho	Yes	2	Yes	4	44	2	63	2	Apr 21	June 2	Nov 3		June 5	June 26
Illinois	Yes	24	No	4	29	4	177	2	DATES UNAVAILABLE					
Indiana	Yes	11	No	4	25	4	100	2	Mar 29	April 9	Oct 8		May 8	
Iowa	Yes	7	Yes	2	21	4	108	2	Mar 31	May 25	Oct 27		June 4	
Kansas	Yes	5	Yes	2	None	4	125	2	June 20	July 17 Kansas City, Topeka, Wichita July 27 Others	Oct 16 Kansas City Topeka, Wichita Oct 26 Others		Aug 7	

STATE	U.S. CONGRESS		GOVERNOR		STATE LEGISLATURES				Final Filing	DEADLINE FOR REGISTRATION		POLL TAX DEADLINE FOR PAYMENT	PRIMARY DATE	RUNOFF PRIMARY
	Elect a Senator	No. of Representatives	Elect	Term	Upper House Elect	Upper House Term	Lower House Elect	Lower House Term		Primary	General Election			
Kentucky	Yes	7	No	4	None	4	None	2	Apr 4	Mar 31	Sept 8		May 29	
Louisiana	Yes	8	No	4	None	4	None	4	June 1	June 27	Oct 6		July 28	Sept 8
Maine	No	2	Yes	4	34	2	151	2	Apr 2	Varies by townes & cities			June 18	
Maryland	Yes	8	Yes	4	29	4	123	4	Mar 5	Apr 14	Sept 24		May 15	
Massachusetts	Yes	12	Yes	2	40	2	240	2	July 31	Aug 17	Oct 5		Sept 18	
Michigan	No	19	Yes	2	34	2	110	2	June 19	July 9	Oct 8		Aug 7	
Minnesota	No	8	Yes	2	67	4	135	2	July 17	Aug 21	Oct 16		Sept 11	
Mississippi	No	5	No	4	None	4	None	4	April 6	None	July 6	Feb 1	June 5	June 26
Missouri	Yes	10	No	4	17	4	157	2	Apr 24	July 11 Kansas City; July 14 St. Louis	Oct 10 Kansas City; Oct 13 St. Louis		Aug 7	
Montana	No	2	No	4	28	4	94	2	Apr 26	Apr 21	Sept 22		June 5	
Nebraska	No	3	Yes	2	Unicameral legislature 43 members, 2 year term				Mar 15	Douglas & Lancaster Cos. May 4 Oct 26 Cities 7,000-40,000 May 5 Oct 27			May 15	
Nevada	Yes	1	Yes	4	10	4	37	2	July 18	Aug 4	Oct 6		Sept 4	
New Hampshire	Yes	2	Yes	2	24	2	400	2	DATES UNAVAILABLE					
New Jersey	No	15	No	4	None	4	None	2	Mar 8	Mar 8	Sept 27		Apr 17	
New Mexico	No	2	Yes	2	None	4	66	2	Mar 6	Apr 9	Oct 8		May 8	
New York	Yes	41	Yes	4	58	2	150	2	DATES UNAVAILABLE					
North Carolina	Yes	11	No	4	50	2	120	2	Mar 16	May 12	Oct 27		May 26	June 23
North Dakota	Yes	2	Yes	2	24	4	113	2	May 17	No Statewide Registration			June 26	

STATE	U.S. CONGRESS		GOVERNOR		STATE LEGISLATURES				Final Filing	DEADLINE FOR REGISTRATION		POLL TAX DEADLINE FOR PAYMENT	PRIMARY DATE	RUNOFF PRIMARY
	Elect a Senator	No. of Representatives	Elect	Term	Upper House Elect	Upper House Term	Lower House Elect	Lower House Term		Primary	General Election			
Ohio	Yes	24	Yes	4	16*	4	139*	2	Feb 6	Mar 28	Sept 26		May 8	
Oklahoma	Yes	6	Yes	4	22	4	121	2	Mar 2	Apr 20	Oct 26		May 1	May 22
Oregon	Yes	4	Yes	4	16	4	60	2	Mar 9	Apr 17	Oct 6		May 18	
Pennsylvania	Yes	27	Yes	4	25	4	210	2	DATES UNAVAILABLE				May 15	
Rhode Island	No	2	Yes	2	46	2	100	2	June 30	July 13	Sept 7		Sept 11	
South Carolina	Yes	6	Yes	4	23	4	124	2	DATES UNAVAILABLE					
South Dakota	Yes	2	Yes	2	35	2	75	2	Apr 21	May 16	Oct 18		June 5	
Tennessee	No	9	Yes	4	33	2	99	2	June 3	July 3	Oct 7		Aug 2	
Texas	No	23	Yes	2	30	4	150	2	Feb 5	No registration. Poll tax receipt or Exemption Certicate is evidence of right to vote		Jan 31	May 5	June 2
Utah	Yes	2	No	4	11	4	64	2	July 10	Aug 28	Oct 30		Sept 11	
Vermont	Yes	1	Yes	2	30	2	246	2	Aug 1	Sept 8 Not required if name is on "Check List"	Nov 3		Sept 11	
Virginia	No	10	No	4	None	4	None	2	Apr 11	June 9	Oct 6	May 5	July 10	Aug 14
Washington	Yes	7	No	4	25	4	99	2	July 13	Aug 10	Oct 5		Sept 11	
West Virginia	No	5	No	4	16	4	100	2	Feb 3	Apr 8	Oct 6		May 8	
Wisconsin	Yes	10	Yes	2	17	4	100	2	July 10	Aug 29	Oct 24		Sept 11	
Wyoming	Yes	1	Yes	4	13	4	56	2	July 12	Aug 21	Oct 22		Aug 21	

*Subject to change after publication

NAACP - Received from Jno. Morsell 12/14/62

CAMPAIGN LEADERS

1962 - 63

Mr. C. J. Martin
609 Nixon Street
Biloxi, Miss.

Mrs. Ruby Tyler
142 Bayou Augusta Homes
Biloxi, Miss.

Mr. Lamar Turnipseed
1913 Doris St.
Moss Point, Miss.

Mrs. Mary D. Thomas
471 Testament St.
Pascagoula, Miss.

Miss Patient G. Thomas
2426 - 30th Ave.
Gulfport, Miss.

Rev. Jesse Fennell
2027 - 7th Ave.
St. Petersburg, Florida

Mr. Leonard Shivers
Greenwood Apartment Bldg. 1, Apt. 6
Clearwater, Florida

Mrs. Dorothy DeVault
1305 E. Fisher St.
Pensacola, Florida

Mr. Herman Waters
528 W. Jackson St.
Pensacola, Florida

Mr. Johnny Huff
808 E. Water St.
Victoria, Texas

Mrs. Bessye V. Baker
3103 Ave. "L"
Galveston, Texas

Mr. Oscar W. Gilbert
1409 - 33rd St.
Galveston, Texas

Rev. H. D. Jones
Rt. 5
Gilmer, Texas

Mr. Clarence Holliman
General Delivery
Henderson, Texas

Mr. Oscar Jones
P. O. Box
Beckville, Texas

Mr. Ira Lockett
General Delivery
Gladwater, Texas

Mrs. Fannie Shaw
606 Byrd St.
Longview, Texas

Mr. J. T. Roseborough
603 Alvin St.
Marshall, Texas

Mrs. Mollie Gooch
910 Kahn St.
Marshall, Texas

Mr. H. Lampkin
Rt. 4
Pittsburgh, Texas

Rev. L. B. Cash
Rt. 4
Pittsburg, Texas

Rev. Robert Blacksheer
512 John St.
Orange, Texas

Attorney Brice Cunningham
2600 Flora St.
Dallas, Texas

Mrs. Catherine Leake
Rt. 2, Box 258
Stanton, Tenn.

CAMPAIGN LEADERS

Mrs. Naomi Moody
913 Joe Wheeler Ave.
Laurel, Miss.

Mr. Fred Bawyer
Rt. 1, Humble Rd.
Longview, Texas

Rev. W. M. Morgan
Ripley
Tenn.

Mr. Fred Hay
Rt. 3, Box 29
Brownsville, Tenn.

Mr. Scott Franklin
Rt. 2
Moscow, Tenn.

Mr. Thomas Mason
Rt. 1, Box 229
Mason, Tenn.

Mr. Jerome Boyd
513 Butler St.
Bolivar, Tenn.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
TWENTY WEST FORTIETH STREET • NEW YORK 18, N. Y. • BRyant 9-1400

December 12, 1962

MEMORANDUM TO: Mr. Wiley Branton

FROM: John Morsell

RE: NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF NAACP OFFICERS IN SELECTED SOUTHERN LOCALITIES.

Virginia:

Mr. Robert D. Robertson, President
Virginia State Conference of Branches NAACP and of Norfolk Branch
920 Lexington Street
Norfolk, Virginia (4)

Mr. E. L. Slade, President
Richmond Branch NAACP
710 S. Randolph Street
Richmond, Virginia

Rev. Jerry Fauntleroy, President
Newport News Branch NAACP
3303 Roanoke Avenue
Newport News, Virginia

Mr. W. T. Johnson, Jr., President
Lynchburg Branch NAACP
Wards Road
Lynchburg, Virginia

Mr. Joseph A. Brown, President
Portsmouth Branch NAACP
6 Hobson Street
Portsmouth, Virginia

North Carolina:

Mr. Kelly M. Alexander, President
North Carolina State Conference of Branches NAACP
323 S. Brevard Street
Charlotte, N. C.

Mr. Charles McLean, Field Secretary
1453 Hattie Avenue
Winston-Salem, N. C.

Mrs. U. S. Brooks, President
Charlotte Branch NAACP
305 Beatties Ford Road
Charlotte 8, N. C.

Dr. William H. Fuller, President
Durham Branch NAACP
402 Dowd Street
Durham, N. C.

Mr. C. L. Montgomery, President
Winston-Salem Branch NAACP
615 N. Highland Avenue
Winston-Salem, N. C.

Dr. George Simkins, Jr., President
P. O. Box 1995
215 N. Dudley St.
Greensboro, N. C.

Mr. Ralph Campbell, President
Raleigh Branch NAACP
804 E. Edenton St.
Raleigh, N. C.

South Carolina:

Mr. J. Arthur Brown, President
South Carolina State Conference of
Branches NAACP
270 Ashley Avenue
Charleston, S. C.

Rev. I. DeQuincey Newman, Field Secy
919½ Washington Street
Columbia, S. C.
(State Conference office)

Rev. Lindsey E. Crumlin, President
Columbia Branch NAACP
50 Bethune Court
Columbia, S. C.

Rev. B. J. Glover, President
Charleston Branch NAACP
529 Rutledge Avenue
Charleston, S. C.

Rev. U. D. Vernon, President
Spartanburg Branch NAACP
Una, South Carolina

Mr. A. J. Whittenburg, President
Greenville Branch NAACP
600 Anderson Road
Greenville, S. C.

Rev. Matthew D. McCollom, President
Orangeburg Branch NAACP
P. O. Box 423
Waterboro, S. C.

Georgia:

Mr. W. W. Law, President
Georgia State Conference of
Branches NAACP and of Savannah Br.
2009 Florence Street
Savannah, Georgia

Rev. C. S. Hamilton, President
Augusta Branch NAACP
1224 Gwinnett St.
Augusta, Georgia

Rev. Samuel Williams, President
Atlanta Branch NAACP
863½ Fair Street, S. W.
Atlanta 14, Georgia

Mr. B. F. Priester, President
Columbus Branch NAACP
915 Fifth Avenue
Columbus, Georgia

Mr. Walter E. Davis, President
Macon Branch NAACP
857 Morrow Avenue
Macon, Georgia

Mr. Vernon E. Jordan, Field Secy
859½ Hunter Street, N. W., Rm 107
Atlanta 14, Georgia

Florida:

Rev. A. Leon Lowry, President
Florida State Conference of
Branches NAACP
606 E. Tyler Street
Tampa 2, Florida

Mr. Robert W. Saunders, Field Secy
705 East Harrison Street
Tampa 2, Florida

Fr. Theodore Gibson, President
Miami Branch NAACP
Box 6
Miami 33, Florida

Mrs. Juanita Hall, Secretary
Tampa Branch NAACP
2304 23rd Avenue
Tampa 5, Florida

Florida, cont'd:

Mr. Rutledge Pearson, President
Jacksonville Branch NAACP
536 W. 18th Street
Jacksonville, Florida

Rev. C. K. Steele, President
Tallahassee Branch NAACP
224 N. Boulevard St.
Tallahassee, Florida

Mr. F. R. Johnson, President
Orange County Branch (Orlando)
35 N. Parramore Street
Orlando, Florida

Tennessee:

Rev. Frank R. Gordon, President
Tennessee State Conference of
Branches NAACP
Route 5, Netherland Drive
Knoxville, Tennessee

Mrs. C. M. Hayes, President
Nashville Branch NAACP
2519 Herman Street
Nashville, Tennessee

Mr. Jesse H. Turner, President
Memphis Branch NAACP
1278 Gill Avenue
Memphis, Tennessee

Mrs. B. H. Netherland, President
Knoxville Branch NAACP
1856 Prospect Place
Knoxville, Tennessee

Mr. James R. Mapp, President
514 Terrell Street
Chattanooga Branch NAACP
Chattanooga, Tennessee

Mississippi:

Dr. Aaron E. Henry, President
Mississippi State Conference of
Branches NAACP
213 4th Street
Clarksdale, Mississippi

Mr. Medgar W. Evers, Field Secretary
1072 Lynch Street, Room 7
Jackson, Mississippi

Miss Mary Cox, Secretary
Jackson Branch NAACP
1037 W. Pearl Street
Jackson, Mississippi

Mr. C. R. Darden, President
Meridian Branch NAACP
P. O. Box 109
Meridian, Mississippi

Dr. B. E. Murph, President
Laurel Branch NAACP
426½ Front Street
Laurel, Mississippi

Rev. James C. Chandler, President
Hattiesburg Branch NAACP
621 Mobile Street
Hattiesburg, Mississippi

Dr. Felix H. Dunn, President
Gulfport Branch NAACP
1917 18th Street
Gulfport, Mississippi

Dr. Gilbert R. Mason, President
Biloxi Branch NAACP
873 Fayard Street
Biloxi, Mississippi

Louisiana:

Mr. J. N. Blankenship, President
Louisiana State Conference of
Branches NAACP
Box 80
Saline, Louisiana

Dr. John I. Reddix, President
Monroe Branch NAACP
1901 Flynn Street
Monroe, Louisiana

Mr. Arthur J. Chapital, Sr., Pres.
New Orleans Branch NAACP
1821 Orleans Avenue
New Orleans 16, Louisiana

Rev. C. C. McLain, President
Shreveport Branch NAACP
1140 Kenneth Avenue
Shreveport, Louisiana

Rev. Arthur L. Jelks, President
Baton Rouge Branch NAACP
Green's Chapel AME Church
1232 North 32nd Street
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

Mr. Lawrence H. Conley, President
1539 Winterhalter Street
Lake Charles Branch NAACP
Lake Charles, Louisiana

Texas:

Rev. Emerson Marcee, President
Texas State Conference of Branches
NAACP
134 "G" Street
San Antonio, Texas

Rev. Earl R. Boone, President
Houston Branch NAACP
221 Pilgrim Building
222 W. Dallas Street
Dallas 2, Texas

Mr. O. C. Hebert, President
Beaumont Branch NAACP
2425 Potts
Beaumont, Texas

Mr. Clarence A. Laws
Southwest Regional Secretary NAACP
2600 Flora Street, Rooms 107-8
Dallas 4, Texas

Rev. H. Rhett James, President
Dallas Branch NAACP
2700 Hibernia
Dallas 4, Texas

Dr. George D. Flemmings, President
Fort Worth Branch NAACP
915½ Calhoun Street
Fort Worth 3, Texas

Rev. John D. Epps, President
Tyler Branch NAACP
1104 N. Moore Avenue
Tyler, Texas

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Official Organ: The Crisis

Student Nonviolent

Coordinating Committee

THIRD ANNUAL SPRING CONFERENCE

"Emancipation Then -- Freedom Now"

April 12-14, 1963

Atlanta, Georgia

"...<u>But, We'll Never Turn Back</u>..."

FRIDAY, APRIL 12

Morning

Registration	9 - 12	Gammon Hall
Staff Meeting (open)	9 - 12	Class room Building

Afternoon

Lunch	12 - 1	Cafeteria
Convening Session	1 - 2	Chapel
First Workshop Session	2:05-3:30	Class room Building
Break	3:30-4	
Second Workshop Session	4:05-5:30	Class room Building

Evening

Dinner	5:30-6:30	Cafeteria
General Fellowship	6:30-7:30	
Keynote Address and Discussion Period	7:30-9:30	Chapel

Rev. C. T. Vivien, Advisor to SNCC

Organizational meetings	9:30 -

Southern Students meeting led by Charles McDew and Ruby Doris Smith

Northern Students meeting led by Peter Countryman and Sandra Hayden

SATURDAY, APRIL 13

Morning

Breakfast	8 - 8:45	Cafeteria
Third Workshop Session	9 -10:30	Class room Building
Break	10:30-11	
General Session	11-12:30	Chapel

"Southern Influence in National Politics"
Dr. Howard Zinn, Spelman College

Afternoon

Lunch	12:30-2	Cafeteria
Fourth Workshop Session	2-3:30	Class room Building
Break	3:30-4	
General Session	4-5:30	Chapel

"Negro Protests: A History"
Dr. August Meier, Morgan State College

Evening

Dinner	5:30-6:30	Cafeteria
General Fellowship and Singing	6:30-7:30	Chapel
General Session	7:30-9:30	Chapel

Discussion: "The Student Movement and the Struggle for Freedom" -- Reports from Southern Protest Groups.

Staff Reports	9:30	Chapel
Executive Session	10	To be arranged

and continuation of smaller discussion groups with the staff.

Dance	10:30	Cafeteria

SUNDAY, APRIL 14

Breakfast	8 - 8:45	Cafeteria
Plenary Session	9	Chapel

Election of members-at-large to the Executive Committee.

Mandates from the Conference to the Coordinating Committee.

Other business.

Closing Message	10	Chapel

Charles McDew, Chairman of SNCC

***

Workshops

(1) "Nonviolence: Past and Present"
Resource Personnel: Rev. C. T. Vivien
Rev. Vincent Harding
John Lewis

(2) "Problems in the Movement"
Resource Personnel: Miss Ella J. Baker
Marion S. Barry, Jr.

(3) "Techniques of Community Mobilization"
Resource Personnel: Charles Sherrod
Clarence Logan

(4) "The Hidden Structure and Social Action"
Resource Personnel: Jack Minnis
Randolph Blackwell

***

Members of the Coordinating Committee

Marion S. Barry	Students for Equal Treatment Knoxville, Tennessee
Willie P. Berrien	Committee on Appeal for Human Rights Atlanta, Georgia
Wilson Brown	Birmingham, Alabama

Benjamin V. Clark	Savannah Youth Strategy Committee Savannah, Georgia
Clarence Glenn	Student Nonviolent Action Committee Louisville, Kentucky
Cleophus Hobbs	Selma Nonviolent Movement Selma, Alabama
Clarence Logan	Civic Interest Group Baltimore, Maryland
Worth Long	Student Freedom Committee Little Rock, Arkansas
James McDonald	Greenwood Nonviolent Movement Greenwood, Mississippi
Patricia McElderly	Gadsden Student Movement Gadsden, Alabama
Lester McKinnie	Student Nonviolent Movement Nashville, Tennessee
Wendell O'Neal	Civil Rights Committee Carbondale, Illinois
Samuel Pitts	Human Relations Committee Tuscaloosa, Alabama
Jerry Porter	Americans for Liberty and Equal Treatment (ALERT) Knoxville, Tennessee
Gloria Richardson	Cambridge Nonviolent Action Committee Cambridge, Maryland
Avon Rollins	Knoxville Improvement Committee Knoxville, Tennessee
Mike Shapiro	Nonviolent Action Group Washington, D.C.
Robert Whitfield	Pine Bluff Student Movement Pine Bluff, Arkansas

Members-at-large

John Lewis, Fisk
William Mahoney, Howard
Ruby Doris Smith, Spelman

- - - - - - - - -

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Charles McDew, Chairman
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Office (Atlanta)

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Ruby Doris Smith
Charles Wingfield

Office (New York)

Ella J. Baker
William Mahoney

Field

Ralph Allen Do.
James Austin
James Ball
Cleveland Banks Miss.
Joyce Barrett Do.
Emma Bell Miss
Diane Nash Bevel Miss
Samuel Block Miss
Eddie Brown
Jack Chatfield Do.
John Churchville Do.
Charles Cobb Miss
Benjamin Grinage Bim Bly
Lawrence Guyot Miss
Prathia Hall Do.
William Hansen Bim Bly
Donald Harris
Jesse Harris Miss.

Curtis Hayes Miss.
Faith Holsaert Do.
Frank Holloway
Alphonzo Hubbard
James Jones Miss.
Dorie Ladner
Bernard Lafayette - Selma
Colia Lafayette - Selma
Charles McLaurin - Miss
Landy McNair - Miss
Robert Moses - Miss
Carver Neblett - Do
John O'Neal
Willie Peacock - Miss
Joni Rabinowitz
Reginald Robinson - Orangeburg
Larry Rubin - Do
Charles Sherrod - Do
Frank Smith - Miss.
Lafayette Surney - Miss
James Travis - Miss
David Vasser - Miss
Hollis Watkins - Miss
Robert Zellner

The Freedom Singers

Rutha Harris
Bernice Johnson
Charles Neblett
Cordell Reagon

Nick Houghton
Mary Lowe
Victoria Gray

Memo from **JEAN T. LEVINE**

6-28-63

In a letter dated June 7, 1963, Charles Cobb stated that he, McLaurin and Dickie Flowers constituted all of the registration workers in Greenville, Mississsippi.

WAB:jl

VEP AGENCY PERSONNEL DATA

STATE AND CITY	AGENCY	NAME AND ADDRESS OF EMPLOYEE
Louisiana		
Baton Rouge	NAACP	Charles Siler, #2093, 305 S. 13th St., Tel. No. 343-6170 (office)
	CORE	Weldon Rougeau, Ronnie Moore, Willie Bradford, Roger Banks (can be reached at CORE office - P. O. Box 4926, Louise St. Branch Post Office, DI 4-4000, Butler Bldg., Louisa & East Blvd.
Shreveport	SCLC	Rev. Harry Blake, 2834 Abbie St., Telephone No. 422-1935
Tennessee		
Memphis	NAACP	Mrs. Maxine Smith, 234 Hernando St., Tel. No. JA 5-6057 (office)
Brownsville	"	Mrs. Mildred Hay, P. O. Box 242 (home)
Knoxville	NA-SC**	L. A. Lee, 716 E. Church Avenue, 527-7148 (YMCA)
Chattanooga	NA-SC**	Father Robert B. Hunter, 601 E. 9th St., Telephone No. 267-6180
South Carolina		
Columbia	CORE	John Edwards, #1204, Telephone No. AL 6-4356
Sumpter	"	Frank Robinson, William Brown, Amaline Butler (can be reached at 25½ E. Liberty St., Telephone No. 773-9226)
Charleston	SCLC	Esau Jenkins, 244 Spring St., Telephone No. RA 3-2908

**Cooperative Arrangement - NAACP-SCLC

STATE AND CITY	AGENCY	NAME AND ADDRESS OF EMPLOYEE
Virginia		
Petersburg	SCLC	Dr. Milton A. Reid, 244 Halifax St., RE 2-5641, RE 2-2841, Herbert Coulton
North Carolina		
Edenton	SCLC	F. H. LaGarde, 118 W. Albemarle, 4103 (Regional Representative) Golden Frinks (Coordinator)
Georgia		
Atlanta	SCLC	J. H. Calhoun, Bernard S. Lee, Rev. Fred C. Bennette, 334 Auburn Avenue, N. E., 524-1278
Mississippi		
Jackson	CORE	Dave Dennis - no address listed
	NAACP	Rev. Charles A. Jones, 538½ N. Farish St., Telephone No. 355-3874
	CO-SN**	Joan Trumpauer, Hugh Bell, Otis Thames, 1104 Lynch St., Telephone No. FL 2-8226
	SNCC	William Miller, Colia Liddell, Dorie Ladner, Dave Campbell, 1104 Lynch St., Telephone No. FL 2-8226
Greenville	SNCC	Arthur Williams, 901½ Nelson St., Telephone No. ED 4-9109 (temporary telephone)
Vicksburg	"	James Travis, 1016 N. Magnolia
Hattiesburg	"	Hollis Watkins, Curtis Hayes, 509½ Mobile Street
Greenwood	"	Samuel Block, 616 Avenue I, Curtis Burns, 119 E. Percy, James McDonald, 311 Pickett, GL 3-4079

**Cooperative Arrangement - CORE-SNCC

STATE AND CITY	AGENCY	NAME AND ADDRESS OF EMPLOYEE
Mississippi, Continued		
Cleveland	SNCC	Amzie Moore, 614 Chrismon St.
Holly Springs	"	Frank Smith, c/o Rust College

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COPY

December 20, 1963

DEC 23 1963

Mr. Randolph T. Blackwell
Voter Education Project
Room 206
5 Forsyth Street, NW
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Blackwell:

Attached is a description of the Campaign for Responsible Citizenship sponsored by the Campus Ministry Association of the Presbyterian Church in the United States. You will note that while this campaign is directed specifically to churches, both Negro and white, it also has as its purpose participation in the wider concerns of the community as these relate to the problem of registration and of voting. We are still without a location. A conversation with Dr. Malcolm Calhoun of the Division of Christian Action, Board of Christian Education, Presbyterian Church in the United States indicates that there may be some regions or towns in Eastern Carolina such as Wilson, Greenville, and Rocky Mount where we might have enough Presbyterian support to get a project started. He also suggested consideration of Columbia, South Carolina. There are other areas in both North and South Carolina which we could consider. It would be helpful to us if you could send me a list of certain places where you would like to see a project such as ours attempted. I can then check out the quality and quantity of Presbyterian support that we might have in the town or area.

We hope very much that we can work with VEP during the coming year. Thank you for your attention to this matter and your willingness to work with us.

Sincerely yours,

H. Davis Yeuell

H. Davis Yeuell

cc: Wylie A. Branton